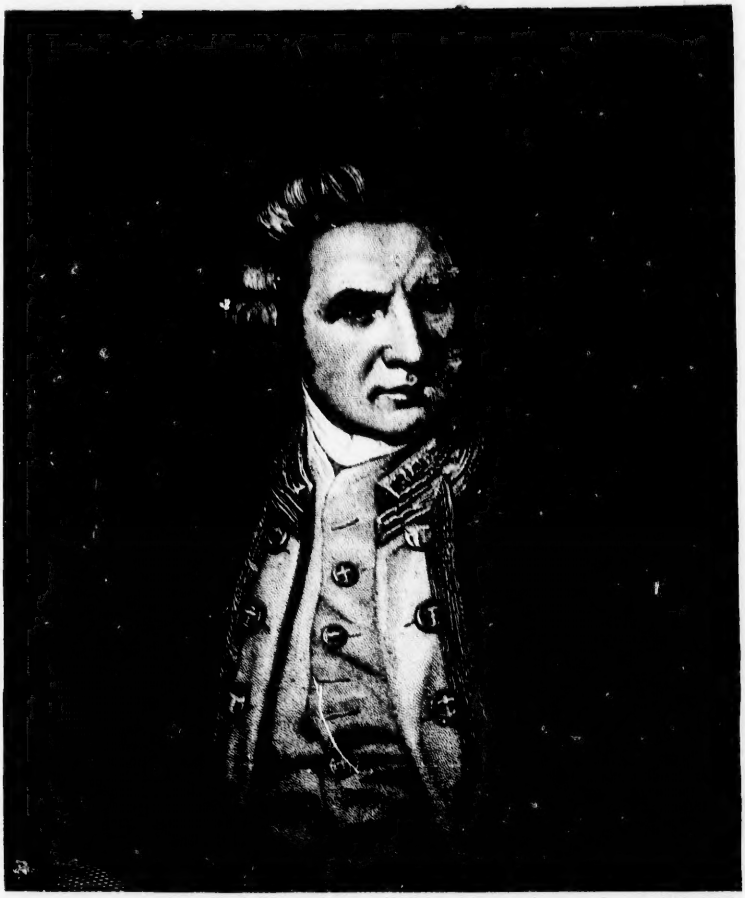


CAPTAIN JAMES COOK.

THE

THREE FAMOUS VOYAGES

OF

CAPTAIN JAMES COOK

ROUND THE WORLD,

NARRATING HIS

ADVENTURES AND ADVENTURES IN TIERRA DEL FUEGO, TAHITI, NEW ZEALAND, VAN DIEMEN'S LAND, AUSTRALIA, THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS, NEW HEBRIDES, NEW CALEDONIA, THE SANDWICH ISLANDS, PACIFIC NORTH AMERICA, ETC.

TOGETHER WITH THE

REASONS OF HIS MURDER AT HAWAII, AND THE SUBSEQUENT VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN KING TO KAMTSCHATKA, JAPAN, AND CHINA

WITH

Numerous Full-page Illustrations and Engravings in the Text.

WARD, LOCK, AND CO.
LONDON: WARWICK HOUSE, SALISBURY SQUARE, E.C.
NEW YORK: BOND STREET.

Hood's Voyages

THE

THREE FAMOUS VOYAGES

OF

CAPTAIN JAMES COOK

ROUND THE WORLD,

NARRATING HIS

DISCOVERIES AND ADVENTURES IN TIERRA DEL FUEGO, TAHITI, NEW ZEALAND, VAN DIEMEN'S LAND, AUSTRALIA, THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS, NEW HEBRIDES, NEW CALEDONIA, THE SANDWICH ISLANDS, WESTERN NORTH AMERICA, ETC.,

TOGETHER WITH THE

ACCOUNT OF HIS MURDER AT HAWAII, AND THE SUBSEQUENT VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN KING TO KAMTSCHATKA, JAPAN, AND CHINA.

WITH

Numerous Full-page Illustrations and Engravings in the Text.

WARD, LOCK, AND CO,
LONDON: WARWICK HOUSE, SALISBURY SQUARE, E.C.
NEW YORK: BOND STREET.

NW
970P
C771
1st-3d
Lond.

LIFE o

INTRODU

CHAP.

1. T

2. T

3. T

4. A

5. Th

6. A

7. Th

8. The

9. A p

CONTENTS.

PAGE

LIFE OF CAPTAIN COOK xiii

FIRST VOYAGE.

PAGE

INTRODUCTION to the first Voyage . . . 1

CHAP. BOOK I.

1. The passage from Plymouth to Madeira, with some account of that island . . . 2
2. The passage from Madeira to Rio de Janeiro, with some account of the country, and the incidents that happened there . . 7
3. The passage from Rio de Janeiro to the entrance of the Strait of Le Maire, with a description of some of the inhabitants of Terra del Fuego 19
4. An account of what happened in ascending a mountain to search for plants . . 21
5. The passage through the Strait of Le Maire, and a further description of the inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, and its productions . 25
6. A general description of the south-east part of Terra del Fuego, and the Strait of Le Maire; with some remarks on Lord Anson's account of them, and directions for the passage westward, round this part of America, into the South Seas 29
7. The sequel of the passage from Cape Horn to the newly discovered islands in the South Seas, with a description of their figure and appearance. Some account of the inhabitants, and several incidents that happened during the course, and at the ship's arrival among them 32
8. The arrival of the Endeavour at Otaheite, called by Captain Wallis, King George the Third's Island. Rules established for traffic with the natives, and an account of several incidents which happened in a visit to Tootahah and Toubourai Tamaide, two Chiefs 36
9. A place fixed upon for an Observatory and Fort. An excursion into the woods, and its consequences. The Fort erected. A visit from several chiefs on board and at the Fort, with some account of the music of the natives, and the manner in which they dispose of their dead 40

CHAP.

10. An excursion to the eastward, an account of several incidents that happened both on board and on shore, and of the first interview with Oberea, the person who, when the Dolphin was here, was supposed to be Queen of the Island, with a description of the Fort . 44
11. The Observatory set up. The quadrant stolen, and consequences of the theft. A visit to Tootahah. Description of a wrestling match. European seeds sown. Names given to our people by the Indians . . 48
12. Some ladies visit the Fort with very uncommon ceremonies. The Indians attend divine service, and in the evening exhibit a most extraordinary spectacle. Toubourai Tamaide falls into temptation 54
13. Another visit to Tootahah, with various adventures. Extraordinary amusement of the Indians, with remarks upon it. Preparations to observe the transit of Venus, and what happened in the mean time at the Fort . 57
14. The ceremonies of an Indian funeral particularly described. General observations on the subject. A character found among the Indians to which the Ancients paid great veneration. A robbery at the Fort, and its consequences; with a specimen of Indian cookery, and various incidents . . 61
15. An account of the circumnavigation of the island, and various incidents that happened during the expedition; with a description of a burying-place and place of worship, called a Morai 66
16. An expedition of Mr. Banks to trace the river. Marks of subterraneous fire. Preparations for leaving the island. An account of Tupia 73
17. A particular description of the island; its produce and inhabitants; their dress, habitations, food, domestic life, and amusements . 79
18. Of the manufactures, boats, and navigation of Otaheite 90
19. Of the division of time in Otaheite; numeration, computation of distance, language, diseases, disposal of the dead, religion, war, weapons, and government; with some general observations for the use of future navigators 98

31587

CHAP. PAGE

20. A description of several other islands in the neighbourhood of Otaheite, with various incidents; a dramatic entertainment; and many particulars relative to the customs and manners of the inhabitants . . . 108

BOOK II.

1. The passage from Oteroah to New Zealand; incidents which happened on going ashore there, and while the ship lay in Poverty Bay 121

2. A description of Poverty Bay, and the face of the adjacent country. The range from thence to Cape Turnagain, and back to Tolaga; with some account of the people and the country, and several incidents that happened on that part of the coast . . . 127

3. The range from Tolaga to Mercury Bay, with an account of many incidents that happened both on board and on shore. A description of several views exhibited by the country, and of the Hippahs, or fortified villages of the Inhabitants 138

4. The range from Mercury Bay to the Bay of Islands. An expedition up the River Thames. Some account of the Indians who inhabit its banks, and the fine timber that grows there. Several interviews with the natives on different parts of the coast, and a skirmish with them upon an island . . 148

5. Range from the Bay of Islands round North Cape to Queen Charlotte's Sound; and a description of that part of the coast . . 157

6. Transactions in Queen Charlotte's Sound. Passage through the Strait which divides the two islands, and back to Cape Turnagain. Horrid custom of the inhabitants. Remarkable melody of birds. A visit to a Hippah, and many other particulars . . 163

7. Range from Cape Turnagain southward along the eastern coast of Poenammoo, round Cape South, and back to the western entrance of Cook's Strait, which completed the circumnavigation of this country; with a description of the coast, and of Admiralty Bay. The departure from New Zealand, and various particulars 173

8. A general account of New Zealand; its first discovery, situation, extent, climate, and productions 182

9. A description of the inhabitants, their habitations, apparel, ornaments, food, cookery, and manner of life 187

10. Of the canoes and navigation of the inhabitants of New Zealand; their tillage, weapons, and music; government, religion, and language: with some reasons against the existence of a Southern Continent . . . 193

BOOK III.

CHAP. PAGE

1. The run from New Zealand to Botany Bay, on the East Coast of New Holland, now called New South Wales; various incidents that happened there; with some account of the country and its inhabitants . . 201

2. The range from Botany Bay to Trinity Bay; with a further account of the country, its inhabitants, and productions . . 212

3. Dangerous situation of the ship in her course from Trinity Bay to Endeavour River . . 227

4. Transactions while the ship was refitting in Endeavour River. A description of the adjacent country, its inhabitants, and productions 232

5. Departure from Endeavour River. A particular description of the harbour there, in which the ship was refitted, the adjacent country, and several islands near the coast. The range from Endeavour River to the northern extremity of the country, and the dangers of that navigation 245

6. Departure from New South Wales. A particular description of the country, its products and people. A specimen of the language, and some observations upon the currents and tides 258

7. The passage from New South Wales to New Guinea, with an account of what happened upon landing there 269

8. The passage from New Guinea to the Island of Savu, and the transactions there . . 275

9. A particular description of the Island of Savu, its produce and inhabitants, with a specimen of their language 282

10. The run from the Island of Savu to Batavia, and an account of the transactions there while the ship was refitting . . . 292

11. Some account of Batavia, and the adjacent country, with their fruits, flowers, and other productions 299

12. Some account of the inhabitants of Batavia, and the adjacent country, their manners, customs, and manner of life . . 309

13. The passage from Batavia to the Cape of Good Hope. Some account of Prince's Island, and its inhabitants, and a comparative view of their language, with the Malay and Javanese 316

14. Our arrival at the Cape of Good Hope. Some remarks on the run from Java Head to that place. A description of the Cape and of Saint Helena. With some account of the Hottentots, and the return of the ship to England 322

SECOND VOYAGE.

PAGE

General Introduction to the Second Voyage . 333

BOOK I.

From our departure from England, to leaving the Society Isles, the first time.

CHAP.

1. Passage from Deptford to the Cape of Good Hope, with an account of several incidents that happened by the way, and transactions there 343
2. Departure from the Cape of Good Hope, in search of a Southern Continent . . 350
3. Sequel of the search for a Southern Continent, between the meridian of the Cape of Good Hope and New Zealand; with an account of the separation of the two ships, and the arrival of the Resolution in Dusky Bay . 360
4. Transactions in Dusky Bay, with an account of several interviews with the inhabitants . . 369
5. Directions for sailing in and out of Dusky Bay, with an account of the adjacent country, its produce, and inhabitants. Astronomical and nautical observations . . . 378
6. Passage from Dusky Bay to Queen Charlotte's Sound, with an account of some water spouts, and of our joining the Adventure . . 382
7. Captain Furneaux's narrative, from the time the two ships were separated, to their joining again in Queen Charlotte's Sound, with some account of Van Diemen's Land . . 383
8. Transactions in Queen Charlotte's Sound, with some remarks on the inhabitants . . 388
9. Route from New Zealand to Otaheite, with an account of some low islands, supposed to be the same that were seen by M. de Bougainville 392
10. The arrival of the ships at Otaheite, with an account of the critical situation they were in, and of several incidents that happened while they lay in Oaiti-piha Bay . . . 397
11. An account of several visits to and from Otoo; of goats being left on the island; and many other particulars which happened while the ships lay in Matavai Bay . . . 401
12. An account of the reception we met with at Huaheine, with the incidents that happened while the ships lay there, and of Omai, one of the natives, coming away in the Adventure 404
13. Arrival at, and departure of the ships from Ulietea; with an account of what happened there, and of Oedidee, one of the natives, coming away in the Resolution . . 408
14. An account of a Spanish ship visiting Otaheite; the present state of the islands; with some observations on the diseases and customs of the inhabitants, and some mistakes concerning the women corrected . . 412

BOOK II.

From our departure from the Society Isles, to our return to, and leaving them the second time.

CHAP. PAGE

1. Passage from Ulietea to the Friendly Islands; with an account of the discovery of Hervey's Island, and the incidents that happened at Middleburg 415
2. The arrival of the ships at Amsterdam; a description of a place of worship; and an account of the incidents which happened while they remained at that island . . 418
3. A description of the islands and their produce, with the cultivation, houses, canoes, navigation, manufactures, weapons, customs, government, religion, and language of the inhabitants 424
4. Passage from Amsterdam to Queen Charlotte's Sound; with an account of an interview with the inhabitants, and the final separation of the two ships 429
5. Transactions in Queen Charlotte's Sound; with an account of the inhabitants being cannibals; and various other incidents. Departure from the Sound, and our endeavours to find the Adventure; with some description of the coast 433
6. Route of the ship from New Zealand in search of a Continent; with an account of the various obstructions met with from the ice, and the methods pursued to explore the Southern Pacific Ocean . . . 438
7. Sequel of the passage from New Zealand to Easter Island, and transactions there; with an account of an expedition to discover the inland part of the country, and a description of some of the surprising gigantic statues found in the island 448
8. A description of the island, its produce, situation, and inhabitants; their manners and customs; conjectures concerning their government, religion, and other subjects; with a more particular account of their gigantic statues 452
9. The passage from Easter Island to the Marquesas Islands. Transactions and incidents which happened while the ship lay in Madre de Dios, or Resolution Bay, in the Island of St. Christina 456
10. Departure from the Marquesas; a description of the situation, extent, figure, and appearance of the several islands; with some account of the inhabitants, their customs, dress, habitations, food, weapons, and canoes 459
11. A description of several islands discovered, or seen in the passage from the Marquesas to Otaheite; with an account of a naval review 462
12. Some account of a visit from Otoo, Towha, and several other chiefs; also of a robbery committed by one of the natives, and its consequences, with general observations on the subject 466

CHAP. PAGE

13. Preparations to leave the island. Another naval review, and various other incidents; with some account of the island, its naval force, and number of inhabitants . . 472

14. The arrival of the ship at the Island of Husheine; with an account of an expedition into the island, and several other incidents which happened while she lay there . . . 477

15. Arrival at Ulietea, with on account of the reception we met with there, and the several incidents which happened during our stay. A report of two ships being at Husheine. Preparations to leave the island, and the regret the inhabitants showed on the occasion. The character of Oedidee, with some general observations on the island . . . 481

BOOK III.

From Ulietea to New Zealand.

1. Passage from Ulietea to the Friendly Isles; with a description of several islands that were discovered, and the incidents which happened in that track 486

2. Reception at Anamocka; a robbery and its consequences, with a variety of other incidents. Departure from the island. A sailing canoe described. Some observations on the navigation of these islanders. A description of the island, and of those in the neighbourhood, with some account of the inhabitants, and nautical remarks 490

3. The passage from the Friendly Isles to the New Hebrides; with an account of the discovery of Turtle Island, and a variety of incidents which happened, both before and after the ship arrived in Port Sandwich in the Island of Mallicollo. A description of the Port; the adjacent country; its inhabitants, and many other particulars . . 495

4. An account of the discovery of several islands, an interview and skirmish with the inhabitants upon one of them. The arrival of the ship at Tanna, and the reception we met with there 501

5. An intercourse established with the natives; some account of the island, and a variety of incidents that happened during our stay at it 507

6. Departure from Tanna: with some account of its inhabitants, their manners and arts . 516

7. The survey of the islands continued, and a more particular description of them . . 519

8. An account of the discovery of New Caledonia, and the incidents that happened while the ship lay in Balade 526

9. A description of the country and its inhabitants; their manners, customs, and arts . . 531

10. Proceedings on the coast of New Caledonia, with geographical and nautical observations 535

11. Sequel of the passage from New Caledonia to New Zealand, with an account of the discovery of Norfolk Island; and the incidents that happened while the ship lay in Queen Charlotte's Sound 542

BOOK IV.

From leaving New Zealand to our return to England.

1. The run from New Zealand to Terra del Fuego, with the range from Cape Deseada to Christmas Sound, and description of that part of the coast 548

2. Transactions in Christmas Sound, with an account of the country and its inhabitants . 553

3. Range from Christmas Sound, round Cape Horn, through Strait Le Maire, and round Staten Land; with an account of the discovery of a harbour in that island, and a description of the coasts 557

4. Observations, geographical and nautical; with an account of the islands near Staten Land, and the animals found in them . . 561

5. Proceedings after leaving Staten Land; with an account of the discovery of the Isle of Georgia, and a description of it . . . 565

6. Proceedings after leaving the Isle of Georgia, and an account of the discovery of Sandwich Land: with some reasons for there being land about the South Pole . . 570

7. Heads of what has been done in the voyage; with some conjectures concerning the formation of ice-islands; and an account of our proceedings till our arrival at the Cape of Good Hope 576

8. Captain Furneaux's narrative of his proceedings in the Adventure, from the time he was separated from the Resolution, to his arrival in England; including Lieutenant Burney's report concerning the boat's crew who were murdered by the inhabitants of Queen Charlotte's Sound 581

9. Transactions at the Cape of Good Hope: with an account of some discoveries made by the French; and the arrival of the ship at St. Helena 586

10. Passage from St. Helena to the Western Islands, with a description of the islands of Ascension and Fernando Noronha . . 589

11. Arrival of the ship at the island of Fayal. a description of the place, and the return of the Resolution to England . . . 593

THIRD VOYAGE.

BOOK I.

TRANSACTIONS FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE VOYAGE TILL OUR DEPARTURE FROM NEW ZEALAND.

CHAP. PAGE

1. Various preparations for the voyage. Omai's behaviour on embarking. Observations for determining the longitude of Sheerness and the North Foreland. Passage of the Resolution from Deptford to Plymouth. Employments there. Complements of the crews of both ships, and names of the officers. Observations to fix the longitude of Plymouth. Departure of the Resolution . . 3
2. Passage of the Resolution to Teneriffe. Reception there. Description of Santa Cruz Road. Refreshments to be met with. Observations for fixing the longitude of Teneriffe. Some account of the island. Botanical observations. Cities of Santa Cruz and Laguna. Agriculture. Air and climate. Commerce. Inhabitants . . . 8
3. Departure from Teneriffe. Danger of the ship near Bonavista. Isle of Mayo. Port Praya. Precautions against the rain and sultry weather in the neighbourhood of the equator. Position of the coast of Brazil. Arrival at the Cape of Good Hope. Transactions there. Junction of the Discovery. Mr. Anderson's journey up the country. Astronomical observations. Nautical remarks on the passage from England to the Cape, with regard to the currents and the variation . . . 14
4. The two ships leave the Cape of Good Hope. Two islands, named Prince Edward's, seen, and their appearance described. Kerguelen's Land visited. Arrival in Christmas Harbour. Occurrences there. Description of it . 22
5. Departure from Christmas Harbour. Range along the coast, to discover its position and extent. Several promontories and bays, and a peninsula, described and named. Danger from shoals. Another harbour and a sound. Mr. Anderson's observations on the natural productions, animals, soil, &c. of Kerguelen's Land 30
6. Passage from Kergulen's to Van Diemen's Land. Arrival in Adventure Bay. Incidents there. Interviews with the natives. Their persons and dress described. Account of their behaviour. Table of the longitude, latitude, and variation. Mr. Anderson's observations on the natural productions of the country, on the inhabitants, and their language 37
7. The passage from Van Diemen's Land to New Zealand. Employments in Queen Charlotte's Sound. Transactions with the natives there. Intelligence about the massacre of the Adventure's boat's crew. Account of the chief who headed the party on that occasion. Of the two young men who embarked to attend Omai. Various remarks on the inhabitants. Astronomical and nautical observations . . 48

Mr. Anderson's remarks on the country near Queen Charlotte's Sound. The soil. Climate. Weather. Winds. Trees. Plants. Birds. Fish. Other animals. Of the inhabitants. Description of their persons. Their dress. Ornaments. Habitations. Boats. Food and cookery. Arts. Weapons. Cruelty to prisoners. Various customs. Specimen of their language . 58

BOOK II.

FROM LEAVING NEW ZEALAND, TO OUR ARRIVAL AT OTAHEITE, OR THE SOCIETY ISLANDS.

1. Prosecution of the voyage. Behaviour of the two New Zealanders on board. Unfavourable winds. An island called Mangees discovered. The coast of it examined. Transactions with the natives. An account of their persons, dress, and canoe. Description of the island. A specimen of the language. Disposition of the inhabitants . 65
2. The discovery of an island called Wateeoo. Its coasts examined. Visits from the natives on board the ships. Messrs. Gore, Burney, and Anderson, with Omai, sent on shore. Mr. Anderson's narrative of their reception. Omai's expedient to prevent their being detained. His meeting with some of his countrymen, and their distressful voyage. Further account of Wateeoo, and of its inhabitants 70

CHAP. PAGE

3. Wenoon-ette, or Otakootaia, visited. Account of that island, and of its produce. Hervey's Island, or Terougge mou Attooa, found to be inhabited. Transactions with the natives. Their persons, dress, language, canoes. Fruitless attempt to land there. Reasons for bearing away for the Friendly Islands. Palmerston's Island touched at. Description of the two places where the boats landed. Refreshments obtained there. Conjectures of the formation of such low islands. Arrival at the Friendly Islands . . . 79

4. Intercourse with the natives of Komango, and other islands. Arrival at Annamooka. Transactions there. Feenou, a principal chief from Tongataboo, comes on a visit. The manner of his reception in the island, and on board. Instances of the pilfering disposition of the natives. Some account of Annamooka. The passage from it to Hapaee 86

5. Arrival of the ships at Hapaee, and friendly reception there. Presents and solemnities on the occasion. Single combats with clubs. Wrestling and boxing matches. Female combatants. Marines exercised. A dance performed by men. Fireworks exhibited. The night-entertainments of singing and dancing particularly described . . . 93

6. Description of Lefooga. Its cultivated state. Its extent. Transactions there. A female oculist. Singular expedients for shaving off the hair. The ships change their station. A remarkable mount and stone. Description of Hoolaiva. Account of Poulaho, king of the Friendly Islands. Respectful manner in which he is treated by his people. Departure from the Hapaee Islands. Some account of Kotoo. Return of the ships to Annamooka. Poulaho and Feenou meet. Arrival at Tongataboo 99

7. Friendly reception at Tongataboo. Manner of distributing a baked hog and kava to Poulaho's attendants. The Observatory, &c. erected. The village where the chiefs reside, and the adjoining country described. Interviews with Mareewagee, and Toobou, and the king's son. A grand haiva, or entertainment of songs and dances, given by Mareewagee. Exhibition of fireworks. Manner of wrestling and boxing. Distribution of the cattle. Thefts committed by the natives. Poulaho, and the other chiefs, confined on that account. Poulaho's present, and haiva . . . 107

8. Some of the officers plundered by the natives. A fishing party. A visit to Poulaho. A Fiatooka described. Observations on the country entertainment at Poulaho's house. His mourning ceremony. Of the Kava plant, and the manner of preparing the liquor. Account of Onevy, a little island. One of the natives wounded by a sentinel. Messrs. King and Anderson visit the king's brother. Their entertainment. Another mourning ceremony. Manner of passing the night. Remarks on the country they pass through. Preparations made for sailing. An eclipse of the sun, imperfectly observed. Mr. Anderson's account of the island, and its productions 119

9. A grand solemnity called Natche, in honour of the king's son, performed. The processions and other ceremonies, during the first day, described. The manner of passing the night at the king's house. Continuation of the solemnity, the next day. Conjectures about the nature of it. Departure from Tongataboo, and arrival at Eooa. Account of that island, and transactions there . . . 129

10. Advantages derived from visiting the Friendly Islands. Best articles for traffic. Refreshments that may be procured. The number of the islands, and their names. Keppel's and Boscawen's Islands belong to them. Account of Vavaoo,—of Hamoa,—of Feejee. Voyages of the natives in their canoes. Difficulty of procuring exact information. Persons of the inhabitants of both sexes. Their colour. Diseases. Their general character. Manner of wearing their hair,—of puncturing their bodies. Their clothing and ornaments. Personal cleanliness . . 139

11. Employments of the women at the Friendly Islands. Of the men. Agriculture. Construction of their houses. Their working tools. Cordage, and fishing implements. Musical instruments. Weapons. Food, and cookery. Amusements. Marriage. Mourning ceremonies for the dead. Their divinities. Notions about the soul, and a future state. Their places of worship. Government. Manner of paying obeisance to the king. Account of the royal family. Remarks on their language, and a specimen of it. Nautical, and other observations . 148

BOOK III.

Transactions at Otaheite, and the Society Islands; and Prosecution of the Voyage to the Coast of North America.

1. An eclipse of the moon observed. The Island Toobouai discovered. Its situation, extent, and appearance. Intercourse with its inhabitants. Their persons, dresses, and canoes, described. Arrival in Oheitepeha Bay at Otaheite. Omai's reception, and imprudent conduct. Account of Spanish ships twice visiting the island. Interview with the chief of this district. The Olla, or God, of Bolabola. A mad prophet. Arrival in Matavai Bay 160

2. Interview with Otoo, king of the island. Imprudent conduct of Omai. Employments on shore. European animals landed. Particulars about a native who had visited Lima. About Oedidee. A revolt in Eimeo. War with that island determined upon, in a council of chiefs. A human sacrifice on that account. A particular relation of the ceremonies at the great Morai, where the sacrifice was offered. Other barbarous customs of this people . . . 168

3. Conference with Towha. Heevas described. Omai and Oedidee give dinners. Fireworks exhibited. A remarkable present of cloth. Manner of preserving the body of a dead chief. Another human sacrifice. Riding on horseback. Otoo's attention to supply pro-

PAGE

visions, and prevent thefts. Animals given to him. Etiquette. The Deputies of a chief have audience [illegible] cock-fight of two war canoes. Naval strength of these islands. Manner of conducting a war . . . 177

4. The day of sailing fixed. Peace made with Eimeo. Debates about it, and Otoo's conduct blamed. A solemnity at the Morai on the occasion, described by Mr. King. Observations upon it. Instance of Otoo's art. Omai's war canoe, and remarks upon his behaviour. Otoo's present, and message to the king of Great Britain. Reflections on our manner of traffic, and on the good treatment we met with at Otaheite. Account of the expedition of the Spaniards. Their fictions to depreciate the English. Wishes expressed that no settlement may be made. Omai's jealousy of another traveller . 183

5. Arrival at Eimeo. Two harbours there, and an account of them. Visit from Maheine, chief of the island. His person described. A goat stolen, and sent back with the thief. Another goat stolen, and secreted. Measures taken on the occasion. Expedition cross the island. Houses and canoes burnt. The goat delivered up, and peace restored. Some account of the island, &c. . . . 190

6. Arrival at Huaheine. Council of the chiefs. Omai's offerings, and speech to the chiefs. His establishment in this island agreed to. A house built, and garden planted for him. Singularity of his situation. Measures taken to insure his safety. Damage done by cockroaches on board the ships. A thief detected and punished. Fireworks exhibited. Animals left with Omai. His family. Weapons. Inscriptions on his house. His behaviour on the ships leaving the island. Summary view of his conduct and character. Account of the two New Zealand youths . . 194

7. Arrival at Ulietea. Astronomical observations. A marine deserts, and is delivered up. Intelligence from Omai. Instructions to Captain Clerke. Another desertion of a midshipman and a seaman. Three of the chief persons of the island confined on that account. A design to seize Captains Cook and Clerke, discovered. The two deserters brought back, and the prisoners released. The ships sail. Refreshments received at Ulietea. Present and former state of that island. Account of its dethroned king, and of the late Regent of Huaheine . . 202

8. Arrival at Bolabola. Interview with Opoony. Reasons for purchasing Monsieur Bougainville's anchor. Departure from the Society Islands. Particulars about Bolabola. History of the Conquest of Otaha and Ulietea. High reputation of the Bolabola men. Animals left there, and at Ulietea. Plentiful supply of provisions, and manner of salting pork on board. Various reflections relative to Otaheite, and the Society Islands. Astronomical and nautical observations made there 208

9. Accounts of Otaheite still imperfect. The prevailing winds. Beauty of the country. Cultivation. Natural curiosities. The persons of the natives. Diseases. General character. Love of pleasure. Language. Surgery and Physic. Articles of food. Effects of drinking Ava. Times and manner of eating. Connexions with the females. Circumcision. System of religion. Notions about the soul and a future life. Various superstitions. Traditions about the creation. An historical legend. Honours paid to the king. Distinction of ranks. Punishment of crimes. Peculiarities of the neighbouring islands. Names of their Gods. Names of islands they visit. Extent of their Navigation 213

10. Progress of the voyage, after leaving the Society Islands. Christmas Island discovered, and station of the ships there. Boats sent ashore. Great success in catching turtle. An eclipse of the sun observed. Distress of two seamen who had lost their way. Inscription left in a bottle. Account of the island. Its soil. Trees and plants. Birds. Its size. Form. Situation. Anchoring-ground . 228

11. Some islands discovered. Account of the natives of Atooi, who come off to the ships, and their behaviour on going on board. One of them killed. Precautions used to prevent intercourse with the females. A watering-place found. Reception upon landing. Excursion into the country. A Morai visited and described. Graves of the chiefs, and of the human sacrifices there buried. Another island, called Onechow, visited. Ceremonies performed by the natives, who go off to the ships. Reasons for believing that they are cannibals. A party sent ashore, who remain two nights. Account of what passed on landing. The ships leave the islands, and proceed to the north 232

12. The situation of the islands now discovered. Their names. Called the Sandwich Islands. Atooi described. The soil. Climate. Vegetable productions. Birds. Fish. Domestic animals. Persons of the inhabitants. Their disposition. Dress. Ornaments. Habitations. Food. Cookery. Amusements. Manufactures. Working-tools. Knowledge of iron accounted for. Canoes. Agriculture. Account of one of their chiefs. Weapons. Customs agreeing with those of Tongataboo, and Otaheite. Their language the same. Extent of this nation throughout the Pacific Ocean. Reflections on the useful situation of the Sandwich Islands . . 244

13. Observations made at the Sandwich Islands, on the longitude, variation of the compass and tides. Prosecution of the voyage. Remarks on the mildness of the weather, as far as the latitude 44° North. Paucity of sea birds, in the northern hemisphere. Small sea animals described. Arrival on the coast of America. Appearance of the country. Unfavourable winds and boisterous weather. Remarks on Martin d'Aguillar's River, and Juan de Fuca's pretended strait. An inlet discovered, where the ships anchor. Behaviour of the natives . . . 257

BOOK IV.

TRANSACTIONS AMONGST THE NATIVES OF NORTH AMERICA; DISCOVERIES ALONG THAT COAST AND THE EASTERN EXTREMITY OF ASIA, NORTHWARD TO ICY CAPE; AND RETURN SOUTHWARD TO THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

CHAP. PAGE

1. The ships enter the Sound, and moor in a harbour. Intercourse with the natives. Articles brought to barter. Thefts committed. The Observatories erected, and carpenters set to work. Jealousy of the inhabitants of the Sound to prevent other tribes having intercourse with the ships. Stormy and rainy weather. Progress round the Sound. Behaviour of the natives at their villages. Their manner of drying fish, &c. Remarkable visit from strangers, and introductory ceremonies. A second visit to one of the villages. Leave to cut grass, purchased. The ships sail. Presents given and received at parting 262
2. The name of the Sound, and directions for sailing into it. Account of the adjacent country. Weather. Climate. Trees. Other vegetable productions. Quadrupeds, whose skins were brought for sale. Sea animals. Description of a Sea Otter. Birds. Water Fowl. Fish. Shell-fish, &c. Reptiles. Insects. Stones, &c. Persons of the inhabitants. Their colour. Common dress and ornaments. Occasional dresses and monstrous decorations of wooden masks. Their general dispositions. Songs. Musical instruments. Their eagerness to possess iron and other metals 270
3. Manner of building the houses in Nootka Sound. Inside of them described. Furniture and utensils. Wooden images. Employments of the men. Of the women. Food, animal and vegetable. Manner of preparing it. Weapons. Manufactures and mechanic arts. Carving and painting. Canoes. Implements for fishing and hunting. Iron tools. Manner of procuring that metal. Remarks on their language, and a specimen of it. Astronomical and nautical observations made in Nootka Sound 281
4. A storm after sailing from Nootka Sound. Resolution springs a leak. Pretended strait of Admiral de Fonte passed unexamined. Progress along the coast of America. Beering's Bay. Kaye's Island. Account of it. The ships come to anchor. Visited by the natives. Their behaviour. Fondness for beads and iron. Attempt to plunder the Discovery. Resolution's leak stopped. Progress up the Sound. Messrs. Gore and Roberts sent to examine its extent. Reasons against a passage to the north through it. The ships proceed down it, to the open sea. 292
5. The inlet called Prince William's Sound. Its extent. Persons of the inhabitants described. Their dress. Incision of their under lip. Various other ornaments. Their boats. Weapons, fishing and hunting instruments. Utensils. Tools. Uses iron is applied to. Food. Language, and a specimen of it. Animals. Birds. Fish. Iron and beads, whence received 301

CHAP. PAGE

6. Progress along the coast. Cape Elizabeth. Cape St. Hermogenes. Accounts of Beering's voyage very defective. Point Banks. Cape Douglas. Cape Bede. Mount St. Augustin. Hopes of finding a passage up an inlet. The ships proceed up it. Indubitable marks of its being a river. Named Cook's River. The ships return down it. Various visits from the natives. Lieutenant King lands and takes possession of the country. His report. The Resolution runs aground on a shoal. Reflections on the discovery of Cook's River. The considerable tides in it accounted for 307
7. Discoveries after leaving Cook's River. Island of St. Hermogenes. Cape Whitsunday. Cape Greville. Cape Barnabas. Two-headed Point. Trinity Island. Beering's Foggy Island. A beautiful bird described. Kodiak, and the Schumagin Islands. A Russian letter brought on board by a native. Conjectures about it. Rock Point. Halibut Island. A volcano mountain. Providential escape. Arrival of the ships at Oonalashka. Intercourse with the natives there. Another Russian letter. Samganoodha Harbour described 315
8. Progress northward after leaving Oonalashka. The Islands Oonella and Acootan. Oonee-mak. Shallowness of the water along the coast. Bristol Bay. Round Island. Calm Point. Cape Newenham. Lieut. Williamson lands, and his report. Bristol Bay, and its extent. The ships obliged to return, on account of shoals. Natives come off to the ships. Death of Mr. Anderson; his character; and island named after him. Point Rodney. Sledge Island, and remarks on landing there. King's Island. Cape Prince of Wales, the western extreme of America. Course westward. Anchor in a bay on the coast of Asia. 323
9. Behaviour of the natives, the Tschutski, on seeing the ships. Interview with some of them. Their weapons. Persons. Ornaments. Clothing. Winter and summer habitations. The ships cross the strait to the coast of America. Progress northward. Cape Mulgrave. Appearance of fields of ice. Situation of Icy Cape. The sea blocked up with ice. Sea-horses killed, and used as provisions. These animals described. Dimensions of one of them. Cape Lisburne. Fruitless attempts to get through the ice, at a distance from the coast. Observations on the formation of this ice. Arrival on the coast of Asia. Cape North. The prosecution of the voyage deferred to the ensuing year 330
10. Return from Cape North, along the coast of Asia. Views of the country. Burney's Island. Cape Serdze Kamen, the northern limit of Beering's voyage. Pass the east cape of Asia. Description and situation of it. Observations on Muller. The Tschutski. Bay of St. Laurence. Two other bays, and habitations of the natives. Beering's Cape Tschukotskoi. Beering's position of this coast accurate. Island of St. Lawrence. Pass to the American coast. Cape Darby. Bald Head. Cape Denbigh, on a peninsula. Bea-

PAGE

borough Island. Wood and water procured. Visits from the natives. Their persons and habitations. Produce of the country. Marks that the peninsula had formerly been surrounded by the sea. Lieut. King's report. Norton Sound. Lunar observations there. Stæhlin's Map proved to be erroneous. Plan of future operations 338

11. Discoveries after leaving Norton Sound. Stuart's Island. Cape Stephens. Point Shallow-water. Shoals on the American coast. Clerke's Island. Gore's Island. Pinnacle Island. Arrival at Oonalashka. Intercourse with the natives and Russian traders. Charts of the Russian discoveries, communicated by Mr. Ismyloff. Their errors pointed out. Situation of the islands visited by the Russians. Account of their settlement at Oonalashka. Of the natives of the island. Their persons. Dress. Ornaments. Food. Houses, and domestic utensils. Manufactures. Manner of producing fire. Canoes. Fishing and hunting implements. Fishes, and sea animals. Sea and water fowls, and land birds. Land animals and vegetables. Manner of burying their dead. Resemblance of the natives on this side of America to the Greenlanders and Esquimaux. Tides. Observations for determining the longitude of Oonalashka 346

12. Departure from Oonalashka, and future views. The Island Amoghta. Situation of a remarkable rock. The strait between Oonalashka and Oonella repassed. Progress to the south. Melancholy accident on board the Discovery. Mowee, one of the Sandwich Islands, discovered. Intercourse with the natives. Visit from Terreeoboo. Another island, called Owhyhee, discovered. The ships ply to windward to get round it. An eclipse of the moon observed. The crew refuse to drink sugar-cane beer. Cordage deficient in strength. Commendation of the natives of Owhyhee. The Resolution gets to windward of the island. Her progress down the south-east coast. Views of the country, and visits from the natives. The Discovery joins. Slow progress westward. Karakakooa Bay examined by Mr. Bligh. Vast concourse of the natives. The ships anchor in the bay . 361

BOOK V.

Captain King's Journal of the Transactions on returning to the Sandwich Islands.

1. Description of Karakakooa Bay. Vast concourse of the natives. Power of the chiefs over the inferior people. Visit from Koah, a priest and warrior. The Morai at Kakooa described. Ceremonies at the landing of Capt. Cook. Observatories erected. Powerful operation of the Taboo. Method of salting pork in tropical climates. Society of priests discovered. Their hospitality and munificence. Reception of Captain Cook. Artifice of Koah. Arrival of Terreeoboo, king of the island. Singular ceremony. Visit from the king. Returned by Captain Cook 370

CHAP. PAGE

2. Farther account of transactions with the natives. Their hospitality. Propensity to theft. Description of a boxing match. Death of one of our seamen. Behaviour of the priests at his funeral. The wood-work and images on the Morai purchased. The natives inquisitive about our departure. Their opinion about the design of our voyage. Magnificent presents to Terreeoboo to Captain Cook. The ships leave the island. The Resolution damaged in a gale, and obliged to return . 377

3. Suspicious behaviour of the natives on our return to Karakakooa Bay. Theft on board the Discovery, and its consequences. The pinnace attacked, and the crew obliged to quit her. Captain Cook's observations on the occasion. Attempt at the observatory. The cutter of the Discovery stolen. Measures taken by Captain Cook for its recovery. Goes on shore to invite the king on board. The king being stopped by his wife and the chiefs, a contest arises. News arrives of one the chiefs being killed by one of our people. Ferment on this occasion. One of the chiefs threatens Captain Cook, and is shot by him. General attack by the natives. Death of Captain Cook. Account of the captain's services, and a sketch of his character . 383

4. Transactions at Owhyhee subsequent to the death of Captain Cook. Gallant behaviour of the lieutenant of marines. Dangerous situation of the party at the Morai. Bravery of one of the natives. Consultation respecting future measures. Demand of the body of Captain Cook. Evasive and insidious conduct of Koah and the chiefs. Insolent behaviour of the natives. Promotion of officers. Arrival of two priests with part of the body. Extraordinary behaviour of two boys. Burning of the village of Kakooa. Unfortunate destruction of the dwellings of the priests. Recovery of the bones of Capt. Cook. Departure from Karakakooa Bay . 390

5. Departure from Karakakooa in search of a harbour on the south-east side of Mowee. Driven to leeward by the easterly winds and current. Pass the island of Tahoorowa. Description of the south-west side of Mowee. Run along the coasts of Ranai and Morotoi to Woahoo. Description of the north-east coast of Woahoo. Unsuccessful attempt to water. Passage to Atooi. Anchor in Wymoa Bay. Dangerous situation of the watering party on shore. Civil dissensions in the islands. Visit from the contending chiefs. Anchor off Oneeheow. Final departure from the Sandwich Islands. . 401

6. General account of the Sandwich Islands. Their number, names, and situation. Owhyhee. Its extent, and division into districts. Account of its coasts, and the adjacent country. Volcanic appearances. Snowy mountains. Their height determined. Account of a journey into the interior parts of the country. Mowee. Tahoorowa. Morotoi. Ranai. Woahoo. Atooi. Oneeheow. Orehoua. Tahoora. Climate. Winds. Currents. Tides. Animals and vegetables. Astronomical observations .

CHAP. PAGE

7. General account of the Sandwich Islands continued. Of the inhabitants. Their origin. Persons. Pernicious effects of the Ava. Numbers. Disposition and manners. Reasons for supposing them net cannibals. Dress and ornaments. Villages and houses. Food. Occupations and amusements. Addicted to gaming. Their extraordinary dexterity in swimming. Arts and manufactures. Curious specimens of their sculpture. Kipparee, or method of painting cloth. Mats. Fishing hooks. Cordage. Salt pans. Warlike instruments . . . 416

8. General account of the Sandwich Islands continued. Government. People divided into three classes. Power of Erectaboo. Genealogy of the Kings of Owhyhee and Mowee. Power of the chiefs. State of the inferior class. Punishment of crimes. Religion. Society of priests. The Orono. Their idols. Songs chanted by the chiefs before they drink Ava. Human sacrifices. Custom of knocking out the fore teeth. Notions with regard to a future state. Marriages. Remarkable instance of jealousy. Funeral rites. . 427

BOOK VI.

TRANSACTIONS DURING THE SECOND EXPEDITION TO THE NORTH, BY THE WAY OF KAMTSCHATKA; AND ON THE RETURN HOME, BY THE WAY OF CANTON AND THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

1. Departure from Oneeheow. Fruitless attempt to discover Modoopapappa. Course steered for Awatska Bay. Occurrences during that passage. Sudden change from heat to cold. Distress occasioned by the leaking of the Resolution. View of the coast of Kamtschatka. Extreme rigour of the climate. Lose sight of the Discovery. The Resolution enters the Bay of Awatska. Prospect of the town of St. Peter and St. Paul. Party sent ashore. Their reception by the commanding officer of the port. Message despatched to the commander at Bolcheretsk. Arrival of the Discovery. Return of the messengers from the commander. Extraordinary mode of travelling. Visit from a merchant, and a German servant belonging to the commander. 433

2. Scarcity of provisions and stores at the harbour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. A party set out to visit the commander at Bolcheretsk. Passage up the River Awatska. Account of their reception by the Toion of Karatchin. Description of a Kamtschadale dress. Journey on sledges. Description of this mode of travelling. Arrival at Natcheekin. Account of hot springs. Embark on the Bolchoireka. Reception at the capital. Generous and hospitable conduct of the commander and the garrison. Description of Bolcheretsk. Presents from the commander. Russian and Kamtschadale dancing. Affecting departure from Bolcheretsk. Return to Saint Peter and Saint Paul, accompanied by Major Behm, who visits the ships. Generosity of the sailors. Despatches sent by Major Behm to Petersburg. His departure and character. 443

CHAP. PAGE

3. Continuation of transactions in the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul. Abundance of fish. Death of a seaman belonging to the Resolution. The Russian hospital put under the care of the ships' surgeons. Supply of flour and cattle. Celebration of the king's birthday. Difficulties in sailing out of the bay. Eruption of a volcano. Steer to the northward. Cheepoonskoi Noss. Errors of the Russian charts. Kamtschatskoi Noss. Olutorskoi Noss. Tschukotskoi Noss. Island of St. Laurence. View from the same point of the coasts of Asia and America, and the Islands of St. Diomede. Various attempts to get to the north, between the two continents. Obstructed by impenetrable ice. Sea-horses and white bears killed. Captain Clerke's determination, and future designs . 455

4. Fruitless attempts to penetrate through the ice to the north-west. Dangerous situation of the Discovery. Sea-horses killed. Fresh obstructions from the ice. Report of damages received by the Discovery. Capt. Clerke's determination to proceed to the southward. Joy of the ships' crews on that occasion. Pass Serdze Kamen. Return through Beering's Straits. Inquiry into the extent of the north-east coast of Asia. Reasons for rejecting Muller's map of the promontory of the Tschutski. Reasons for believing the coast does not reach a higher latitude than 70½° north. General observations on the impracticability of a north-east or north-west passage from the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean. Comparative view of the progress made in the years 1778 and 1779. Remarks on the sea and sea-coasts north of Beering's Straits. History of the voyage resumed. Pass the Island of St. Lawrence. The Island of Mednoi. Death of Captain Clerke. Short account of his services . 465

5. Return to the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul. Promotion of officers. Funeral of Captain Clerke. Damages of the Discovery repaired. Various other occupations of the ships' crews. Letters from the commander. Supply of flour and naval stores from a Russian galliot. Account of an exile. Bear-hunting and fishing parties. Disgrace of the serjeant. Celebration of the king's coronation-day, and visit from the commander. The serjeant reinstated. A Russian soldier promoted at our request. Remarks on the discipline of the Russian army. Church at Paratounca. Method of bear hunting. Farther account of the bears and Kamtschadales. Inscription to the memory of Capt. Clerke. Supply of cattle. Entertainments on the empress's name day. Present from the commander. Attempt of a marine to desert. Work out of the bay. Nautical and geographical description of Awatska Bay. Astronomical tables and observations . 475

6. General account of Kamtschatka. Geographical description. Rivers. Soil. Climate. Volcanoes. Hot springs. Productions. Vegetables. Animals. Birds. Fish. . 490

7. General account of Kamtschatka continued. Of the inhabitants. Origin of the Kamtscha-

CHAP. PAGE

dales. Discovered by the Russians Abstract of their history. Numbers. Present state. Of the Russian commerce in Kamtschatka. Of the Kamtschadale habitations and dress. Of the Kurile Islands. The Koreki. The Tschutski . . 503

8 Plan of our future proceedings. Course to the southward, along the coast of Kamtschatka. Cape Lopatka. Pass the Islands Shoomska and Paramousir. Driven to the eastward of the Kuriles. Singular situation with respect to the pretended discoveries of former navigators. Fruitless attempts to reach the islands north of Japan. Geographical conclusions. View of the coast of Japan. Run along the east side. Pass two Japanese vessels. Driven off the coast by contrary winds. Extraordinary effect of currents. Steer for the Bashees. Pass large quantities of pumice stone. Discover Sulphur Island. Pass the Pratas. Isles of Lema, and Ladron Island. Chinese pilot taken on board the Resolution. Journals of the officers and men secured . 513

9 Working up to Macao. A Chinese comprador. Sent on shore to visit the Portuguese governor. Effects of the intelligence we received from Europe. Anchor in the Typa. Passage up to Canton. Bocca Tygris. Wampû. Description of a Sampane. Reception at the English factory. Instance of the suspicious character of the Chinese. Of their mode of trading. Of the city of Canton. Its size. Population. Number of Sampanes. Military force. Of the streets and houses. Visit to a Chinese. Return to Macao. Great demand for the sea-otter skins. Plan of a voyage for opening a fur trade on the western coast of America, and prosecuting further discoveries in the neighbourhood of Japan. Departure from Macao. Prices of provisions in China 525

10. Leave the Typa. Orders of the court of France respecting Captain Cook. Resolutions in consequence thereof. Strike soundings on the Macclesfield Banks. Pass Pulo Sopata. Steer for Pulo Condore. Anchor at Pulo Condore. Transactions during our stay. Journey to the principal town. Receive a visit from a Mandarin. Examine his letters. Refreshments to be procured. Description, and present state of the island. Its produce. An assertion of Sonnerat refuted. Astronomical and nautical observations . . 535

11. Departure from Pulo Condore. Pass the Straits of Banca. View of the Island of Sumatra. Straits of Sunda. Occurrences there. Description of the Island of Cracatoa. Prince's Island. Effects of the climate of Java. Run to the Cape of Good Hope. Transactions there. Description of False Bay. Passage to the Orkneys. General Reflections . . . 542

Vocabulary of the language of Nootka, or King George's Sound 551

Table to show the affinity between the languages spoken at Oonalashka and Northern Sound, and those of the Greenlanders and Esquimaux 553

A comparative Table of Numerals, exhibiting the affinity, and extent of language, which is found to prevail in all the islands of the Eastern Sea, and derived from that spoken on the Continent of Asia, in the country of the Malayes 551

SOME
modesty
more pu
ments;
in consi
of his n
long befo
of the ea
forming
mation gl
honourab
career giv
to the dea
little to it.

JAMES
village ab
tised in th
then a day
that neighb
in 1730 he
with the ca
thirteen his
assisting as
was then se
having been
—what infl
a traditiona
January 174
an inclinatio

LIFE OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK

Some account of the life of this truly great man—one whose unobtrusive modesty, conspicuous alike in his actions and his writings, only made his fame the more purely bright—is the fitting preface to the history of his greatest achievements; that is to say, those by which he most directly served his country, for in considering his moral history, that of the growth, cultivation, and expansion of his mind, we find the greatest and most extraordinary had been effected long before his name was known beyond "the Service." A faithful account of the early days of Cook, could it be obtained, would give us better data for forming a sound judgment on his character than is usually procured from information gleaned after fame has been reaped. All the most material events of his honourable career are mentioned in the account of his services and sketch of his career given by Captain King, in his journal of the events of the voyage subsequent to the death of his lamented leader (see infra vol. ii. p. 387-9), and we can add but little to it.

James Cook was born on the 27th October 1728, at Marton, in Cleveland, a village about four miles from Great Ayrton in the County of York, and was baptised in the parish church there, on the 3rd November following. His father was then a day-labourer on a farm, and resided in one of the mud cottages common in that neighbourhood; but his circumstances were somewhat improved soon after, as in 1730 he was appointed hind or bailiff to Thomas Scottowe, Esq., and entrusted with the care of a large farm at Ayrton, whither he removed. Up to the age of thirteen his son James, who was one of a family of nine children, remained at home, assisting as far as his strength would permit in the ordinary duties of the farm. He was then sent to school at Ayrton, where he learnt writing and arithmetic, reading having been apparently picked up before. To what point that reading had extended —what influence it exercised over his young mind, we have no record beyond a traditionary statement that he displayed "a very early genius for figures." In January 1745 he was put apprentice to a shopkeeper at Snaith, but on discovering an inclination to the sea, his master gave up his indentures, and in July 1746 he

articled himself for three years to Mr. J. Walker, a shipowner engaged in the coal trade at Whitby.

The coal trade has been the nursery of many good seamen, and in it Cook evidently acquired no common degree of nautical skill. He first sailed in the Freelove, a collier trading between Newcastle and London, where he remained till 1748; when his master, who already perceived his worth, and was desirous to give him all the advantages in his power, sent for him to Whitby that he might have an opportunity of improving himself in his profession, by assisting in the rigging and fitting out a new vessel of six hundred tons, called the Three Brothers, in which he sailed about the latter end of June, first in two trips to London in the coal trade, and afterwards, the ship being taken up as a transport, to Middleburg, Dublin, Liverpool, and Deptford, (where the ship was paid off), finishing the season in the Norway trade. In the spring of 1750 he left Mr. Walker's service, and entered on board the Marian of Whitby, engaged in the Baltic trade. The next year he passed in a vessel belonging to Stockton, the name of which has not been preserved; and in February 1752 he returned to Mr. Walker, who made him mate of one of his vessels, the Friendship, in which capacity he continued until he resolved to enter the navy; "having," to use his own words, "a mind to try his fortune that way." He was furnished with a letter of recommendation from Mr. Walker, and another which, at the request of several of his friends and neighbours, was written for him by Mr. Osbaldiston, M.P. for Scarborough; and thus provided, he in 1755 entered the king's service on board the Eagle, a sixty-gun ship, then commanded by Captain Hamer: that officer was shortly superseded by Sir Hugh Palliser, who, much to his honour, recognised Cook's merits, and transferred him from the forecastle to the quarter-deck, thus laying the foundation for his future superstructure of fame. This fact should not be forgotten, when the name of Sir Hugh Palliser is called to mind.

We have no detailed accounts of the upward progress of the untutored collier apprentice, who, by the force of his own merits alone, had at so early a period won the rank of a gentleman, and become entitled to associate on equal terms with the educated and the high-born. But it was rapid; the same untiring energy and steady pursuit of one object which appears ever to have ruled him to the last moment of his life, that of concentrating all his energies for the discharge of immediate duties, without weakening them by vain anticipations of the future, very soon procured him additional rank.

On the 15th of May 1759, he was appointed a master in the navy on board the Mercury, and in that vessel joined the fleet before Quebec, then commanded by Sir Charles Saunders, who immediately employed him in making a complete draught of the channel and river of St. Lawrence, which chart was published. In September in the same year he was transferred to the Northumberland, the flag-ship of Lord Colville, who had the command of the squadron stationed on the coast of America. "It was here," says Captain King, "as I have often heard him

say, that, during a hard winter, he first read Euclid, and applied himself to the study of mathematics and astronomy, without any other assistance than what a few books and his own industry afforded him."

Whilst attached to these vessels, we learn from Captain King that "Sir Charles Saunders committed to his charge the execution of services of the first importance in the naval department. He piloted the boats to the attack of Montmorency; conducted the embarkation to the Heights of Abraham; examined the passage and laid buoys for the security of the large ships in proceeding up the river;" services of immense importance, yet performed by a man, chosen from many who had enjoyed infinitely greater advantages of education, but who had not learned like Cook to do something more than qualify themselves for the *ordinary* routine of duty. Up to the time he entered His Majesty's service, he knew little or nothing of the theory of navigation. With what earnestness he must have studied to fit himself for the thorough performance of the duties, which their confidence in his undeviating fidelity led his superiors to impose upon him, is evinced by his executing such arduous services at the very time when he was occupied in learning how they could be accomplished.

His conduct gained him the warm friendship of Sir Charles Saunders and Lord Colville, "who continued to patronise him during the rest of their lives with the greatest zeal and affection." At the close of the war he was, on the recommendation of Lord Colville and his old friend Sir Hugh Palliser, engaged in a survey of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the coasts of Newfoundland; an employment in which he continued till 1767, when he was fixed upon by Sir Edward Hawke to take charge of the expedition intended to be sent out for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus in the South Seas. Before that period he had, however, made a visit to England, where, in the latter end of the year 1762, he married Miss Elizabeth Batt, of Barking, Essex. In the early part of the next year he returned to Newfoundland, where he continued to act as Surveyor first with Captain Graves, and afterwards under Sir Hugh Palliser. Many of the marks which he erected for surveying purposes are still visible, and recall the memory of their author, whilst the changes which have taken place in the condition of those shores (which are stated by Sir R. Bonnycastle to be rapidly sinking and consequently much altered in their bearings and general appearance since their windings were delineated by the hand of Cook) forcibly remind us of the vast alterations moral and political which have since then changed the aspect of the whole world, and nowhere in a greater degree than in those far distant and undiscovered lands to which his destinies were now about to call him.

In 1767, when upon the representations of the Royal Society that an accurate observation of the approaching transit of Venus over the Sun's disc would materially serve the cause of science, and that such an observation could nowhere be made with such advantage as on some one of the islands of the South Sea, King George the Third, who ever delighted in forwarding every scheme which promised any

increase of scientific knowledge, and who had already sent forth two expeditions of discovery, one of which, that under Wallis and Carteret, was yet at sea, immediately determined that the wishes of the Society should not only be fulfilled, but that advantage should be taken of the occasion for sending forth a third expedition, better provided with every requisite for prosecuting researches through regions yet unexplored than had ever been sent forth by any nation. The whole success of this project depended upon the choice of the man who was to conduct it, and Cook, a humble Master in the Navy, totally unfriended by birth or fortune, but who possessed friends won and fast fixed by his conspicuous merit, was singled out for an employment perhaps the most truly honourable that could have been imposed upon any officer.

It was, however, necessary that the rank of the commander of a vessel, destined for such an enterprise, should be in some degree commensurate with its importance, and accordingly Cook received his commission as lieutenant on the 25th of May, 1768, and took his final departure from Plymouth on the 20th of August.

In a memoir prefacing the account of the three several voyages of discovery, which Cook conducted with a judgment and correspondent success never excelled, if ever equalled, we are not called on to trace his course, and this is the less needful here, as Captain King has already done so in his Journal (vol. ii. p. 388), and we shall have occasion to direct attention to it in the earlier parts of the Appendix.

From the time of Captain Cook's embarking in the Endeavour, all that we know of his history is comprised in the records of his voyages; from these a very fair estimate of his personal worth may be formed, but the most pleasing is that afforded by the testimony of his pupil, companion, and friend, Captain King, who, in the sketch we have before referred to has well depicted the character of his beloved commander.

The great charm, and the real use of all biography, consists much more in the insight we are able to gain of the true character, as it is displayed without disguise in the homely details of domestic life and friendly intercourse, than in a review of the circumstances attending the public life of the subject of the memoir. There is more interest in the history of the man than that of the hero. But we have no materials of this sort to interweave with our bare narrative of the public acts of a man who spent all his best days in the unceasing service of his country. No memorials of his domestic life, of those few hours of relaxation snatched from long protracted years of toil, have been preserved to us. Only the love and veneration with which the comrades of his toil regarded their leader, do not permit a doubt that he was not less estimable as a husband and father.

On his return from his first voyage, he was promoted to the rank of commander; and in 1775, on the completion of the voyage in search of a southern continent, he obtained his post rank, and was also rewarded with a valuable situation in Greenwich Hospital; and on his death a pension of £200 per annum was settled by the king on his widow, and £25 per annum on each of his children, of whom he

left three, neither of whom long survived him. Nathaniel, the second son, who was a midshipman on board the Thunderer, Commodore Walsingham, was lost with that vessel, which foundered at sea, he being then only sixteen years old. Hugh, the youngest child, who was a student at Christ's College, Cambridge, died there in 1793, being then only seventeen years of age; and in the next year James, the eldest son, then commander of the Spitfire sloop of war, was drowned in his thirty-second year with his whole boat's crew off the Isle of Wight. A daughter had previously died of a dropsy when about twelve years of age. Thus a few short years beheld the widow of the great navigator left alone in the world bereft of all the ties which were most dear to her.

She long survived; but ever observed four melancholy anniversaries, on each recurrence of which she was accustomed to seclude herself, and give up her thoughts to the memory of the dead. She had fixed her residence at Clapham, that she might enjoy the society of her son James, whenever his duties called him to London, and there she continued to reside until death at length called her, in her ninety-fourth year, to rejoin those whom she had so long lamented. Her circumstances, independently of her pension, were easy, and she left large sums to various charities; but her most precious relic, the Copley medal, which had been voted to her husband for his improved method of preserving the health of seamen during long voyages, but which he did not live to receive, she bequeathed to the British Museum.

The remarkable point in Cook's character appears to be this: that although from his boyhood he desired to reach beyond the point he occupied, his ambition, if we must, for fault of a better, use a very invidious term, never led him, as he himself would have expressed it, to go beyond soundings. He pursued a steady, upright career; his course was ever forward; as he proceeded he gained knowledge. His knowledge led to a novel discipline on board our "scientific navy," of which he was the founder,

In the account of his first voyage Captain Cook lies under a double disadvantage. His journals were "fitted for the press," as vile a proceeding as fitting "Shakspeare for the stage," (a proceeding not quite exploded), by Dr. Hawkesworth, who contrived to make them unpopular by some very uncalled-for interpolations of his own; and secondly, by the presence of Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Banks, which, although submitted to with due deference to the powers above, was evidently irksome to the man, who, knowing himself equal to the conduct of every branch of inquiry, with the assistance of capable and conformable assistants, felt himself in a disagreeable and somewhat equivocal position with one, who, though not officially, was virtually a sort of overseer, independent of his control. In a note, vol. i. p. 337, we noticed the disagreement which prevented Mr. Banks from accompanying Cook on his second voyage. It has been said (but by a spiteful enemy of Banks, who did not publish his statement till the object of his hatred was no more), that Cook wilfully caused Mr. Banks's accommodations to be curtailed, in order to

disgust him. There is very little doubt that Cook did not wish for his company, nor would the companionship of any man, however amiable, be easily tolerated on the terms on which Mr. Banks had once sailed, and proposed to sail again—as one almost, if not quite, independent of the captain—almost his equal on the quarter-deck, where no equal can be borne without death to discipline, even in the presence of royalty. Cook was glad that Banks did not sail again with him, but he was above a dirty trick to get rid of him.

Captain Cook was plain and unassuming in his manners and appearance. His stature was upwards of six feet, and his general aspect is described as good-looking. His head was small; he wore his hair, which was brown, tied behind; his face was full of expression; his nose exceedingly well shaped; his eyes, which were small and of a brown colour, were quick and piercing; his eyebrows prominent, which gave his countenance altogether an air of austerity.

The attentive perusal of his *own* portion of the account of his momentous voyages, strongly urges us to write a eulogium on Cook; but we shall do better to substitute that written by Admiral Forbes, Commander of the Fleet, and inscribed on a pillar erected to his memory by his old and faithful friend, Sir Hugh Palliser, in his own grounds.

TO

THE MEMORY OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK,

THE ABLEST AND MOST RENOWNED NAVIGATOR THIS OR ANY COUNTRY HATH PRODUCED.

He raised himself, solely by his merit, from a very obscure birth, to the rank of Post-Captain in the royal navy, and was unfortunately killed by the savages of the island of Owhyhee, on the 14th of February, 1779; which island he had not long before discovered, when prosecuting his third voyage round the globe.

He possessed, in an eminent degree, all the qualifications requisite for his profession and great undertakings; together with the amiable and worthy qualities of the best men.

Cool and deliberate in judging: sagacious in determining: active in executing: steady and persevering in enterprising, from vigilance and unremitting caution: unsubdued by labour, difficulties, and disappointments: fertile in expedients: never wanting presence of mind: always possessing himself, and the full use of a sound understanding.

Mild, just, but exact in discipline, he was a father to his people, who were attached to him from affection, and obedient from confidence.

His knowledge, his experience, his sagacity, rendered him so entirely master of his subject, that the greatest obstacles were surmounted, and the most dangerous navigations became easy, and almost safe, under his direction.

He explored the Southern hemisphere to a much higher latitude than had ever been reached, and with fewer accidents than frequently befal those who navigate the coasts of this island.

By his benevolent and unabating attention to the welfare of his ship's company, he discovered and introduced a system for the preservation of the health of seamen in long voyages, which has proved wonderfully efficacious: for in his second voyage round the world, which continued upwards of three years, he lost only one man by distemper, of one hundred and eighteen, of which his company consisted.

The death of this eminent and valuable man was a loss to mankind in general; and particularly to be deplored by every nation that respects useful accomplishments, that honours science, and loves the benevolent and amiable affections of the heart. It is still more to be deplored by this country, which may justly boast of having produced a man hitherto unequalled for nautical talents, and that sorrow is farther aggravated by the reflection, that his country was deprived of this ornament by the enmity of a people, from whom, indeed, it might have been dreaded, but from whom it was not deserved. For, actuated always by the most attentive care and tender compassion for the savages in general, this excellent man was ever assiduously endeavouring, by kind treatment, to dissipate their fears and court their friendship; overlooking their thefts and treacheries, and frequently interposing, at the hazard of his life, to protect them from the sudden resentment of his own injured people.

The object of his last mission was to discover and ascertain the boundaries of Asia and America, and to penetrate into the Northern Ocean by the North East Cape of Asia.

Traveller! contemplate, admire, revere, and emulate this great master in his profession: whose skill and labours have enlarged natural philosophy; have extended nautical science; and have disclosed the long-concealed and admirable arrangements of the Almighty in the formation of this globe, and, at the same time, the arrogance of mortals, in presuming to account, by their speculations, for the laws by which he was pleased to create it. It is now discovered, beyond all doubt, that the same Great Being who created the universe by his *fiat*, by the same ordained our earth to keep a just poise, without a corresponding Southern continent —and it does so! "He stretches out the North over the empty place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing."—Job, xxvi. 7.

If the arduous but exact researches of this extraordinary man have not discovered a new world, they have discovered seas unnavigated and unknown before. They have made us acquainted with islands, people, and productions, of which we had no conception. And if he has not been so fortunate as Americus to give his name to a continent, his pretensions to such a distinction remain unrivalled; and he will be

revered, while there remains a page of his own modest account of his voyages, and as long as mariners and geographers shall be instructed, by his new map of the Southern hemisphere, to trace the various courses and discoveries he has made.

If public services merit public acknowledgments; if the man who adorned and raised the fame of his country is deserving of honours, then Captain Cook deserves to have a monument raised to his memory, by a generous and grateful nation.

Virtutis uberrimum alimentum et honos.

VAL. MAXIMUS. lib. ii. cap. 6.

INTRODUCTION.

When the general peace of 1763 left Britain at liberty to turn her undivided energies to those pursuits which had too long been interrupted by war, the extension of her commerce, and the improvement of her people, a strong desire was manifested to increase the extent of our geographical knowledge; and by none was this object more eagerly pursued than by the young King George III. Under his auspices an expedition under Commodore Byron, and another under Captain Wallis and Captain Carteret, were fitted out. The more immediate commission of each of these navigators was the discovery and examination of islands in the South Atlantic ocean; but on their homeward voyage through the straits of Magelhaens or Magellan, and across the Pacific Ocean, out of the track of former voyagers, they made many discoveries which greatly stimulated curiosity at home, and gave additional strength to an opinion, then very generally entertained, that a southern continent must necessarily exist to counterbalance the weight of land in the north.

In the latter part of the year 1767, while Wallis and Carteret were still at sea, it was resolved by the Royal Society, that it would be proper to send persons into some part of the South Sea, to observe a transit of the planet Venus over the sun's disc, which, according to astronomical calculation, would happen in the year 1769; and that the islands called Marquesas de Mendoza, or those of Rotterdam or Amsterdam, were the fittest places then known for making such observation.

This resolution having been communicated to His Majesty, he directed that a vessel should be fitted out for the purpose. The command was intrusted to Lieutenant Cook, who had recently been employed on surveys in Newfoundland, and had been pointed out as an officer especially qualified for the service; and he was appointed by the Royal Society, in conjunction with Mr. Charles Green, a gentleman who had long been assistant to Dr. Bradley at the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, to observe the transit.

Whilst the vessel was getting ready, Captain Wallis returned; and upon his representation that the island he had recently discovered, and named King George's Island (now known as Otaheite or Tahiti), was the fittest place for the observation, the Royal Society made choice of it for the purpose.

The vessel employed on this occasion was the Endeavour, a barque of 370 tons. built for the coal trade. A vessel of this class was preferred by Cook to any other: the colliers are particularly distinguished as excellent sea-boats, and their build

allows more room, and permits them to take the ground or to be laid on shore with more safety than any other vessels of equal size; they also require fewer men for their navigation.

Her complement of officers and men was, Lieutenant Cook the commander, with two lieutenants under him; a master and boatswain, with each two mates; a surgeon and carpenter, with each one mate; a gunner, a cook, a clerk and steward, two quarter-masters, an armourer, a sailmaker, three midshipmen, forty-one able seamen, twelve marines, and nine servants—in all eighty-four persons, besides the commander. She was victualled for eighteen months, and took on board ten carriage and twelve swivel guns, with good store of ammunition and other necessaries.

The instructions given to the commander were, after making the necessary astronomical observations at Otaheite, to prosecute the design of making discoveries in the South Seas, returning home by way of the Cape of Good Hope. The happy results of this voyage more than equalled the most sanguine hopes that had been entertained of its success, and excited public interest in a high degree.

Mr., afterwards Sir Joseph Banks, long so well known as president of the Royal Society, but then a young man ardently devoted to scientific pursuits, and liberally expending an ample fortune in the advancement of his favourite studies, accompanied Lieutenant Cook on this expedition. He carried with him Dr. Solander, by birth a Swede, and a pupil of the celebrated Linnæus. Such a companion Mr. Banks considered as an acquisition of no small importance; nor was he disappointed, for Dr. Solander proved as indefatigable as himself in the collection of every specimen of natural history that could be procured throughout the voyage, in the pursuit of which neither hesitated to encounter toil or danger. Mr. Banks also took with him two draftsmen—one to delineate views and figures, the other to paint such subjects of natural history as might offer—together with a secretary and four servants, two of whom were negroes.

Mr. Banks kept an accurate and circumstantial account of the voyage, which he did not publish himself, but freely communicated to Dr. Hawkesworth, to whom the care of preparing the following account was intrusted; and many of the most interesting parts of the narration are derived from this source.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Banks did not accompany Captain Cook in his subsequent voyages: he had formed the design of joining him in his second expedition, and had made every arrangement for coming on board, when a slight misunderstanding between them induced him to abandon his intention.

The particular objects in view in the second and third voyages performed by Captain Cook are fully entered into in the several introductions to the respective narratives, to which we refer our readers.

AN ACCOUNT

OF

A VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD

IN 1768, 1769, 1770, AND 1771.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.—THE PASSAGE FROM PLYMOUTH TO MADEIRA, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THAT ISLAND.

HAVING received my commission, which was dated the 25th of May, 1768, I went on board on the 27th, hoisted the pennant, and took charge of the ship, which then lay in the basin in Deptford-yard. She was fitted for sea with all expedition; and stores and provisions being taken on board, sailed down the river on the 30th of July, and on the 13th of August anchored in Plymouth Sound.

While we lay here waiting for a wind, the articles of war and the act of parliament were read to the ship's company, who were paid two months' wages in advance, and told that they were to expect no additional pay for the performance of the voyage.

On Friday, the 26th of August, the wind becoming fair, we got under sail, and put to sea. On the 31st, we saw several of the birds which the sailors call Mother Carey's Chickens, and which they suppose to be the forerunners of a storm; and on the next day we had a very hard gale, which brought us under our courses, washed over-board a small boat belonging to the boatswain, and drowned three or four dozen of our poultry, which we regretted still more.

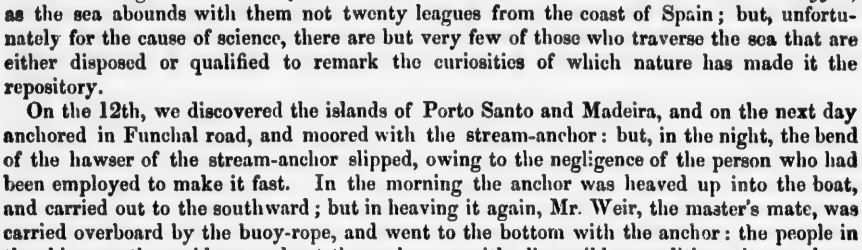
On Friday, the 2d of September, we saw land between Cape Finisterre and Cape Ortegal, on the coast of Gallicia, in Spain; and on the 5th, by an observation of the sun and moon, we found the latitude of Cape Finisterre to be 42° 53 north, and its longitude 8° 46′ west, our first meridian being always supposed to pass through Greenwich; variation of the needle 21° 4′ west.

During this course, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander had an opportunity of observing many marine animals, of which no naturalist has hitherto taken notice; particularly a new species of the *Oniscus*, which was found adhering to the *Medusa Pelagica;* and an animal of an angular figure, about three inches long, and one thick, with a hollow passing quite through it, and a brown spot on one end, which they conjectured might be its stomach: four of these adhered together by their sides when they were taken, so that at first they were thought to be one animal; but upon being put into a glass of water they soon separated, and swam about very briskly. These animals are of a new genus, to which Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander gave the name of *Dagysa*, from the likeness of one species of them to a gem: several specimens of them were taken, adhering together sometimes to the length of a yard or more, and shining in the water with very beautiful colours. Another animal, of a new genus, they also discovered, which shone in the water with colours still more beautiful and vivid, and which indeed exceeded in variety and brightness anything that we had ever seen: the colouring and splendour of these animals were equal to those of an opal, and from their resemblance

to that gem, the genus was called *Carcinium Opalinum*. One of them lived several hours in a glass of salt water, swimming about with great agility, and at every motion displaying a change of colours almost infinitely various. We caught also among the rigging of the ship, when we were at the distance of about ten leagues from Cape Finisterre, several birds which have not been described by Linnæus; they were supposed to have come from Spain, and our gentlemen called the species *Motacilla velificans*, as they said none but sailors would venture themselves on board a ship that was going round the world: one of them was so exhausted, that it died in Mr. Banks's hand almost as soon as it was brought to him.

It was thought extraordinary that no naturalist had hitherto taken notice of the *Dagysa*, as the sea abounds with them not twenty leagues from the coast of Spain; but, unfortunately for the cause of science, there are but very few of those who traverse the sea that are either disposed or qualified to remark the curiosities of which nature has made it the repository.

On the 12th, we discovered the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira, and on the next day anchored in Funchal road, and moored with the stream-anchor: but, in the night, the bend of the hawser of the stream-anchor slipped, owing to the negligence of the person who had been employed to make it fast. In the morning the anchor was heaved up into the boat, and carried out to the southward; but in heaving it again, Mr. Weir, the master's mate, was carried overboard by the buoy-rope, and went to the bottom with the anchor: the people in the ship saw the accident, and got the anchor up with all possible expedition; it was, however, too late; the body came up entangled in the buoy-rope, but it was dead.



Madeira—from the Sea.

When the island of Madeira is first approached from the sea, it has a very beautiful appearance, the sides of the hills being entirely covered with vines almost as high as the eye can distinguish; and the vines are green when every kind of herbage, except where they shade the ground, and here and there by the sides of a rill, is entirely burnt up, which was the case at this time.

On the 13th, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, a boat, which our sailors call the product boat, came on board from the officers of health, without whose permission no person is suffered to land from on board a ship. As soon as this permission was obtained, we went on shore at Funchal, the capital of the island, and proceeded directly to the house of Mr. Cheap, who is the English consul there, and one of the most considerable merchants of the place. This gentleman received us with the kindness of a brother, and the liberality of a prince; he insisted upon our taking possession of his house, in which he furnished us with every possible accommodation during our stay upon the island. He procured leave for Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander to search the island for such natural curiosities as they should think worth their notice; employed persons to take fish and gather shells, which time would not have permitted them to collect for themselves; and he provided horses and guides to take them to any part of the country which they should choose to visit. With all these advantages, however, their excursions were seldom pushed farther than three miles from the town,

as they were only five days on shore; one of which they spent at home, in receiving the honour of a visit from the governor. The season was the worst in the year for their purpose, as it was neither that of plants nor insects; a few of the plants, however, were procured in flower, by the kind attention of Dr. Heberden, the chief physician of the island, and brother to Dr. Heberden of London, who also gave them such specimens as he had in his possession, and a copy of his Botanical Observations; containing, among other things, a particular description of the trees of the island. Mr. Banks inquired after the wood which has been imported into England for cabinet work, and is here called Madeira mahogany: he learned that no wood was exported from the island under that name; but he found a tree called by the natives Vigniatico, the *Laurus indicus* of Linnæus, the wood of which cannot easily be distinguished from mahogany. Dr. Heberden has a book-case, in which the vigniatico and mahogany are mixed, and they are no otherwise to be known from each other than by the colour, which, upon a nice examination, appears to be somewhat less brown in the vigniatico than the mahogany; it is, therefore, in the highest degree probable, that the wood known in England by the name of Madeira mahogany is the vigniatico.

There is great reason to suppose that this whole island was, at some remote period, thrown up by the explosion of subterraneous fire, as every stone, whether whole or in fragments, that we saw upon it, appeared to have been burnt, and even the sand itself to be nothing more than ashes: we did not, indeed, see much of the country, but the people informed us that what we did see was a very exact specimen of the rest.

The only article of trade in this island is wine; and the manner in which it is made is so simple, that it might have been used by Noah, who is said to have planted the first vineyard after the flood. The grapes are put into a square wooden vessel, the dimensions of which are proportioned to the size of the vineyard to which it belongs; the servants then, having taken off their stockings and jackets, get into it, and with their feet and elbows press out as much of the juice as they can: the stalks are afterwards collected, and being tied together with a rope, are put under a square piece of wood, which is pressed down upon them by a lever with a stone tied to the end of it. The inhabitants have made so little improvement in knowledge or art, that they have but very lately brought all the fruit of a vineyard to be of one sort, by engrafting their vines: there seems to be in mind, as there is in matter, a kind of *vis inertiæ*, which resists the first impulse to change. He who proposes to assist the artificer or the husbandman by a new application of the principles of philosophy, or the powers of mechanism, will find, that his having hitherto done without them will be a stronger motive for continuing to do without them still than any advantage, however manifest and considerable, for adopting the improvement. Wherever there is ignorance there is prejudice; and the common people of all nations are, with respect to improvements, like the parish poor of England with respect to a maintenance, for whom the law must not only make a provision, but compel them to accept it, or else they will be still found begging in the streets. It was, therefore, with great difficulty that the people of Madeira were persuaded to engraft their vines; and some of them still obstinately refuse to adopt the practice, though a whole vintage is very often spoiled by the number of bad grapes which are mixed in the vat, and which they will not throw out, because they increase the quantity of the wine: an instance of the force of habit, which is the more extraordinary, as they have adopted the practice of engrafting with respect to their chesnut-trees, an object of much less importance, which, however, are thus brought to bear sooner than they would otherwise have done.

We saw no wheel-carriages of any sort in the place, which, perhaps, is not more owing to the want of ingenuity to invent them than to the want of industry to mend the roads, which at present it is impossible that any wheel-carriage should pass. The inhabitants have horses and mules, indeed, excellently adapted to such ways; but their wine is, notwithstanding, brought to town from the vineyards where it is made in vessels of goat-skins, which are carried by men upon their heads. The only imitation of a carriage among these people is a board, made somewhat hollow in the middle, to one end of which a pole is tied by a strap of whit-leather. This wretched sledge approaches about as near to an English cart as an Indian canoe to a ship's long-boat; and even this would probably never have been thought

of, if the English had not introduced wine-vessels, which are too big to be carried by hand, and which, therefore, are dragged about the town upon these machines.

One reason, perhaps, why art and industry have done so little for Madeira, is, nature's having done so much. The soil is very rich; and there is such a difference of climate between the plains and the hills, that there is scarcely a single object of luxury that grows either in Europe or the Indies that might not be produced here. When we went to visit Dr. Heberden, who lives upon a considerable ascent, about two miles from town, we left the thermometer at 74, and when we arrived at his house, we found it at 66. The hills produce, almost spontaneously, walnuts, chesnuts, and apples in great abundance; and in the town there are many plants which are the natives both of the East and West Indies, particularly the banana, the guava, the pine-apple or anana, and the mango, which flourish almost without culture. The corn of this country is of a most excellent quality, large-grained and very fine, and the island would produce it in great plenty; yet most of what is consumed by the inhabitants is imported. The mutton, pork, and beef are also very good; the beef, in particular, which we took on board here, was universally allowed to be scarcely inferior to our own; the lean part was very like it, both in colour and grain, though the beasts are much smaller; but the fat is as white as the fat of mutton.

The town of Funchal derives its name from *Funcho*, the Portuguese name for fennel, which grows in great plenty upon the neighbouring rocks; and by the observation of Dr. Heberden, lies in the latitude of 32° 33′ 33″ N., and longitude 16° 49′ W. It is situated in the bottom of a bay, and though larger than the extent of the island seems to deserve, is very ill built; the houses of the principal inhabitants are large, those of the common people are small; the streets are narrow, and worse paved than any I ever saw. The churches are loaded with ornaments, among which are many pictures, and images of favourite saints; but the pictures are in general wretchedly painted, and the saints are dressed in laced clothes. Some of the convents are in a better taste, especially that of the Franciscans, which is plain, simple, and neat in the highest degree. The infirmary in particular drew our attention as a model which might be adopted in other countries with great advantage. It consists of a long room, on one side of which are the windows, and an altar for the convenience of administering the sacrament to the sick: the other side is divided into wards, each of which is just big enough to contain a bed, and neatly lined with gally-tiles; behind these wards, and parallel to the room in which they stand, there runs a long gallery, with which each ward communicates by a door, so that the sick may be separately supplied with whatever they want without disturbing their neighbours. In this convent there is also a singular curiosity of another kind; a small chapel, the whole lining of which, both sides and ceiling, is composed of human sculls and thigh-bones; the thigh-bones are laid across each other, and a scull is placed in each of the four angles. Among the sculls one is very remarkable; the upper and the lower jaw, on one side, perfectly and firmly cohere: how the ossification which unites them was formed it is not, perhaps, very easy to conceive; but it is certain that the patient must have lived some time without opening his mouth: what nourishment he received was conveyed through a hole, which we discovered to have been made on the other side, by forcing out some of the teeth, in doing which the jaw also seems to have been injured.

We visited the good fathers of this convent on a Thursday evening, just before supper-time, and they received us with great politeness: "We will not ask you," said they, "to sup with us, because we are not prepared; but if you will come to-morrow, though it is a fast with us, we will have a turkey roasted for you." This invitation, which showed a liberality of sentiment not to have been expected in a convent of Portuguese friars at this place, gratified us much, though it was not in our power to accept it.

We visited also a convent of nuns, dedicated to *Santa Clara*, and the ladies did us the honour to express a particular pleasure in seeing us there: they had heard that there were great philosophers among us, and not at all knowing what were the objects of philosophical knowledge, they asked us several questions that were absurd and extravagant in the highest degree. One was, when it would thunder; and another, whether a spring of fresh water was to be found anywhere within the walls of their convent, of which it seems they were in great want. It will naturally be supposed that our answers to such questions were neither

satisfactory to the ladies, nor, in their estimation, honourable to us; yet their disappointment did not in the least lessen their civility, and they talked, without ceasing, during the whole of our visit, which lasted about half an hour.

The hills of this country are very high; the highest, Pico Ruivo, rises 5068 feet, near an English mile, perpendicularly from its base, which is much higher than any land that has been measured in Great Britain. The sides of these hills are covered with vines to a certain height, above which there are woods of chesnut and pine of immense extent; and above them forests of wild timber of various kinds, not known in Europe; particularly two, called by the Portuguese *Mirmulano* and *Paobranco*, the leaves of both which, particularly the *Paobranco*, are so beautiful, that these trees would be a great ornament to the gardens of Europe.

The number of inhabitants in this island is supposed to be about 80,000; and the custom-house duties produce a revenue to the king of Portugal of 20,000*l.* a year, clear of all expenses, which might easily be doubled by the product of the island, exclusive of the vines, if advantage was taken of the excellence of the climate and the amazing fertility of the soil; but this object is utterly neglected by the Portuguese. In the trade of the inhabitants of Madeira with Lisbon the balance is against them, so that all the Portuguese money naturally going thither, the currency of the island is Spanish: there are, indeed, a few Portuguese pieces of copper, but they are so scarce that we did not see one of them. The Spanish coin is of three denominations: pistereens, worth about a shilling; bitts, worth about sixpence; and half-bitts, threepence.

The tides at this place flow at the full and change of the moon, north and south; the spring-tides rise seven feet perpendicular, and the neap-tides, four. By Dr. Heberden's observation, the variation of the compass here is now 15° 30′ west, and decreasing; but I have some doubt whether he is not mistaken with respect to its decrease: we found that the north point of the dipping-needle belonging to the Royal Society dipped 77° 18″.

The refreshments to be had here are water, wine, fruit of several sorts, onions in plenty, and some sweetmeats; fresh meat and poultry are not to be had without leave from the governor, and the payment of a very high price.

We took in 270lb. of fresh beef, and a live bullock, charged at 613lb., 3032 gallons of water, and ten tons of wine; and in the night, between Sunday the 18th, and Monday the 19th of September, we set sail in prosecution of our voyage.

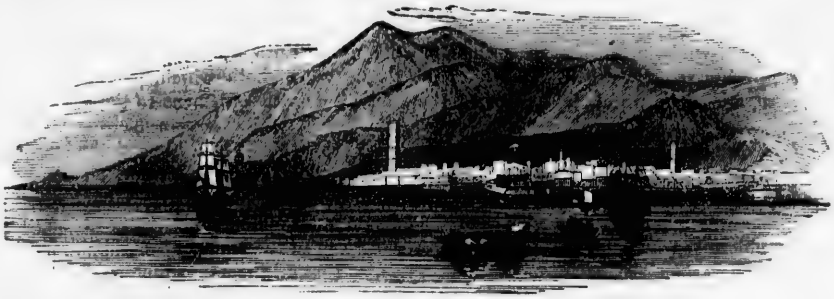
When Funchal bore north, 13 east, at the distance of 76 miles, the variation appeared by several azimuths to be 16° 30′ west.

CHAPTER II.—THE PASSAGE FROM MADERIA TO RIO DE JANEIRO, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTRY, AND THE INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED THERE.

On the 21st of September we saw the islands called the Salvages, to the north of the Canaries; when the principal of these bore S. ½ W. at the distance of about five leagues, we found the variation of the compass by an azimuth to be 17° 50′. I make these islands to lie in latitude 30° 11′ north, and distant 58 leagues from Funchal in Madeira, in the direction of S. 16 E.

On Friday the 23d we saw the Peak of Teneriffe bearing W. by S. ½ S. and found the variation of the compass to be from 17° 22′ to 16° 30′. The height of this mountain, from which I took a new departure, has been determined by Dr. Heberden, who has been upon it, to be 15,396 feet, which is but 148 yards less than three miles, reckoning the mile at 1760 yards. Its appearance at sunset was very striking; when the sun was below the horizon, and the rest of the island appeared of a deep black, the mountain still reflected his rays, and glowed with a warmth of colour which no painting can express. There is no eruption of visible fire from it, but a heat issues from the chinks near the top, too strong to be borne by the hand when it is held near them. We had received from Dr. Heberden,

among other favours, some salt which he collected on the top of the mountain, where it is found in large quantities, and which he supposes to be the true *natrum* or *nitrum* of the ancients: he gave us also some native sulphur exceedingly pure, which he had likewise found upon the surface in great plenty.



Teneriffe—from the Sea.

On the next day, Saturday the 24th, we came into the north-east trade wind, and on Friday the 30th saw Bona Vista, one of the Cape de Verd islands; we ranged the east side of it, at the distance of three or four miles from the shore, till we were obliged to haul off to avoid a ledge of rocks which stretch out S.W. by W. from the body, or S.E. point of the island, to the extent of a league and a half. Bona Vista, by our observation, lies in latitude 16 N. and longitude 21° 51′ west.

On the 1st of October, in latitude 14° 6′ N. and longitude 22° 10′ W. we found the variation by a very good azimuth to be 10° 37′ W. and the next morning it appeared to be 10°. This day we found the ship five miles a-head of the log, and the next day seven. On the third, hoisted out the boat to discover whether there was a current, and found one to the eastward, at the rate of three quarters of a mile an hour.

During our course from Teneriffe to Bona Vista we saw great numbers of flying fish, which from the cabin windows appear beautiful beyond imagination, their sides having the colour and brightness of burnished silver; when they are seen from the deck they do not appear to so much advantage, because their backs are of a dark colour. We also took a shark, which proved to be the *Squalus Carcharias* of Linnæus.

Having lost the trade wind on the 3d, in latitude 12° 14′, and longitude 22° 10′, the wind became somewhat variable, and we had light airs and calms by turns.

On the 7th Mr. Banks went out in the boat and took what the seamen call a Portuguese man-of-war; it is the *Holuthuria Physalis* of Linnæus, and a species of the *Mollusca*. It consisted of a small bladder about seven inches long, very much resembling the air bladder of fishes, from the bottom of which descended a number of strings, of a bright blue and red, some of them three or four feet in length, which, upon being touched, sting like a nettle, but with much more force. On the top of the bladder is a membrane which is used as a sail, and turned so as to receive the wind which way soever it blows: this membrane is marked in fine pink-coloured veins, and the animal is in every respect an object exquisitely curious and beautiful.

We also took several of the shell-fishes, or testaceous animals, which are always found floating upon the water, particularly the *Helix Janthina* and *Violacea*; they are about the size of a snail, and are supported upon the surface of the water by a small cluster of bubbles, which are filled with air, and consist of a tenacious slimy substance that will not easily part with its contents: the animal is oviparous, and these bubbles serve also as a *nidus* for its eggs. It is probable that it never goes down to the bottom, nor willingly approaches any shore; for the shell is exceedingly brittle, and that of few fresh-water snails is so thin: every shell

contains about a teaspoonful of liquor, which it easily discharges upon being touched, and which is of the most beautiful red purple that can be conceived. It dyes linen cloth, and it may perhaps be worth inquiry, as the shell is certainly found in the Mediterranean, whether it be not the *Purpura* of the ancients.

On the 8th, in latitude 8° 25′ north, longitude 22° 4′ west, we found a current setting to the southward, which the next day in latitude 7° 58′, longitude 22° 13′, shifted to the N.N.W. ¾ W., at the rate of one mile and a furlong an hour. The variation here, by the mean of several azimuths, appeared to be 8° 39′ W.

On the 10th, Mr. Banks shot the black-toed gull, not yet described according to Linnæus's system; he gave it the name of *Larus crepidatus*: it is remarkable that the dung of this bird is of a lively red, somewhat like that of the liquor procured from the shells, only not so full; its principal food therefore is probably the *Helix* just mentioned. A current to the N.W. prevailed more or less till Monday the 24th, when we were in latitude 1° 7′ N., and longitude 28° 50′.

On the 25th we crossed the line with the usual ceremonies, in longitude 29° 30′, when, by the result of several very good azimuths, the variation was 2° 24′.

On the 28th, at noon, being in the latitude of Ferdinand Noronha, and, by the mean of several observations by Mr. Green and myself, in longitude 32° 5′ 16″ W., which is to the westward of it by some charts, and to the eastward by others, we expected to see the island, or some of the shoals that are laid down in the charts between it and the main, but we saw neither one nor the other.

In the evening of the 29th, we observed that luminous appearance of the sea which has been so often mentioned by navigators, and of which such various causes have been assigned; some supposing it to be occasioned by fish, which agitated the water by darting at their prey, some by the putrefaction of fish and other marine animals, some by electricity, and others referring it into a great variety of different causes. It appeared to emit flashes of light exactly resembling those of lightning, only not so considerable; but they were so frequent, that sometimes eight or ten were visible almost at the same moment. We were of opinion that they proceeded from some luminous animal, and upon throwing out the casting net our opinion was confirmed: it brought up a species of the *Medusa*, which, when it came on board, had the appearance of metal violently heated, and emitted a white light; with these animals were taken some very small crabs, of three different species, each of which gave as much light as a glow-worm, though the creature was not so large by nine-tenths: upon examination of these animals Mr. Banks had the satisfaction to find that they were all entirely new.

On Wednesday, the 2d of November, about noon, being in the latitude of 10° 38′ S., and longitude 32° 13′ 43″ W., we passed the line in which the needle at this time would have pointed due north and south, without any variation: for in the morning, having decreased gradually in its deviation for some days, it was no more than 18′ W., and in the afternoon it was 34′ east.

On the 6th, being in latitude 19° 3′ south, longitude 35° 50′ west, the colour of the water was observed to change, upon which we sounded, and found ground at the depth of 32 fathoms: the lead was cast three times within about four hours, without a foot difference in the depth or quality of the bottom, which was coral rock, fine sand, and shells; we therefore supposed that we had passed over the tail of the great shoal which is laid down in all our charts by the name of *Abrolhos*, on which Lord Anson struck soundings in his passage outwards: at four the next morning we had no ground with 100 fathom.

As several articles of our stock and provisions now began to fall short, I determined to put into Rio de Janeiro, rather than at any port in Brazil or Falkland's Islands, knowing that it could better supply us with what we wanted, and making no doubt but that we should be well received.

On the 8th, at day-break, we saw the coast of Brazil, and about ten o'clock we brought to, and spoke with a fishing-boat: the people on board told us that the land which we saw lay to the southward of Santo Espirito, but belonging to the captainship of that place.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went on board this vessel, in which they found eleven men,

nine of whom were blacks: they all fished with lines; and their fresh cargo, the chief part of which Mr. Banks bought, consisted of dolphins, large pelagic scombers of two kinds, sea-bream, and some of the fish which, in the West Indies, are called Welshmen. Mr. Banks had taken Spanish silver with him, which he imagined to be the currency of the continent, but to his great surprise the people asked him for English shillings; he gave them two, which he happened to have about him, and it was not without some dispute that they took the rest of the money in pistereens. Their business seemed to be to catch large fish at a good distance from the shore, which they salted in bulk, in a place made for that purpose in the middle of their boat: of this merchandize they had about two quintals on board, which they offered for about 16 shillings, and would probably have sold for half the money. The fresh fish, which was bought for about nineteen shillings and sixpence, served the whole ship's company: the salt was not wanted.

The sea-provision of these fishermen consisted of nothing more than a cask of water, and a bag of Cassada flour, which they called *Farinha de Pao*, or wooden flour; which, indeed, is a name which very well suits its taste and appearance. Their water-cask was large, as wide as their boat, and exactly fitted a place that was made for it in the ballast; it was impossible therefore to draw out any of its contents by a tap, the sides being, from the bottom to the top, wholly inaccessible; neither could any be taken out by dipping a vessel in at the head, for an opening sufficiently wide for that purpose would have endangered the loss of great part of it by the rolling of the vessel: their expedient to get at their water, so situated, was curious; when one of them wanted to drink, he applied to his neighbour, who accompanied him to the water-cask with a hollow cane about three feet long, which was open at both ends; this he thrust into the cask through a small hole in the top, and then, stopping the upper end with the palm of his hand, drew it out; the pressure of the air against the other end keeping in the water which it contained; to this end the person who wanted to drink applied his mouth, and the assistant then taking his hand from the other, and admitting the air above, the cane immediately parted with its contents, which the drinker drew off till he was satisfied.

We stood off and on along the shore till the 12th, and successively saw a remarkable hill near Santo Espirito, then Cape St. Thomas, and then an island just without Cape Frio, which in some maps is called the Island of Frio, and which being high, with a hollow in the middle, has the appearance of two islands when seen at a distance. On this day we stood along the shore for Rio de Janeiro, and at nine the next morning made sail for the harbour. I then sent Mr. Hicks, my first lieutenant, before us in the pinnace, up to the city, to acquaint the governor that we put in there to procure water and refreshments, and to desire the assistance of a pilot to bring us into proper anchoring-ground. I continued to stand up the river, trusting to Mr. Bellisle's draught, published in the *Petit Atlas Maritime*, vol. II. No. 54, which we found very good, till five o'clock in the evening, expecting the return of my lieutenant; and just as I was about to anchor above the island of Cobras, which lies before the city, the pinnace came back without him, having on board a Portuguese officer, but no pilot. The people in the boat told me that my lieutenant was detained by the viceroy till I should go on shore. We came immediately to an anchor, and almost at the same time a ten-oared boat, full of soldiers, came up and kept rowing round the ship, without exchanging a word: in less than a quarter of an hour another boat came on board with several of the viceroy's officers, who asked whence we came, what was our cargo, the number of men and guns on board, the object of our voyage, and several other questions, which we directly and truly answered: they then told me, as a kind of apology for detaining my lieutenant, and putting an officer on board my pinnance, that it was the invariable custom of the place, to detain the first officer who came on shore from any ship on her arrival, till a boat from the viceroy had visited her, and to suffer no boat to go either from or to a ship, while she lay there, without having a soldier on board. They said that I might go on shore when I pleased; but wished that every other person might remain on board till the paper which they should draw up had been delivered to the viceroy, promising that, immediately upon their return, the lieutenant should be sent on board.

This promise was performed; and on the next morning, the 14th, I went on shore, and

obtained leave of the viceroy to purchase provisions and refreshments for the ship, provided I would employ one of their own people as a factor, but not otherwise. I made some objections to this, but he insisted upon it as the custom of the place. I objected also against the putting a soldier into the boat every time she went between the ship and the shore; but he told me, that this was done by the express orders of his court, with which he could in no case dispense. I then requested, that the gentlemen whom I had on board might reside on shore during our stay, and that Mr. Banks might go up the country to gather plants; but this he absolutely refused. I judged from his extreme caution, and the severity of these restrictions, that he suspected we were come to trade; I therefore took some pains to convince him of the contrary. I told him, that we were bound to the southward, by the order of his Britannic Majesty, to observe a transit of the planet Venus over the sun, an astronomical phenomenon of great importance to navigation. Of the transit of Venus, however, he could form no other conception, than that it was the passing of the north star through the south pole; for these are the very words of his interpreter, who was a Swede, and spoke English very well. I did not think it necessary to ask permission for the gentlemen to come on shore during the day, or that, when I was on shore myself, I might be at liberty, taking for granted that nothing was intended to the contrary; but in this I was unfortunately mistaken. As soon as I took leave of his excellency, I found an officer who had orders to attend me wherever I went: of this I desired an explanation, and was told that it was meant as a compliment. I earnestly desired to be excused from accepting such an honour, but the good viceroy would by no means suffer it to be dispensed with.

With this officer, therefore, I returned on board about twelve o'clock, where I was impatiently expected by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, who made no doubt but that a fair account of us having been given by the officers who had been on board the evening before, in their paper called a *Practica*, and every scruple of the viceroy removed in my conference with his excellency, they should immediately be at liberty to go on shore, and dispose of themselves as they pleased. Their disappointment at receiving my report may easily be conceived; and it was still increased by an account, that it had been resolved, not only to prevent their residing on shore, and going up the country, but even their leaving the ship; orders having been given that no person, except the captain, and such common sailors as were required to be upon duty, should be permitted to land; and that there was probably a particular view to the passengers in this prohibition, as they were reported to be gentlemen sent abroad to make observations and discoveries, and were uncommonly qualified for that purpose. In the evening, however, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander dressed themselves, and attempted to go on shore, in order to make a visit to the viceroy; but they were stopped by the guard-boat which had come off with our pinnace, and which kept hovering round the ship all the while she lay here, for that purpose; the officer on board saying, that he had particular orders, which he could not disobey, to suffer no passenger, nor any officer, except the captain, to pass the boat. After much expostulation to no purpose, they were obliged, with whatever reluctance and mortification, to return on board. I then went on shore myself, but found the viceroy inflexible; he had one answer ready for everything I could say, that the restrictions under which he had laid us were in obedience to the King of Portugal's commands, and therefore indispensable.

In this situation I determined, rather than be made a prisoner in my own boat, to go on shore no more; for the officer who, under pretence of a compliment, attended me when I was ashore, insisted also upon going with me to and from the ship: but still imagining, that the scrupulous vigilance of the viceroy must proceed from some mistaken notion about us, which might more easily be removed by writing than in conversation, I drew up a memorial, and Mr. Banks drew up another, which we sent on shore. These memorials were both answered, but by no means to our satisfaction; we therefore replied: in consequence of which, several other papers were interchanged between us and the viceroy, but still without effect. However, as I thought some degree of force, on the part of the viceroy, to enforce these restrictions, necessary to justify my acquiescence in them to the Admiralty, I gave orders to my lieutenant, Mr. Hicks, when I sent him with our last reply

on Sunday the 20th, in the evening, not to suffer a guard to be put into his boat. When the officer on board the guard-boat found that Mr. Hicks was determined to obey my orders, he did not proceed to force, but attended him to the landing-place, and reported the matter to the viceroy. Upon this his excellency refused to receive the memorial, and ordered Mr. Hicks to return to the ship; when he came back to the boat, he found that a guard had been put on board in his absence, but he absolutely refused to return till the soldier was removed: the officer then proceeded to enforce the viceroy's orders; he seized all the boat's crew, and sent them under an armed force to prison, putting Mr. Hicks, at the same time, into one of their own boats, and sending him under a guard back to the ship. As soon as he had reported these particulars, I wrote again to the viceroy, demanding my boat and crew, and in my letter inclosed the memorial which he had refused to receive from Mr. Hicks: these papers I sent by a petty officer, that I might wave the dispute about a guard, against which I had never objected except when there was a commissioned officer on board the boat. The petty officer was permitted to go on shore with his guard, and, having delivered his letter, was told that an answer would be sent the next day.

About eight o'clock this evening it began to blow very hard in sudden gusts from the south, and our long-boat coming on board just at this time with four pipes of rum, the rope which was thrown to her from the ship, and which was taken hold of by the people on board, unfortunately broke, and the boat, which had come to the ship before the wind, went adrift to windward of her, with a small skiff of Mr. Banks's that was fastened to her stern. This was a great misfortune, as the pinnace being detained on shore, we had no boat on board but a four-oared yawl: the yawl, however, was immediately manned and sent to her assistance; but, notwithstanding the utmost effort of the people in both boats, they were very soon out of sight: far, indeed, we could not see at that time in the evening, but the distance was enough to convince us that they were not under command, which gave us great uneasiness, as we knew they must drive directly upon a reef of rocks which ran out just to leeward of where we lay: after waiting some hours in the utmost anxiety, we gave them over for lost, but, about three o'clock the next morning, had the satisfaction to see all the people come on board in the yawl. From them we learnt, that the long-boat having filled with water, they had brought her to a grappling, and left her; and that, having fallen in with the reef of rocks in her return to the ship, they had been obliged to cut Mr. Banks's little boat adrift. As the loss of our long-boat, which we had now too much reason to apprehend, would have been an unspeakable disadvantage to us, considering the nature of our expedition, I sent another letter to the viceroy, as soon as I thought he could be seen, acquainting him with our misfortune, and requesting the assistance of a boat from the shore for the recovery of our own; I also renewed my demand that the pinnace and her crew should be no longer detained: after some delay, his excellency thought fit to comply both with my request and demand; and the same day we happily recovered both the long-boat and skiff, with the rum, but everything else that was on board was lost. On the 23rd, the viceroy, in his answer to my remonstrance against seizing my men and detaining the boat, acknowledged that I had been treated with some incivility, but said that the resistance of my officers to what he had declared to be the king's orders made it absolutely necessary; he also expressed some doubts whether the Endeavour, considering her structure and other circumstances, was in the service of his majesty, though I had before showed him my commission: to this I answered in writing, that, to remove all scruples, I was ready to produce my commission again. His excellency's scruples, however, still remained, and in his reply to my letter, he not only expressed them in still plainer terms, but accused my people of smuggling. This charge, I am confident, was without the least foundation in truth. Mr. Banks's servants had, indeed, found means to go on shore on the 22nd at daybreak, and stay till it was dark in the evening, but they brought on board only plants and insects, having been sent for no other purpose. And I had the greatest reason to believe that not a single article was smuggled by any of our people who were admitted on shore, though many artful means were used to tempt them, even by the very officers that were under his excellency's roof, which made the charge still more injurious and provoking. I have, indeed, some reason to suspect that one poor fellow bought a single bottle of rum with some of the

clothes upon his back; and in my answer I requested of his excellency, that, if such an attempt at illicit trade should be repeated, he would without scruple order the offender to be taken into custody. And thus ended our altercation, both by conference and writing, with the viceroy of Rio de Janeiro.

A friar in the town having requested the assistance of our surgeon, Dr. Solander easily got admittance in that character on the 25th, and received many marks of civility from the people. On the 26th, before daybreak, Mr. Banks also found means to elude the vigilance of the people in the guard-boat, and got on shore; he did not, however go into the town, for the principal objects of his curiosity were to be found in the fields: to him also the people behaved with great civility, many of them invited him to their houses, and he bought a porker and some other things of them for the ship's company; the porker, which was by no means lean, cost him eleven shillings, and he paid something less than two for a Muscovy duck.

On the 27th, when the boats returned from watering, the people told us there was a report in town, that search was making after some persons who had been on shore from the ship without the viceroy's permission: these persons we conjectured to be Dr. Solander and Mr. Banks, and therefore they determined to go on shore no more.

On the 1st of December, having got our water and other necessaries on board, I sent to the viceroy for a pilot to carry us to sea, who came off to us; but the wind preventing us from getting out, we took on board a plentiful supply of fresh beef, yams, and greens for the ship's company. On the 2nd, a Spanish packet arrived with letters from Buenos Ayres for Spain, commanded by Don Antonio de Monte Negro y Velasco, who with great politeness offered to take our letters to Europe: I accepted the favour, and gave him a packet for the secretary of the Admiralty, containing copies of all the papers that had passed between me and the viceroy; leaving also duplicates with the viceroy, to be by him forwarded to Lisbon.

On Monday, the 5th, it being a dead calm, we weighed anchor and towed down the bay; but, to our great astonishment, when we got abreast of Santa Cruz, the principal fortification, two shots were fired at us. We immediately cast anchor, and sent to the fort to inquire the reason of what had happened; our people brought us word, that the commandant had received no order from the viceroy to let us pass, and that, without such an order, no vessel was ever suffered to go below the fort. It was now, therefore, become necessary that we should send to the viceroy, to inquire why the necessary order had not been given, as he had notice of our departure, and had thought fit to write me a polite letter, wishing me a good voyage. Our messenger soon returned with an account, that the order had been written some days, but, by an unaccountable negligence, not sent.

We did not get under sail till the 7th; and, when we had passed the fort, the pilot desired to be discharged. As soon as he was dismissed, we were left by our guard-boat, which had hovered about us from the first hour of our being in this place to the last; and Mr. Banks, having been prevented from going ashore at Rio de Janeiro, availed himself of her departure to examine the neighbouring islands, where, particularly on one in the mouth of the harbour, called Raza, he gathered many species of plants, and caught a variety of insects.

It is remarkable, that, during the last three or four days of our staying in this harbour, the air was loaded with butterflies: they were chiefly of one sort, but in such numbers that thousands were in view in every direction, and the greatest part of them above our mast-head.

We lay here from the 14th of November to the 7th of December, something more than three weeks, during which time Mr. Monkhouse, our surgeon, was on shore every day to buy our provisions; Dr. Solander was on shore once; I was several times on shore myself; and Mr. Banks also found means to get into the country, notwithstanding the watch that was set over us. I shall, therefore, with the intelligence obtained from these gentlemen, and my own observations, give some account of the town, and the country adjacent.

Rio de Janeiro, or the river of Januarius, was probably so called from its having been discovered on the feast-day of that saint; and the town, which is the capital of the Portuguese dominions in America, derives its name from the river, which, indeed, is rather an arm of the sea, for it did not appear to receive any considerable stream of fresh water: it stands

on a plain, close to the shore, on the west side of the bay, at the foot of several high mountains which rise behind it. It is neither ill designed nor ill built: the houses, in general, are of stone, and two stories high; every house having, after the manner of the Portuguese, a little balcony before its windows, and a lattice of wood before the balcony. I computed its circuit to be about three miles; for it appears to be equal in size to the largest country towns in England, Bristol and Liverpool not excepted: the streets are straight, and of a convenient breadth, intersecting each other at right angles; the greater part, however, lie in a line with the citadel called St. Sebastian, which stands on the top of a hill that commands the town.

BAY OF RIO DE JANEIRO.

It is supplied with water from the neighbouring hills, by an aqueduct, which is raised upon two stories of arches, and is said in some places to be at a great height from the ground, from which the water is conveyed by pipes into a fountain in the great square that exactly fronts the viceroy's palace. At this fountain great numbers of people are continually waiting for their turn to draw water; and the soldiers, who are posted at the governor's door, find it very difficult to maintain any regularity among them. The water at this fountain, however, is so bad, that we, who had been two months at sea, confined to that in our casks, which was almost always foul, could not drink it with pleasure. Water of a better quality is laid into some other part of the town, but I could not learn by what means.

The churches are very fine, and there is more religious parade in this place than in any of the Popish countries in Europe: there is a procession of some parish every day, with various insignia, all splendid and costly in the highest degree: they beg money, and say prayers in great form, at the corner of every street.

While we lay here, one of the churches was re-building; and to defray the expense, the parish to which it belonged had leave to beg in procession through the whole city once a week, by which very considerable sums were collected. At this ceremony, which was performed by night, all the boys of a certain age were obliged to assist, the sons of gentlemen not being excused. Each of these boys was dressed in a black cassock, with a short red cloak hanging about as low as the waist, and carried in his hand a pole about six or seven feet long, at the end of which was tied a lantern: the number of lanterns was generally

above two hundred, and the light they gave was so great, that the people who saw it from the cabin windows thought the town had been on fire.

The inhabitants, however, may pay their devotions at the shrine of any saint in the calendar, without waiting till there is a procession; for before almost every house there is a little cupboard, furnished with a glass window, in which one of these tutelary powers is waiting to be gracious; and to prevent his being out of mind, by being out of sight, a lamp is kept constantly burning before the window of his tabernacle in the night. The people, indeed, are by no means remiss in their devotions, for before these saints they pray and sing hymns with such vehemence, that in the night they were very distinctly heard on board the ship, though she lay at the distance of at least half a mile from the town.

The government here, as to its form, is mixed; it is notwithstanding very despotic in fact. It consists of the viceroy, the governor of the town, and a council, the number of which I could not learn: without the consent of this council, in which the viceroy has a casting vote, no judicial act should be performed; yet both the viceroy and governor frequently commit persons to prison at their own pleasure, and sometimes send them to Lisbon, without acquainting their friends or family with what is laid to their charge, or where they may be found.

To restrain the people from travelling into the country, and getting into any district where gold or diamonds may be found, of both which there is much more than the government can otherwise secure, certain bounds are prescribed them, at the discretion of the viceroy, sometimes at a few, and sometimes at many miles' distance from the city. On the verge of these limits a guard constantly patroles, and whoever is found beyond it is immediately seized and thrown into prison; and if a man is, upon any pretence, taken up by the guard without the limits, he will be sent to prison, though it should appear that he did not know their extent.

The inhabitants, who are very numerous, consist of Portuguese, negroes, and Indians, the original natives of the country. The township of Rio, which, as I was told, is but a small part of the Capitanea, or province, is said to contain 37,000 white persons, and 629,000 blacks, many of whom are free; making together 666,000, in the proportion of seventeen to one. The Indians, who are employed to do the king's work in this neighbourhood, can scarcely be considered as inhabitants; their residence is at a distance, from whence they come by turns to their task, which they are obliged to perform for a small pay. The guard-boat was constantly rowed by these people, who are of a light copper colour, and have long black hair.

The military establishment here consists of twelve regiments of regular troops, six of which are Portuguese and six Creoles; and twelve other regiments of provincial militia. To the regulars the inhabitants behave with the utmost humility and submission; and I was told, that if any of them should neglect to take off his hat upon meeting an officer, he would immediately be knocked down. These haughty severities render the people extremely civil to any stranger who has the appearance of a gentleman. But the subordination of the officers themselves to the viceroy is enforced with circumstances equally mortifying, for they are obliged to attend in his hall three times every day to ask his commands; the answer constantly is, "There is nothing new." I have been told, that this servile attendance is exacted to prevent their going into the country; and if so, it effectually answers the purpose.

It is, I believe, universally allowed, that the women, both of the Spanish and Portuguese settlements in South America, make less difficulty of granting personal favours than those of any other civilized country in the world. Of the ladies of this town some have formed so unfavourable an opinion as to declare, that they did not believe there was a modest one among them. This censure is certainly too general; but what Dr. Solander saw of them when he was on shore, gave him no very exalted idea of their chastity: he told me, that as soon as it was dark, one or more of them appeared in every window, and distinguished those whom they liked, among the gentlemen that walked past them, by giving them nosegays; that he, and two gentlemen who were with him, received so many of these favours, that, at the end of their walk, which was not a long one, they threw whole hatfuls of them away.

Great allowance must certainly be made for local customs; that which in one country would be an indecent familiarity, is a mere act of general courtesy in another; of the fact, therefore, which I have related, I shall say nothing, but that I am confident it is true.

Neither will I take upon me to affirm, that murders are frequently committed here; but the churches afford an asylum to the criminal: and as our cockswain was one day looking at two men, who appeared to be talking together in a friendly manner, one of them suddenly drew a knife, and stabbed the other; who not instantly falling, the murderer withdrew the weapon, and stabbed him a second time. He then ran away, and was pursued by some negroes who were also witnesses of the fact; but whether he escaped or was taken I never heard.

The country, at a small distance round the town, which is all that any of us saw, is beautiful in the highest degree; the wildest spots being varied with a greater luxuriance of flowers, both as to number and beauty, than the best gardens in England.

Upon the trees and bushes sat an almost endless variety of birds, especially small ones, many of them covered with the most elegant plumage; among which were the humming-bird. Of insects, too, there was a great variety, and some of them very beautiful; but they were much more nimble than those of Europe, especially the butterflies, most of which flew near the tops of the trees, and were, therefore, very difficult to be caught, except when the sea-breeze blew fresh, which kept them nearer to the ground.

The banks of the sea, and of the small brooks which water this part of the country, are almost covered with the small crabs called *Cancer vocans;* some of these had one of the claws, called by naturalists the hand, very large; others had them both remarkably small, and of equal size: a difference which is said to distinguish the sexes, that with the large claw being the male.

There is the appearance of but little cultivation; the greater part of the land is wholly uncultivated, and very little care and labour seem to have been bestowed upon the rest; there are, indeed, little patches or gardens, in which many kinds of European garden-stuff are produced, particularly cabbages, peas, beans, kidney-beans, turnips, and white radishes, but all much inferior to our own: water-melons and pine-apples are also produced in these spots, and they are the only fruits that we saw cultivated, though the country produces musk melons, oranges, limes, lemons, sweet lemons, citrons, plantains, bananas, mangos, mamane apples, acajou or cashou apples and nuts; jamboira of two kinds, one of which bears a small black fruit; cocoa-nuts, mangos, palm-nuts of two kinds, one long, the other round; and palm-berries; all which were in season while we were there.

Of these fruits the water-melons and oranges are the best in their kind; the pine apples are much inferior to those that I have eaten in England; they are indeed more juicy and sweet, but have no flavour: I believe them to be natives of this country, though we heard of none that at this time grow wild; they have, however, very little care bestowed upon them, the plants being set between beds of any kind of garden-stuff, and suffered to take the chance of the season. The melons are still worse—at least those that we tasted, which were mealy and insipid; but the water-melons are excellent; they have a flavour—at least a degree of acidity—which ours have not. We saw also several species of the prickle-pear, and some European fruits, particularly the apple and peach, both which were very mealy and insipid. In these gardens also grow yams and mandihoca, which in the West Indies is called Cassada or Cassava, and to the flower of which the people here, as I have before observed, give the name of *Farinha de Pao*, which may not improperly be translated, "Powder of Post." The soil, though it produces tobacco and sugar, will not produce bread-corn; so that the people here have no wheat-flour but what is brought from Portugal, and sold at the rate of a shilling a pound, though it is generally spoiled by being heated in its passage. Mr. Banks is of opinion that all the products of our West Indian islands would grow here; notwithstanding which, the inhabitants import their coffee and chocolate from Lisbon.

Most of the land, as far as we saw of the country, is laid down in grass, upon which cattle are pastured in great plenty; but they are so lean, that an Englishman will scarcely eat of their flesh: the herbage of these pastures consists principally of cresses, and conse-

. 1768.

y would
erefore,

re; but
looking
suddenly
drew the
by some
n I never

s saw, is
uriance of

mall ones,
humming-
utiful; but
st of which
xcept when

country, are
of the claws,
mall, and of
large claw

nd is wholly
pon the rest;
garden-stuff
hite radishes,
luced in these
ntry produces
anas, mangos,
one of which
ong, the other

pine apples are
icy and sweet,
heard of none
upon them, the
ke the chance
d, which were
ur—at least a
e prickle-pear,
vere very mealy
West Indies is
s I have before
be translated,
ill not produce
t from Portugal,
being heated in
t Indian islands
fee and chocolate

rass, upon which
man will scarcely
cesses, and consc-

RIO JANEIRO.

[Cook's Voyages.

Plate II.]

que
graz
T
the
exce
on t
eithe
A
in wh
princ
Th
count
conce
that I
who a
to att
evider
Mu
strike
forty t
we we
so shor
from th
Prec
to be c
country
month,
found in
death.
The
not see
him, wh
are sold
the topa
names o
armerille
part of a
the subj
chased a
arrival, c
here, exc
the vicere
stones for
The c
shillings
silver wh
distinguis
coin, like
ten of wh
The ha
be known
but as all
be more
Rodonda,
half from

quently is so short, that though it may afford a bite for horses and sheep, it can scarcely be grazed by horned cattle in a sufficient quantity to keep them alive.

This country may possibly produce many valuable drugs; but we could not find any in the apothecaries' shops, except pareira brava and balsam capivi; both of which were excellent in their kind, and sold at a very low price. The drug trade is probably carried on to the northward, as well as that of the dyeing woods, for we could get no intelligence of either of them here.

As to manufactures, we neither saw nor heard of any except that of cotton hammocks, in which people are carried about here, as they are with us in sedan chairs; and these are principally, if not wholly, fabricated by the Indians.

The riches of the place consist chiefly in the mines, which we supposed to lie far up the country, though we could never learn where, or at what distance; for the situation is concealed as much as possible, and troops are continually employed in guarding the roads that lead to them: it is almost impossible for any man to get a sight of them, except those who are employed there; and indeed the strongest curiosity would scarcely induce any man to attempt it, for whoever is found upon the road to them, if he cannot give undeniable evidence of his having business there, is immediately hanged up upon the next tree.

Much gold is certainly brought from these mines, but at an expense of life that must strike every man, to whom custom has not made it familiar, with horror. No less than forty thousand negroes are annually imported on the king's account, to dig the mines; and we were credibly informed that the last year but one before we arrived here, this number fell so short, probably from some epidemic disease, that twenty thousand more were draughted from the town of Rio.

Precious stones are also found here in such plenty, that a certain quantity only is allowed to be collected in a year; to collect this quantity, a number of people are sent into the country where they are found, and when it is got together, which sometimes happens in a month, sometimes in less, and sometimes in more, they return; and after that, whoever is found in these precious districts, on any pretence, before the next year, is immediately put to death.

The jewels found here are diamonds, topazes of several kinds, and amethysts. We did not see any of the diamonds, but were informed that the viceroy had a large quantity by him, which he would sell on the king of Portugal's account, but not at a less price than they are sold for in Europe. Mr. Banks bought a few topazes and amethysts as specimens: of the topazes there are three sorts, of very different value, which are distinguished here by the names of Pinga d'agua qualidade primeiro, Pinga d'agua qualidade secundo, and Chrystallos armerillos: they are sold, large and small, good and bad together, by octavos, or the eighth part of an ounce; the best at 4*s.* 9*d.* All dealing, however, in these stones is prohibited to the subject under the severest penalties: there were jewellers here formerly, who purchased and worked them on their own account; but about fourteen months before our arrival, orders came from the court of Portugal that no more stones should be wrought here, except on the king's account: the jewellers were ordered to bring all their tools to the viceroy, and left without any means of subsistence. The persons employed here to work stones for the king are slaves.

The coin that is current here is either that of Portugal, consisting chiefly of thirty-six shillings pieces, or pieces both of gold and silver, which are struck at this place: the pieces of silver which are very much debased, are called petacks, and are of different value, and easily distinguished by the number of rees that is marked on the outside. Here is also a copper coin, like that in Portugal, of five and ten ree pieces. A ree is a nominal coin of Portugal, ten of which are equal in value to about three farthings sterling.

The harbour of Rio de Janeiro is situated W. by N. 18 leagues from Cape Frio, and may be known by a remarkable hill, in the form of a sugar-loaf, at the west point of the bay; but as all the coast is very high, and rises in many peaks, the entrance of this harbour may be more certainly distinguished by the islands that lie before it; one of which, called Rodonda, is high and round, like a hay stack, and lies at the distance of two leagues and a half from the entrance of the bay, in the direction of S. by W.; but the first islands which

are met with, coming from the east, or Cape Frio, are two that have a rocky appearance, lying near to each other, and at the distance of about four miles from the shore: there are also at the distance of three leagues to the westward of these two other islands, which lie near to each other, a little without the bay on the east side, and very near the shore. This harbour is certainly a good one; the entrance, indeed, is not wide, but the sea-breeze, which blows every day from ten or twelve o'clock till sunset, makes it easy for any ship to go in before the wind; and it grows wider as the town is approached, so that abreast of it there is room for the largest fleet, in five or six fathom water, with an oozy bottom. At the narrow part, the entrance is defended by two forts. The principal is Santa Cruz, which stands on the east point of the bay, and has been mentioned before; that on the west side is called fort Lozia, and is built upon a rock that lies close to the main; the distance between them is about three quarters of a mile, but the channel is not quite so broad, because there are sunken rocks which lie off each fort, and in this part alone there is danger: the narrowness of the channel causes the tides, both flood and ebb, to run with considerable strength, so that they cannot be stemmed without a fresh breeze. The rockiness of the bottom makes it also unsafe to anchor here; but all danger may be avoided by keeping in the middle of the channel. Within the entrance the course up the bay is first N. by W. half W. and N.N.W., something more than a league; this will bring the vessel the length of the great road; and N.W. and W.N.W. one league more will carry her to the Isle dos Cobras, which lies before the city: she should then keep the north side of this island close on board, and anchor above it, before a monastery of Benedictines, which stands upon a hill at the N.W. end of the city.

The river, and indeed the whole coast, abounds with a greater variety of fish than we had ever seen; a day seldom passed in which one or more of a new species were not brought to Mr. Banks: the bay also is as well adapted for catching these fish as can be conceived; for it is full of small islands, between which there is shallow water, and proper beaches for drawing the seine. The sea, without the bay, abounds with dolphins, and large mackarel of different kinds, which readily bite at a hook, and the inhabitants always tow one after their boats for that purpose.

Though the climate is hot, the situation of this place is certainly wholesome: while we stayed here the thermometer never rose higher than 83 degrees. We had frequent rains, and once a very hard gale of wind.

Ships water here at the fountain in the great square, though, as I have observed, the water is not good: they land their casks upon a smooth, sandy beach, which is not more than a hundred yards distant from the fountain; and upon application to the viceroy, a sentinel will be appointed to look after them, and clear the way to the fountain where they are to be filled.

Upon the whole, Rio de Janeiro is a very good place for ships to put in at that want refreshment: the harbour is safe and commodious; and provisions, except wheaten bread and flour, may be easily procured: as a succedaneum for bread, there are yams and cassada in plenty; beef, both fresh and jerked, may be bought at about two-pence farthing a pound; though, as I have before remarked, it is very lean. The people here jerk their beef by taking out the bones, cutting it into large but thin slices, then curing it with salt, and drying it in the shade: it eats very well, and, if kept dry, will remain good a long time at sea. Mutton is scarcely to be procured, and hogs and poultry are dear: of garden-stuff and fruit-trees there is abundance—of which, however, none can be preserved at sea but the pumpkin; rum, sugar, and molasses, all excellent in their kind, may be had at a reasonable price; tobacco also is cheap, but it is not good. Here is a yard for building shipping, and a small hulk to heave down by; for as the tide never rises above six or seven feet, there is no other way of coming at a ship's bottom.

When the boat which had been sent on shore returned, we hoisted her on board, and stood out to sea.

CHAPTER III.—THE PASSAGE FROM RIO DE JANEIRO TO THE ENTRANCE OF THE STRAIT OF LE MAIRE, WITH A DESCRIPTION OF SOME OF THE INHABITANTS OF TERRA DEL FUEGO.

On the 9th of December we observed the sea to be covered with broad streaks of a yellowish colour, several of them a mile long, and three or four hundred yards wide; some of the water thus coloured was taken up, and found to be full of innumerable atoms pointed at the end, of a yellowish colour, and none more than a quarter of a line, or the fortieth part of an inch long; in the microscope they appeared to be *fasciculi* of small fibres interwoven with each other, not unlike the nidus of some of the *Phyganeas* called Caddices; but whether they were animal or vegetable substances, whence they came, or for what they were designed, neither Mr. Banks nor Dr. Solander could guess. The same appearance had been observed before, when we first discovered the continent of South America.

On the 11th we hooked a shark, and while we were playing it under the cabin window it threw out and drew in again, several times, what appeared to be its stomach; it proved to be a female, and upon being opened six young ones were taken out of it; five of them were alive and swam briskly in a tub of water, but the sixth appeared to have been dead some time.

Nothing remarkable happened till the 30th, except that we prepared for the bad weather which we were shortly to expect, by bending a new suit of sails; but on this day we ran a course of one hundred and sixty miles by the log, through innumerable land insects of various kinds, some upon the wing and more upon the water, many of which were alive; they appeared to be exactly the same with the *Carabi*, the *Grylli*, the *Phalanæ*, *Aranea*, and other flies that are seen in England, though at this time we could not be less than thirty leagues from land; and some of these insects, particularly the *Grylli Aranea*, never voluntarily leave it at a greater distance than twenty yards. We judged ourselves to be now nearly opposite to *Bays sans fond*, where Mr. Dalrymple supposes there is a passage quite through the continent of America; and we thought from the insects that there might be at least a very large river, and that it had overflowed its banks.

On the 3d of January, 1769, being in latitude 47° 17′ S. and longitude 61° 29′ 45″ W., we were all looking out for Pepys' island, and for some time an appearance was seen in the east which so much resembled land, that we bore away for it, and it was more than two hours and a half before we were convinced that it was nothing but what sailors call a fog-bank.

The people now beginning to complain of cold, each of them received what is called a Magellanic jacket and a pair of trousers. The jacket is made of a thick woollen stuff called *Fearnought*, which is provided by the government. We saw, from time to time, a great number of penguins, albatrosses, and sheerwaters, seals, whales, and porpoises; and on the 11th, having passed Falkland's islands, we discovered the coast of Terra del Fuego, at the distance of about four leagues, extending from the W. to S.E. by S. We had here five-and-thirty fathom, the ground soft, small slate stones. As we ranged along the shore to the S.E., at the distance of two or three leagues, we perceived smoke in several places, which was made by the natives, probably as a signal, for they did not continue it after we had passed by. This day we discovered that the ship had got near a degree of longitude to the westward of the log, which, in this latitude, is 35 minutes of a degree on the equator: probably there is a small current setting to the westward, which may be caused by the westerly current coming round Cape Horn, and through the strait of Le Maire, and the indraught of the strait of Magellan*.

* The celebrated navigator who discovered this strait was a native of Portugal, and his name, in the language of his country, was *Fernando de Magalhaens*; the Spaniards call him *Hernando Magalhanes*, and the French *Magellan*, which is the orthography that has been generally adopted: a gentleman, the fifth in descent from this great adventurer, is now living in or near London, and communicated the true name of his ancestor to Mr. Banks, with a request that it might be inserted in this work.

Having continued to range the coast, on the 14th we entered the strait of Le Maire; but the tide turning against us drove us out with great violence, and raised such a sea off Cape St. Diego that the waves had exactly the same appearance as they would have had if they had broke over a ledge of rocks; and when the ship was in this torrent she frequently pitched so that the bowsprit was under water. About noon we got under the land between Cape St. Diego and Cape St. Vincent, where I intended to have anchored, but finding the ground everywhere hard and rocky and shallowing from thirty to twelve fathoms, I sent the master to examine a little cove which lay at a small distance to the eastward of Cape St. Vincent. When he returned he reported that there was anchorage in four fathom, and a good bottom, close to the eastward of the first bluff point on the east of Cape St. Vincent, at the very entrance of the cove, to which I gave the name of VINCENT'S Bay; before this anchoring ground, however, lay several rocky ledges that were covered with sea-weed; but I was told that there was not less than eight and nine fathom over all of them. It will probably be thought strange that where weeds, which grow at the bottom, appear above the surface, there should be this depth of water; but the weeds which grow upon rocky ground in these countries, and which always distinguish it from sand and ooze, are of an enormous size. The leaves are four feet long, and some of the stalks, though not thicker than a man's thumb, above one hundred and twenty. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander examined some of them, over which we sounded and had fourteen fathom, which is eighty-four feet; and, as they made a very acute angle with the bottom, they were thought to be at least one half longer: the foot stalks were swelled into an air vessel, and Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander called this plant *Fucus giganteus*. Upon the report of the master I stood in with the ship, but not trusting implicitly to his intelligence I continued to sound, and found but four fathom upon the first ledge that I went over; concluding, therefore, that I could not anchor here without risk, I determined to seek some port in the strait, where I might get on board such wood and water as we wanted.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, however, being very desirous to go on shore, I sent a boat with them and their people, while I kept plying as near as possible with the ship.

Having been on shore four hours they returned about nine in the evening, with above an hundred different plants and flowers, all of them wholly unknown to the botanists of Europe. They found the country about the bay to be in general flat, the bottom of it in particular was a plain covered with grass, which might easily have been made into a large quantity of hay; they found also abundance of good wood and water, and fowl in great plenty. Among other things of which nature has been liberal in this place, is Winter's bark, *Winteranea aromatica;* which may easily be known by its broad leaf, shaped like the laurel, of a light green colour without and inclining to blue within; the bark is easily stripped with a bone or stick, and its virtues are well known; it may be used for culinary purposes as a spice, and is not less pleasant than wholesome: here is also plenty of wild celery and scurvy-grass. The trees are chiefly of one kind, a species of the birch, called *Betula antarctica;* the stem is from thirty to forty feet long, and from two to three feet in diameter, so that in a case of necessity they might possibly supply a ship with top-masts; they are of a light white wood, bear a small leaf, and cleave very straight. Cranberries were also found here in great plenty, both white and red.

The persons who landed saw none of the inhabitants, but fell in with two of their deserted huts, one in a thick wood and the other close by the beach.

Having taken the boat on board I made sail into the strait, and at three in the morning of the 15th I anchored in twelve fathom and a half, upon coral rocks, before a small cove, which we took for Port Maurice, at the distance of about half a mile from the shore. Two of the natives came down to the beach, expecting us to land; but this spot afforded so little shelter that I length determined not to examine it; I therefore got under sail again about ten o'clock, and the savages retired into the woods.

At two o'clock we anchored in the bay of Good Success, and after dinner I went on shore, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, to look for a watering-place, and speak to the Indians, several of whom had come in sight. We landed on the starboard side of the bay near some rocks, which made smooth water and good landing: thirty or forty of the

Indians soon made their appearance at the end of a sandy beach on the other side of the bay, but seeing our number, which was ten or twelve, they retreated. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander then advanced about one hundred yards before us, upon which two of the Indians returned, and, having advanced some paces towards them, sat down: as soon as they came up the Indians rose, and each of them having a small stick in his hand threw it away, in a direction both from themselves and the strangers, which was considered as the renunciation of weapons in token of peace: they then walked briskly towards their companions, who had halted at about fifty yards behind them, and beckoned the gentlemen to follow, which they did. They were received with many uncouth signs of friendship; and, in return, they distributed among them some beads and ribbons, which had been brought on shore for that purpose, and with which they were greatly delighted. A mutual confidence and good-will being thus produced, our parties joined: the conversation, such as it was, became general; and three of them accompanied us back to the ship. When they came on board, one of them, whom we took to be a priest, performed much the same ceremonies which M. Bougainville describes, and supposes to be an exorcism. When he was introduced into a new part of the ship, or when any thing that he had not seen before caught his attention, he shouted with all his force for some minutes, without directing his voice either to us or his companions.

HEAD OF FUEGIAN.

They ate some bread and some beef, but not apparently with much pleasure, though such part of what was given them as they did not eat they took away with them; but they would not swallow a drop either of wine or spirits: they put the glass to their lips, but, having tasted the liquor, they returned it, with strong expressions of disgust. Curiosity seems to be one of the few passions which distinguish men from brutes; and of this our guests appeared to have very little. They went from one part of the ship to another, and looked at the vast variety of new objects that every moment presented themselves, without any expression either of wonder or pleasure; for the vociferation of our exorcist seemed to be neither. After having been on board about two hours, they expressed a desire to go ashore. A boat was immediately ordered, and Mr. Banks thought fit to accompany them: he landed them in safety, and conducted them to their companions, among whom he remarked the same constant indifference, as in those who had been on board; for as on one side there appeared no eagerness to relate, so on the other there seemed to be no curiosity to hear, how they had been received, or what they had seen. In about half an hour, Mr. Banks returned to the ship, and the Indians retired from the shore.

CHAPTER IV.—AN ACCOUNT OF WHAT HAPPENED IN ASCENDING A MOUNTAIN TO SEARCH FOR PLANTS.

On the 16th, early in the morning, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, with their attendants and servants, and two seamen to assist in carrying the baggage, accompanied by Mr. Monkhouse the surgeon, and Mr. Green the astronomer, set out from the ship, with a view to penetrate as far as they could into the country, and return at night. The hills, when viewed at a distance, seemed to be partly a wood, partly a plain, and above them a bare rock. Mr. Banks hoped to get through the wood, and made no doubt but that, beyond it, he should, in a country which no botanist had ever yet visited, find alpine plants which

would abundantly compensate his labour. They entered the wood at a small sandy beach, a little to the westward of the watering-place, and continued to ascend the hill, through the pathless wilderness, till three o'clock, before they got a near view of the places which they intended to visit. Soon after they reached what they had taken for a plain; but, to their great disappointment, found it a swamp, covered with low bushes of birch, about three feet high, interwoven with each other, and so stubborn that they could not be bent out of the way; it was therefore necessary to lift the leg over them, which at every step was buried, ancle deep, in the soil. To aggravate the pain and difficulty of such travelling, the weather which had hitherto been very fine, much like one of our bright days in May, became gloomy and cold, with sudden blasts of a most piercing wind, accompanied with snow. They pushed forward, however, in good spirits, notwithstanding their fatigue, hoping the worst of the way was past, and that the bare rock which they had seen from the tops of the lower hills was not more than a mile before them; but when they had got about two-thirds over this woody swamp, Mr. Buchan, one of Mr. Banks's draughtsmen, was unhappily seized with a fit. This made it necessary for the whole company to halt, and as it was impossible that he should go any farther, a fire was kindled, and those who were most fatigued were left behind to take care of him. Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Mr. Green, and Mr. Monkhouse went on, and in a short time reached the summit. As botanists, their expectations were here abundantly gratified; for they found a great variety of plants, which, with respect to the alpine plants in Europe, are exactly what those plants are with respect to such as grow in the plain.

The cold was now become more severe, and the snow-blasts more frequent; the day also was so far spent, that it was found impossible to get back to the ship before the next morning: to pass the night upon such a mountain, in such a climate, was not only comfortless, but dreadful; it was impossible, however, to be avoided, and they were to provide for it as well as they could.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, while they were improving an opportunity which they had with so much danger and difficulty procured, by gathering the plants which they found upon the mountain, sent Mr. Green and Mr. Monkhouse back to Mr. Buchan and the people that were with him, with directions to bring them to a hill, which they thought lay in a better route for returning to the wood, and which was therefore appointed as a general rendezvous. It was proposed, that from this hill they should push through the swamp, which seemed by the new route not to be more than half-a-mile over, into the shelter of the wood, and there build their wigwam, and make a fire: this, as their way was all down hill, it seemed easy to accomplish. Their whole company assembled at the rendezvous, and, though pinched with the cold, were in health and spirits, Mr. Buchan himself having recovered his strength in a much greater degree than could have been expected. It was now near eight o'clock in the evening, but still good daylight, and they set forward for the nearest valley, Mr. Banks himself undertaking to bring up the rear, and see that no straggler was left behind: this may, perhaps, be thought a superfluous caution, but it will soon appear to be otherwise. Dr. Solander, who had more than once crossed the mountains which divide Sweden from Norway, well knew that extreme cold, especially when joined with fatigue, produces a torpor and sleepiness that are almost irresistible: he therefore conjured the company to keep moving, whatever pain it might cost them, and whatever relief they might be promised by an inclination to rest. Whoever sits down, says he, will sleep; and whoever sleeps, will wake no more. Thus, at once admonished and alarmed, they set forward; but while they were still upon the naked rock, and before they had got among the bushes, the cold became suddenly so intense, as to produce the effects that had been most dreaded. Dr. Solander himself was the first who found the inclination, against which he had warned others, irresistible; and insisted upon being suffered to lie down. Mr. Banks entreated and remonstrated in vain: down he lay upon the ground, though it was covered with snow; and it was with great difficulty that his friend kept him from sleeping. Richmond, also, one of the black servants, began to linger, having suffered from the cold in the same manner as the doctor. Mr. Banks, therefore, sent five of the company, among whom was Mr. Buchan, forward to get a fire ready at the first convenient place

they could find; and himself, with four others, remained with the doctor and Richmond, whom, partly by persuasion and [illegible], and partly by force, they brought on; but when they had got through the greatest part of the birch and swamp, they both declared they could go no farther. Mr. Banks had recourse again to entreaty and expostulation, but they produced no effect: when Richmond was told, that if he did not go on he would in a short time be frozen to death, he answered, that he desired nothing but to lie down and die: the doctor did not so explicitly renounce his life; he said he was willing to go on, but that he must first take some sleep, though he had before told the company that to sleep was to perish. Mr. Banks and the rest found it impossible to carry them, and there being no remedy, they were both suffered to sit down, being partly supported by the bushes, and in a few minutes they fell into a profound sleep: soon after, some of the people who had been sent forward, returned, with the welcome news that a fire was kindled about a quarter of a mile farther on the way. Mr. Banks then endeavoured to wake Dr. Solander, and happily succeeded: but, though he had not slept five minutes, he had almost lost the use of his limbs, and the muscles were so shrunk that his shoes fell from his feet. He consented to go forward with such assistance as could be given him, but no attempts to relieve poor Richmond were successful. It being found impossible to make him stir, after some time had been lost in the attempt, Mr. Banks left his other black servant and a seaman, who seemed to have suffered least from the cold, to look after him; promising, that as soon as two others should be sufficiently warmed, they should be relieved. Mr. Banks, with much difficulty, at length got the doctor to the fire; and soon after sent two of the people who had been refreshed, in hopes that, with the assistance of those who had been left behind, they would be able to bring Richmond, even though it should still be found impossible to wake him. In about half an hour, however, they had the mortification to see these two men return alone: they said, that they had been all round the place to which they had been directed, but could neither find Richmond nor those who had been left with him; and that though they had shouted many times, no voice had replied. This was matter of equal surprise and concern, particularly to Mr. Banks, who, while he was wondering how it could happen, missed a bottle of rum, the company's whole stock, which they now concluded to be in the knapsack of one of the absentees. It was conjectured, that with this Richmond had been roused by the two persons who had been left with him, and that, having perhaps drank too freely of it themselves, they had all rambled from the place where they had been left, in search of the fire, instead of waiting for those who should have been their assistants and guides. Another fall of snow now came on, and continued incessantly for two hours, so that all hope of seeing them again, at least alive, were given up; but about twelve o'clock, to the great joy of those at the fire, a shouting was heard at some distance. Mr. Banks, with four more, immediately went out, and found the seaman with just strength enough left to stagger along, and call out for assistance: Mr. Banks sent him immediately to the fire, and, by his direction, proceeded in search of the other two, whom he soon after found. Richmond was upon his legs, but not able to put one before the other: his companion was lying upon the ground, as insensible as a stone. All hands were now called from the fire, and an attempt was made to carry them to it; but this, notwithstanding the united efforts of the whole company, was found to be impossible. The night was extremely dark, the snow was now very deep, and, under these additional disadvantages, they found it very difficult to make way through the bushes and the bog for themselves, all of them getting many falls in the attempt. The only alternative was to make a fire upon the spot: but the snow which had fallen, and was still falling, besides what was every moment shaken in flakes from the trees, rendered it equally impracticable to kindle one there and to bring any part of that which had been kindled in the wood thither: they were, therefore, reduced to the sad necessity of leaving the unhappy wretches to their fate; having first made them a bed of boughs from the trees, and spread a covering of the same kind over them, to a considerable height. Having now been exposed to the cold and the snow near an hour and a half, some of the rest began to lose their sensibility; and one, Briscoe, another of Mr. Banks's servants, was so ill, that it was thought he must die before he could be got to the fire.

At the fire, however, at length they arrived; and passed the night in a situation, which, however dreadful in itself, was rendered more afflicting by the remembrance of what was past, and the uncertainty of what was to come. Of twelve, the number that set out together in health and spirits, two were supposed to be already dead; a third was so ill, that it was very doubtful whether he would be able to go forward in the morning; and a fourth, Mr. Buchan, was in danger of a return of his fits, by fresh fatigue, after so uncomfortable a night: they were distant from the ship a long day's journey, through pathless woods, in which it was too probable they might be bewildered till they were overtaken by the next night; and, not having prepared for a journey of more than eight or ten hours, they were wholly destitute of provisions, except a vulture, which they happened to shoot while they were out, and which, if equally divided, would not afford each of them half a meal; and they knew not how much more they might suffer from the cold, as the snow still continued to fall. A dreadful testimony of the severity of the climate, as it was now the midst of summer in this part of the world, the twenty-first of December being here the longest day; and everything might justly be dreaded from a phenomenon which, in the corresponding season, is unknown even in Norway and Lapland.

When the morning dawned, they saw nothing round them, as far as the eye could reach, but snow, which seemed to lie as thick upon the trees as upon the ground; and the blasts returned so frequently, and with such violence, that they found it impossible for them to set out: how long this might last they knew not, and they had but too much reason to apprehend that it would confine them in that desolate forest till they perished with hunger and cold. After having suffered the misery and terror of this situation till six o'clock in the morning, they conceived some hope of deliverance by discovering the place of the sun through the clouds, which were become thinner, and began to break away. Their first care was to see whether the poor wretches whom they had been obliged to leave among the bushes were yet alive: three of the company were despatched for that purpose, and very soon afterwards returned with the melancholy news that they were dead.

Notwithstanding the flattering appearance of the sky, the snow still continued to fall so thick that they could not venture out on their journey to the ship; but about eight o'clock a small regular breeze sprung up, which, with the prevailing influence of the sun, at length cleared the air; and they soon after, with great joy, saw the snow fall in large flakes from the trees, a certain sign of an approaching thaw. They now examined more critically the state of their invalids: Briscoe was still very ill, but said that he thought himself able to walk; and Mr. Buchan was much better than either he or his friends had any reason to expect. They were now, however, pressed by the calls of hunger, to which, after long fasting, every consideration of future good or evil immediately gives way. Before they set forward, therefore, it was unanimously agreed that they should eat their vulture: the bird was accordingly skinned, and it being thought best to divide it before it was fit to be eaten, it was cut into ten portions, and every man cooked his own as he thought fit. After this repast, which furnished each of them with about three mouthfuls, they prepared to set out; but it was ten o'clock before the snow was sufficiently gone off to render a march practicable. After a walk of about three hours, they were very agreeably surprised to find themselves upon the beach, and much nearer to the ship than they had any reason to expect. Upon reviewing their track from the vessel, they perceived that, instead of ascending the hill in a line, so as to penetrate into the country, they had made almost a circle round it. When they came on board, they congratulated each other upon their safety with a joy that no man can feel who has not been exposed to equal danger; and as I had suffered great anxiety at their not returning in the evening of the day on which they set out, I was not wholly without my share.

CHAPTER V.—THE PASSAGE THROUGH THE STRAIT OF LE MAIRE, AND A FURTHER DESCRIPTION OF THE INHABITANTS OF TERRA DEL FUEGO AND ITS PRODUCTIONS.

On the 18th and 19th, we were delayed in getting on board our wood and water by a swell; but on the 20th, the weather being more moderate, we again sent the boat on shore, and Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went in it. They landed in the bottom of the bay; and while my people were employed in cutting brooms, they pursued their great object, the improvement of natural knowledge, with success, collecting many shells and plants which hitherto have been altogether unknown. They came on board to dinner, and afterwards went again on shore to visit an Indian town, which some of the people had reported to lie about two miles up the country. They found the distance not more than by the account, and they approached it by what appeared to be the common road; yet they were above an hour in getting thither, for they were frequently up to their knees in mud. When they got within a small distance, two of the people came out to meet them, with such state as they could assume. When they joined them, they began to halloo as they had done on board the ship, without addressing themselves either to the strangers or their companions;

FUEGEAN VILLAGE.

and having continued this strange vociferation for some time, they conducted them to the town. It was situated on a dry knoll, or small hill, covered with wood, none of which seemed to have been cleared away, and consisted of about twelve or fourteen hovels, of the most rude and inartificial structure that can be imagined. They were nothing more than a few poles set up so as to incline towards each other, and meet at the top, forming a kind of a cone, like some of our bee-hives: on the weather-side they were covered with a few boughs and a little grass, and on the lee-side about one-eighth of the circle was left open, both for a door

and a fire-place; and of this kind were the huts that had been seen in St. Vincent's bay, in one of which the embers of a fire were still remaining. Furniture they had none; a little grass, which lay round the inside of the hovel, served both for chairs and beds; and of all the utensils which necessity and ingenuity have concurred to produce among other savage nations, they saw only a basket to carry in the hand, a satchel to hang at the back, and the bladder of some beast to hold water, which the natives drink through a hole that is made near the top for that purpose.

The inhabitants of this town were a small tribe, not more than fifty in number, of both sexes and of every age. Their colour resembles that of the rust of iron mixed with oil, and they have long black hair: the men are large, but clumsily built; their stature is from five feet eight to five feet ten: the women are much less, few of them being more than five feet high. Their whole apparel consists of the skin of a guanoco *, or seal, which is thrown over their shoulders, exactly in the state in which it came from the animal's back; a piece of the same skin, which is drawn over their feet, and gathered about the ancles like a purse, and a small flap, which is worn by the women as a succedaneum for a fig-leaf. The men wear their cloak open; the women tie it about their waist with a thong; but although they are content to be naked, they are very ambitious to be fine. Their faces were painted in various forms; the region of the eye was in general white, and the rest of the face adorned with horizontal streaks of red and black; yet scarcely any two were exactly alike. This decoration seems to be more profuse and elaborate upon particular occasions; for the two gentlemen who introduced Mr. Banks and the doctor into the town, were almost covered with streaks of black in all directions, so as to make a very striking appearance. Both men and women wore bracelets of such beads as they could make themselves of small shells or bones; the women both upon their wrists and ancles, the men upon their wrists only; but to compensate for the want of bracelets on their legs, they wore a kind of fillet of brown worsted round their heads. They seemed to set a particular value upon anything that was red, and preferred beads even to a knife or a hatchet.

Their language in general is guttural, and they express some of their words by a sound exactly like that which we make to clear the throat when anything happens to obstruct it; yet they have words that would be deemed soft in the better languages of Europe. Mr. Banks learnt what he supposes to be their name for beads and water. When they wanted beads, instead of ribbons or other trifles, they said *hallĕcă;* and when they were taken on shore from the ship, and by signs asked where water might be found, they made the sign of drinking, and pointing as well to the casks as the watering-place, cried *Oodâ*.

We saw no appearance of their having any food but shell-fish; for though seals were frequently seen near the shore, they seemed to have no implements for taking them. The shell-fish is collected by the women, whose business it seems to be to attend at low water, with a basket in one hand, and a stick, pointed and barbed, in the other, and a satchel at their backs. They loosen the limpets and other fish that adhere to the rocks with the stick, and put them into the basket, which, when full, they empty into the satchel.

The only things that we found among them, in which there was the least appearance of neatness or ingenuity, were their weapons, which consisted of a bow and arrows. The bow was not inelegantly made, and the arrows were the neatest that we had ever seen: they were of wood, polished to the highest degree; and the point, which was of glass or flint, and barbed, was formed and fitted with wonderful dexterity. We saw also some pieces of glass and flint among them unwrought, besides rings, buttons, cloth, and canvass, with other European commodities; they must, therefore, sometimes travel to the northward, for it is

* "The guanoco, by some naturalists, is considered as the same animal with the llama, but in its wild state, is the South American representative of the camel of the East. In size it may be compared to an ass, mounted on taller legs, and with a very long neck. The guanoco abounds over the whole of the temperate parts of South America, from the wooded islands of Terra del Fuego, through Patagonia, the hilly parts of La Plata, Chili, even to the Cordillera of Peru. Although preferring an elevated site, it yields in this respect to its near relative the vicuna. On the plains of southern Patagonia we saw them in greater numbers than in any other part. Generally they go in small herds, from half-a-dozen to thirty together; but on the banks of the St. Cruz we saw one herd which must have contained at least five hundred. On the northern shores of the Strait of Magellan they are also very numerous."—*Darwin, in Surveying Voyages of the Adventure and Beagle.*

many years since any ship has been so far south as this part of Terra del Fuego. We observed, also, that they showed no surprise at our fire-arms, with the use of which they appeared to be well acquainted; for they made signs to Mr. Banks to shoot a seal which followed the boat, as they were going on shore from the ship.

M. de Bougainville, who, in January, 1768, just one year before us, had been on shore upon this coast in latitude 53° 40′ 41″, had, among other things, given glass to the people whom he found here; for he says, that a boy about twelve years old took it into his head to eat some of it. By this unhappy accident he died in great misery; but the endeavours of the good father, the French *aumonier*, were more successful than those of the surgeon; for though the surgeon could not save his life, the charitable priest found means to steal a Christian baptism upon him so secretly, that none of his pagan relations knew anything of the matter. These people might probably have some of the very glass which Bougainville left behind him, either from other natives, or perhaps from himself; for they appeared rather to be a travelling horde than to have any fixed habitation. Their houses are built to stand but for a short time. They have no utensil or furniture but the basket and satchel, which have been mentioned before, and which have handles adapted to the carrying them about, in the hand and upon the back. The only clothing they had here was scarcely sufficient to prevent their perishing with cold in the summer of this country, much less in the extreme severity of winter. The shell-fish, which seems to be their only food, must soon be exhausted at any one place; and we had seen houses upon what appeared to be a deserted station in St. Vincent's Bay. It is also probable that the place where we found them was only a temporary residence, from their having here nothing like a boat or canoe, of which it can scarcely be supposed that they were wholly destitute, especially as they were not sea-sick, or particularly affected, either in our boat or on board the ship. We conjectured that there might be a strait or inlet, running from the sea through great part of this island, from the Strait of Magellan, whence these people might come, leaving their canoes where such inlet terminated.

They did not appear to have among them any government or subordination: none was more respected than another; yet they seemed to live together in the utmost harmony and good fellowship. Neither did we discover any appearance of religion among them, except the noises which have been mentioned, and which we supposed to be a superstitious ceremony, merely because we could refer them to nothing else: they were used only by one of those who came on board the ship, and the two who conducted Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander to the town, whom we therefore conjectured to be priests. Upon the whole, these people appear to be the most destitute and forlorn, as well as the most stupid, of all human beings; the outcasts of nature, who spent their lives in wandering about the dreary wastes, where two of our people perished with cold in the midst of summer; with no dwelling but a wretched hovel of sticks and grass, which would not only admit the wind, but the snow and the rain; almost naked; and destitute of every convenience that is furnished by the rudest art, having no implement even to dress their food: yet they were content. They seemed to have no wish for anything more than they possessed, nor did anything that we offered them appear acceptable but beads, as an ornamental superfluity of life. What bodily pain they might suffer from the severities of their winter we could not know: but it is certain that they suffered nothing from the want of the innumerable articles which we consider not as the luxuries and conveniencies only but the necessaries of life: as their desires are few, they probably enjoy them all; and how much they may be gainers by an exemption from the care, labour, and solicitude, which arise from a perpetual and unsuccessful effort to gratify that infinite variety of desires which the refinements of artificial life have produced among us, is not very easy to determine: possibly this may counterbalance all the real disadvantages of their situation in comparison with ours, and make the scales by which good and evil are distributed to man hang even between us.

In this place we saw no quadruped except seals, sea-lions, and dogs: of the dogs it is remarkable that they bark, which those that are originally bred in America do not. And this is a further proof, that the people we saw here had, either immediately or remotely, communicated with the inhabitants of Europe. There are, however, other quadrupeds in

this part of the country; for when Mr. Banks was at the top of the highest hill that he ascended in his expedition through the woods, he saw the footsteps of a large beast imprinted upon the surface of a bog, though he could not with any probability guess of what kind it might be.

Of land-birds there are but few: Mr. Banks saw none larger than an English blackbird, except some hawks and a vulture; but of water-fowl there is great plenty, particularly ducks. Of fish we saw scarce any, and with our hooks could catch none that was fit to eat; but shell-fish, limpets, clams, and mussels, were to be found in abundance. Among the insects, which were not numerous, there was neither gnat nor musquito, nor any other species that was either hurtful or troublesome, which perhaps is more than can be said of any other uncleared country. During the snow-blasts, which happened every day while we were here, they hide themselves; and the moment it is fair they appear again, as nimble and vigorous as the warmest weather could make them.

Of plants, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander found a vast variety, the far greater part wholly different from any that have been hitherto described. Besides the birch and winter's bark, which have been mentioned already, there is the beech, *Fagus antarcticus*, which, as well as the birch, may be used for timber. The plants cannot be enumerated here; but as the scurvy-grass, *Cardamine antiscorbutica*, and the wild celery, *Apium antarcticum*, probably contain antiscorbutic qualities, which may be of great benefit to the crews of such ships as shall hereafter touch at this place, the following short description is inserted:—The scurvy-grass will be found in plenty in damp places, near springs of water, and, in general, in all places that lie near the beach, especially at the watering-place in the Bay of Good Success. When it is young, the state of its greatest perfection, it lies flat upon the ground, having many leaves of a bright green, standing in pairs opposite to each other, with a single one at the end, which generally makes the fifth upon a foot-stalk. The plant, passing from this state, shoots up in stalks that are sometimes two feet high, at the top of which are small white blossoms, and these are succeeded by long pods. The whole plant greatly resembles that which in England is called lady's smock, or cuckow-flower. The wild celery is very like the celery in our gardens; the flowers are white, and stand in the same manner, in small tufts at the top of the branches, but the leaves are of a deeper green. It grows in great abundance near the beach, and generally upon the soil that lies next above the spring tides. It may, indeed, easily be known by the taste, which is between that of celery and parsley. We used the celery in large quantities, particularly in our soup, which, thus medicated, produced the same good effects which seamen generally derive from a vegetable diet, after having been long confined to salt provisions.

On Sunday, the 22d of January, about two o'clock in the morning, having got our wood and water on board, we sailed out of the bay, and continued our course through the strait.

FUEGIAN CANOE.

CHAPTER VI.—A GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE S. E. PART OF TERRA DEL FUEGO, AND THE STRAIT OF LE MAIRE; WITH SOME REMARKS ON LORD ANSON'S ACCOUNT OF THEM, AND DIRECTIONS FOR THE PASSAGE WESTWARD, ROUND THIS PART OF AMERICA, INTO THE SOUTH SEAS.

ALMOST all writers, who have mentioned the island of Terra del Fuego, describe it as destitute of wood, and covered with snow. In the winter it may possibly be covered with snow, and those who saw it at that season might, perhaps, be easily deceived by its appearance into an opinion that it was destitute of wood. Lord Anson was there in the beginning of March, which answers to our September, and we were there the beginning of January, which answers to our July, which may account for the difference of his description of it from ours. We fell in with it about twenty-one leagues to the westward of the Strait of Le Maire, and from the time that we first saw it, trees were plainly to be distinguished with our glasses; and as we came nearer, though here and there we discovered patches of snow, the sides of the hills and the sea-coast appeared to be covered with a beautiful verdure. The hills are lofty, but not mountainous, though the summits of them are quite naked. The soil in the valleys is rich, and of a considerable depth; and at the foot of almost every hill there is a brook, the water of which has a reddish hue, like that which runs through our turf bogs in England; but it is by no means ill tasted, and, upon the whole, proved to be the best that we took in during our voyage. We ranged the coast to the Strait, and had soundings all the way from forty to twenty fathom upon a gravelly and sandy bottom. The most remarkable land on Terra del Fuego is a hill in the form of a sugar-loaf, which stands on the west side, not far from the sea; and the three hills, called the Three Brothers, about nine miles to the westward of Cape St. Diego, the low point that forms the north entrance of the Strait of Le Maire.

It is said, in the account of Lord Anson's voyage, that it is difficult to determine exactly where the strait lies, though the appearance of Terra del Fuego be well known, without knowing also the appearance of Staten Land; and that some navigators have been deceived by three hills on Staten Land, which have been mistaken for the Three Brothers on Terra del Fuego, and so overshot the strait. But no ship can possibly miss the strait that coasts Terra del Fuego within sight of land, for it will then of itself be sufficiently conspicuous; and Staten Land, which forms the east side, will be still more manifestly distinguished, for there is no land on Terra del Fuego like it. The Strait of Le Maire can be missed only by standing too far to the eastward, without keeping the land of Terra del Fuego in sight. If this is done, it may be missed, however accurately the appearance of the coast of Staten Land may have been exhibited; and if this is not done, it cannot be missed, though the appearance of that coast be not known. The entrance of the strait should not be attempted but with a fair wind and moderate weather, and upon the very beginning of the tide of flood, which happens here at the full and change of the moon, about one or two o'clock; it is also best to keep as near to the Terra del Fuego shore as the winds will admit. By attending to these particulars, a ship may be got quite through the strait in one tide; or, at least, to the southward of Success Bay, into which it will be more prudent to put, if the wind should be southerly, than to attempt the weathering of Staten Land with a lee wind and a current, which may endanger her being driven on that island.

The Strait itself, which is bounded on the west by Terra del Fuego, and on the east by the west end of Staten Land, is about five leagues long, and as many broad. The bay of Good Success lies about the middle of it, on the Terra del Fuego side, and is discovered immediately upon entering the Strait from the northward: and the south head of it may be distinguished by a mark on the land that has the appearance of a broad road leading up from the sea into the country: at the entrance it is half a league wide, and runs in westward about two miles and a half. There is good anchorage in every part of it, in from ten to seven fathom, clear ground; and it affords plenty of exceeding good wood and water. The tides flow in the bay, at the full and change of the moon, about four or five o'clock, and rise about five or six feet perpendicular. But the flood runs two or three hours longer in

the Strait than in the Bay; and the ebb, or northerly current, runs with nearly double the strength of the flood.

In the appearance of Staten Land we did not discover the wildness and horror that is ascribed to it in the account of Lord Anson's voyage. On the north side are the appearances of bays or harbours; and the land, when we saw it, was neither destitute of wood nor verdure, nor covered with snow. The island seems to be about twelve leagues in length, and five broad. On the west side of the Cape of Good Success, which forms the S.W. entrance of the Strait, lies Valentine's Bay, of which we only saw the entrance; from this bay the land trends away to the W.S.W. for twenty or thirty leagues; it appears to be high and mountainous, and forms several bays and inlets.

At the distance of fourteen leagues from the Bay of Good Success, in the direction of S.W. ½ W. and between two or three leagues from the shore, lies New Island. It is about two leagues in length from N. E. to S. W., and terminates to the N. E. in a remarkable hillock. At the distance of seven leagues from New Island, in the direction of S. W. lies the Isle *Evouts;* and a little to the W. of the south of this island lie Barnevelt's two small flat islands, close to each other; they are partly surrounded with rocks, which rise to different heights above the water, and lie twenty-four leagues from the Strait of Le Maire. At the distance of three leagues from Barnevelt's islands, in the direction of S. W. by S., lies the S. E. point of Hermit's islands: these islands lie S. E. and N. W., and are pretty high: from most points of view they will be taken for one island, or a part of the main. From the S. E. point of Hermit's islands to Cape Horn the course is S. W. by S., distance three leagues.

The appearance of this Cape and Hermit's islands is represented in the chart of this coast, from our first making land to the Cape, which includes the Strait of Le Maire, and part of Staten Land. In this chart I have laid down no land, nor traced out any shore but what I saw myself, and thus far it may be depended upon: the bays and inlets, of which we saw only the openings, are not traced; it can, however, scarcely be doubted, but that most, if not all of them, afford anchorage, wood, and water. The Dutch squadron, commanded by Hermit, certainly put into some of them in the year 1624. And it was Chapenham, the vice-admiral of this squadron, who first discovered that the land of Cape Horn consisted of a number of islands. The account, however, which those who sailed in Hermit's fleet have given of these parts is extremely defective; and those of Schouton and Le Maire are still worse. It is therefore no wonder that the charts hitherto published should be erroneous, not only in laying down the land, but in the latitude and longitude of the places they contain. I will, however, venture to assert, that the longitude of few parts of the world is better ascertained than that of the Strait of Le Maire and Cape Horn, in the chart now offered to the public, as it was laid down by several observations of the sun and moon, that were made both by myself and Mr. Green.

The variation of the compass on this coast I found to be from 23° to 25° E., except near Barnevelt's islands and Cape Horn, where we found it less, and unsettled: probably it is disturbed here by the land, as Hermit's squadron, in this very place, found all their compasses differ from each other. The declination of the dipping-needle, when set upon shore in Success Bay, was 68° 15′ below the horizon. Between Strait Le Maire and Cape Horn we found a current setting, generally very strong, to the N. E., when we were in with the shore, but lost it when we were at the distance of fifteen or twenty leagues.

On the 26th January, we took our departure from Cape Horn, which lies in latitude 55° 53′ S., longitude 68° 13′ W. The farthest southern latitude that we made was 60° 10′, our longitude was then 74° 30′ W.; and we found the variation of the compass, by the mean of eighteen azimuths to be 27° 9′ E. As the weather was frequently calm, Mr. Banks went out in a small boat to shoot birds, among which were some albatrosses and sheerwaters. The albatrosses were observed to be larger than those which had been taken northward of the Strait; one of them measured ten feet two inches from the tip of one wing to that of the other, when they were extended: the sheerwater, on the contrary, is less, and darker coloured on the back. The albatrosses we skinned, and having soaked them in salt-water till the morning, we parboiled them, then throwing away the liquor,

stewed them in a very little fresh water till they were tender, and had them served up with savoury sauce; thus dressed, the dish was universally commended, and we eat of it very heartily, even when there was fresh pork upon the table.

From a variety of observations which were made with great care, it appeared probable in the highest degree, that, from the time of our leaving the land to the 13th of February, when we were in latitude 49° 32', and longitude 90° 37', we had no current to the west.

At this time we had advanced about 12° to the westward, and 3½° to the northward of the Strait of Magellan; having been just three-and-thirty days in coming round the land of Terra del Fuego, or Cape Horn, from the east entrance of the Strait to this situation. And though the doubling of Cape Horn is so much dreaded, that, in the general opinion, it is more eligible to pass through the Strait of Magellan, we were not once brought under our close-reefed topsails after we left the Strait of Le Maire. The Dolphin, in her last voyage, which she performed at the same season of the year with ours, was three months in getting through the Strait of Magellan, exclusive of the time that she lay in Port Famine; and I am persuaded, from the winds we had, that if we had come by that passage, we should not at this time have been in these seas; that our people would have been fatigued, and our anchors, cables, sails, and rigging much damaged; neither of which inconveniences we had now suffered. But, supposing it more eligible to go round the Cape than through the Strait of Magellan, it may still be questioned, whether it is better to go through the Strait of Le Maire, or stand to the eastward, and go round Staten Land. The advice given in the Account of lord Anson's voyage is, "That all ships bound to the South Seas, instead of passing through the Strait of Le Maire, should constantly pass to the eastward of Staten Land, and should be invariably bent on running to the southward as far as the latitude of 61 or 62 degrees, before they endeavour to stand to the westward." But, in my opinion, different circumstances may at one time render it eligible to pass through the Strait, and to keep to the eastward of Staten Land at another If the land is fallen in with to the westward of the Strait, and the wind is favourable for going through, I think it would be very injudicious to lose time by going round Staten Land, as I am confident that, by attending to the directions which I have given, the Strait may be passed with the utmost safety and convenience. But if, on the contrary, the land is fallen in with to the eastward of the Strait, and the wind should prove tempestuous or unfavourable, I think it would be best to go round Staten Land. But I cannot in any case concur in recommending the running into the latitude of 61 or 62, before any endeavour is made to stand to the westward. We found neither the current nor the storms which the running so far to the southward is supposed necessary to avoid; and, indeed, as the winds almost constantly blow from that quarter, it is scarcely possible to pursue the advice. The navigator has no choice but to stand to the southward, close upon a wind, and by keeping upon that tack, he will not only make southing, but westing; and, if the wind varies towards the north of the west, his westing will be considerable. It will, indeed, be highly proper to make sure of a westing sufficient to double all the lands, before an attempt is made to stand to the northward, and to this every man's own prudence will of necessity direct him *.

We now began to have strong gales and heavy seas, with irregular intervals of calm and fine weather.

* The recent survey of the Straits of Magellan and Terra del Fuego by Captains King and Fitzroy, has removed many of the difficulties which embarrassed former voyagers. With respect to the passage through the Straits of Le Maire, Capt. King's opinion is quite confirmatory of that of Capt. Cook. "Prudence, I think," says he, "suggests the passage round Staten Land; yet I should very reluctantly give up the opportunity that might offer of clearing the Strait, and therefore of being so much more to windward. With a southerly wind it would not be advisable to attempt the Strait; for, with a weather tide, the sea runs very cross and deep, and might severely injure and endanger the safety of a small vessel, and to a larger one do much damage. In calm weather it would be still more imprudent (unless the western side of the Strait can be reached, where a ship might anchor), on account of the tides setting over to the Staten Island side; where, if it becomes advisable to anchor, it would necessarily be in very deep water, and close to the land. With a northerly wind the route seems not only practicable but very advantageous, and it would require some resolution to give up the opportunity so invitingly offered. I doubt whether northerly winds, unless they are very strong, blow through the Strait—if not, a ship is drifted over to the eastern shores, where, from the force of the tides, she must be quite unmanageable.

"Capt. Fitzroy seems to think there is neither difficulty nor risk in passing the Strait. The only danger that does exist, and that may be an imaginary one, is the failure of the wind. Ships passing through it from th

CHAPTER VII.—THE SEQUEL OF THE PASSAGE FROM CAPE HORN TO THE NEWLY-DISCOVERED ISLANDS IN THE SOUTH SEAS, WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THEIR FIGURE AND APPEARANCE; SOME ACCOUNT OF THE INHABITANTS, AND SEVERAL INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED DURING THE COURSE, AND AT THE SHIP'S ARRIVAL AMONG THEM.

On the first of March, we were in latitude 38° 44′ S. and longitude 110° 33′ W., both by observation and by the log. This agreement, after a run of 660 leagues, was thought to be very extraordinary; and is a demonstration, that after we left the land of Cape Horn we had no current that affected the ship. It renders it also highly probable, that we had been near no land of any considerable extent; for currents are always found when land is not remote, and sometimes, particularly on the east side of the continent in the North Sea, when land has been distant 100 leagues.

Many birds, as usual, were constantly about the ship, so that Mr. Banks killed no less than 62 in one day; and what is more remarkable, he caught two forest flies, both of them of the same species, but different from any that have hitherto been described; these probably belonged to the birds, and came with them from the land, which we judged to be at a great distance. Mr. Banks also, about this time, found a large cuttle-fish, which had just been killed by the birds, floating in a mangled condition upon the water; it is very different from the cuttle-fishes that are found in the European seas; for its arms, instead of suckers, were furnished with a double row of very sharp talons, which resemble those of a cat, and, like them, were retractable into a sheath of skin, from which they might be thrust at pleasure. Of this cuttle-fish we made one of the best soups we had ever tasted.

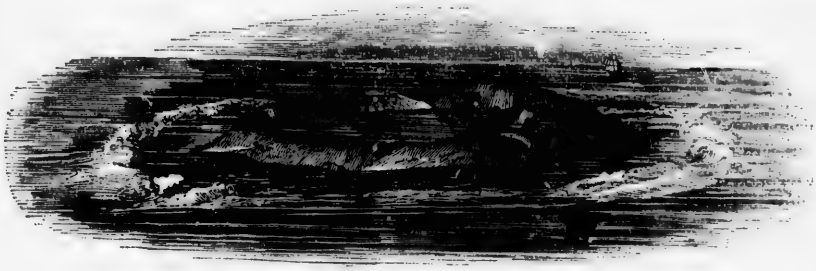
The albatrosses now began to leave us, and after the 8th there was not one to be seen. We continued our course without any memorable event till the 24th, when some of the people who were upon the watch in the night, reported that they saw a log of wood pass by the ship; and that the sea, which was rather rough, became suddenly as smooth as a mill-pond. It was a general opinion that there was land to windward; but I did not think myself at liberty to search for what I was not sure to find; though I judged we were not far from the islands that were discovered by Quiros in 1606. Our latitude was 22° 11′ S. and longitude 127° 55′ W.

On the 25th, about noon, one of the marines, a young fellow about twenty, was placed as sentry at the cabin-door; while he was upon this duty, one of my servants was at the same place preparing to cut a piece of seal-skin into tobacco pouches: he had promised one to several of the men, but had refused one to this young fellow, though he had asked him several times; upon which he jocularly threatened to steal one, if it should be in his power. It happened that the servant being called hastily away, gave the skin in charge to the sentinel, without regarding what had passed between them. The sentinel immediately secured a piece of the skin, which the other missing at his return, grew angry; but after some altercation, contented himself with taking it away, declaring that, for so trifling an affair, he would not complain of him to the officers. But it happened that one of his fellow-soldiers, overhearing the dispute, came to the knowledge of what had happened, and told it the rest; who, taking it into their heads to stand up for the honour of their corps, reproached the offender with great bitterness, and reviled him in the most opprobrious terms; they exaggerated his offence into a crime of the deepest dye; they said it was a

south, are not so liable to the failure of the south-westerly wind, unless it be light, and then a breeze will probably be found from N.W. at the northern end of the Strait. The anchorage in Good Success Bay, however, is at hand, should the wind or tide fail."

With respect to the passage through the Strait of Magellan, Capt. King observes:—"By the present survey, the navigation through it, independent of wind and weather, has been rendered much easier—the local difficulties, therefore, have been removed; but there remain much more serious ones, which I should not recommend a large, or even any but a very active and fast-sailing square-rigged vessel to encounter, unless detention be not an object of importance. For small vessels, especially if they be fore-and-aft rigged, many, if not all, the local difficulties vanish."—*Surveying Voyages of the Adventure and the Beagle.*

theft by a sentry when he was upon duty, and of a thing that had been committed to his trust; they declared it a disgrace to associate with him; and the serjeant, in particular, said that, if the person from whom the skin had been stolen would not complain, he would complain himself; for that his honour would suffer if the offender was not punished. From the scoffs and reproaches of these men of honour, the poor young fellow retired to his hammock in an agony of confusion and shame. The serjeant soon after went to him, and ordered him to follow him to the deck: he obeyed without reply; but it being in the dusk of the evening, he slipped from the serjeant and went forward: he was seen by some of the people, who thought he was gone to the head; but a search being made for him afterwards, it was found that he had thrown himself overboard; and I was then first made acquainted with the theft and its circumstances. The loss of this man was the more regretted as he was remarkably quiet and industrious, and as the very action that put an end to his life was a proof of an ingenuous mind; for to such only disgrace is insupportable.



POLYNESIAN ISLAND.—LAGOON SHAPE, AND COMPOSED OF CORAL.

On Tuesday the 4th of April, about ten o'clock in the morning, Mr. Banks' servant, Peter Briscoe, discovered land, bearing south, at the distance of about three or four leagues. I immediately hauled up for it, and found it to be an island of an oval form, with a lagoon in the middle, which occupied much the larger part of it; the border of land which circumscribes the lagoon is in many places very low and narrow, particularly on the south side, where it consists principally of a beach or reef of rocks. It has the same appearance also in three places on the north side; so that the firm land being disjoined, the whole looks like many islands covered with wood On the west end of the island is a large tree, or clump of trees, that in appearance resembles a tower; and about the middle are two cocoa-nut trees, which rise above all the rest, and, as we came near to the island, appeared like a flag. We approached it on the north side, and though we came within a mile, we found no bottom with 130 fathom of line, nor did there appear to be any anchorage about it. The whole is covered with trees of different verdure, but we could distinguish none, even with our glasses, except cocoa-nuts and palm-nuts. We saw several of the natives upon the shore, and counted four-and-twenty. They appeared to be tall, and to have heads remarkably large; perhaps they had something wound round them which we could not distinguish; they were of a copper colour, and had long black hair. Eleven of them walked along the beach abreast of the ship, with poles or pikes in their hands which reached twice as high as themselves. While they walked on the beach they seemed to be naked; but soon after they retired, which they did as soon as the ship had passed the island, they covered themselves with something that made them appear of a light colour. Their habitations were under some clumps of palm-nut-trees, which at a distance appeared like high ground; and to us, who for a long time had seen nothing but water and sky, except the dreary hills of Terra del Fuego, these groves seemed a terrestrial paradise. To this spot, which lies in latitude 18° 47″ S., and longitude 139° 28′ W., we gave the name of Lagoon Island. The variation of the needle here is 2° 54′ E.

About one o'clock we made sail to the westward, and about half an hour after three we saw land again to the N.W. We got up with it at sunset, and it proved to be a low woody island, of a circular form, and not much above a mile in compass. We discovered no inhabitants, nor could we distinguish any cocoa-nut-trees, though we were within half a mile of the shore. The land, however, was covered with verdure of many hues. It lies in latitude 18° 35′ S., and longitude 139° 48′ W., and is distant from Lagoon Island, in the direction of N. 62 W., about seven leagues. We called it Thrumb-Cap. I discovered, by the appearance of the shore, that at this place it was low water; and I had observed at Lagoon Island that it was either high water, or that the sea neither ebbed nor flowed. I infer, therefore, that a S. by E. or S. moon makes high water.

We went on with a fine trade-wind and pleasant weather, and on the 5th, about three in the afternoon, we discovered land to the westward. It proved to be a low island of much greater extent than either of those that we had seen before, being about ten or twelve leagues in compass. Several of us remained at the mast-head the whole evening, admiring its extraordinary figure: it was shaped exactly like a bow, the arc and cord of which were land, and the space between them water: the cord was a flat beach, without any signs of vegetation, having nothing upon it but heaps of sea-weed, which lay in different ridges, as higher or lower tides had left them. It appeared to be about three or four leagues long, and not more than two hundred yards wide; but as a horizontal plane is always seen in perspective, and greatly foreshortened, it is certainly much wider than it appeared: the horns, or extremities of the bow, were two large tufts of cocoa-nut-trees; and much the greater part of the arc was covered with trees of different height, figure, and hue, in some parts, however, it was naked and low, like the cord. Some of us thought they discovered openings through the cord, into the pool or lake that was included between that and the bow; but whether there were or were not such openings is uncertain. We sailed abreast of the low beach or bow-string, within less than a league of the shore, till sunset, and we then judged ourselves to be about halfway between the two horns. Here we brought to, and sounded, but found no bottom with one hundred and thirty fathom; and, as it is dark almost instantly after sunset in these latitudes, we suddenly lost sight of the land, and making sail again, before the line was well hauled in, we steered by the sound of the breakers, which were distinctly heard till we got clear of the coast. We knew this island to be inhabited, by smoke which we saw in different parts of it, and we gave it the name of Bow Island. Mr. Gore, my second lieutenant, said, after we had sailed by the island, that he had seen several of the natives, under the first clump of trees, from the deck; that he had distinguished their houses, and seen several canoes hauled up under the shade; but in this he was more fortunate than any other person on board. The east end of this island, which, from its figure, we called the Bow, lies in latitude 18° 23′ S., and longitude 141° 12′ W.; we observed the variation of the compass to be 5° 38′ E.

On the next day, Thursday the 6th, about noon, we saw land again to the westward, and came up with it about three. It appeared to be two islands, or rather groups of islands, extending from N.W. by N. to S.E. by S. about nine leagues. Of these, the two largest were separated from each other by a channel of about half-a-mile broad, and were severally surrounded by smaller islands, to which they were joined by reefs that lay under water. These islands were long narrow strips of land, ranging in all directions, some of them ten miles or upwards in length, but none more than a quarter of a mile broad, and upon all of them there were trees of various kinds, particularly the cocoa-nut. The south-easternmost of them lies in the latitude of 18° 12′ S., and longitude 142° 42′ W., and at the distance of twenty-five leagues in the direction of W. ½ N. from the west end of Bow Island. We ranged along the S.W. side of this island, and hauled into a bay which lies to the N.W. of the southernmost point of the group, where there was a smooth sea, and the appearance of anchorage, without much surf on the shore. We sounded, but we found no bottom with one hundred fathom, at the distance of no more than three quarters of a mile from the beach; and I did not think it prudent to go nearer.

While this was doing, several of the inhabitants assembled upon the shore, and some came out in their canoes as far as the reefs, but would not pass them. When we saw this,

we ranged, with an easy sail, along the shore; but just as we were passing the end of the island, six men, who had for some time kept abreast of the ship, suddenly launched two canoes with great quickness and dexterity, and three of them getting into each, they put off, as we imagined, with a design to come on board us; the ship was therefore brought to, but they, like their fellows, stopped at the reef. We did not, however, immediately make sail, as we observed two messengers despatched to them from the other canoes, which were of a much larger size. We perceived that these messengers made great expedition, wading and swimming along the reef; at length they met, and the men on board the canoes making no dispositions to pass the reef, after having received the message, we judged that they had resolved to come no farther. After waiting, therefore, some little time longer, we stood off; but when we were got about two or three miles from the shore, we perceived some of the natives following us in a canoe with a sail. We did not, however, think it worth while to wait for her, and though she had passed the reef, she soon after gave over the chase.

According to the best judgment that we could form of the people when we were nearest the shore, they were about our size, and well made. They were of a brown complexion, and appeared to be naked: their hair, which was black, was confined by a fillet that went round the head, and stuck out behind like a bush. The greater part of them carried in their hands two weapons; one of them was a slender pole, from ten to fourteen feet long, on one end of which was a small knob, not unlike the point of a spear; the other was about four feet long, and shaped like a paddle, and possibly might be so, for some of their canoes were very small: those which we saw them launch seemed not intended to carry more than the three men that got into them: we saw others that had on board six or seven men, and one of them hoisted a sail which did not seem to reach more than six feet above the gun-wale of the boat, and which, upon the falling of a slight shower, was taken down and converted into an awning or tilt. The canoe which followed us to sea hoisted a sail not unlike an English lug-sail, and almost as lofty as an English boat of the same size would have carried.

POLYNESIAN ISLAND.—CRYSTAL STRUCTURE.

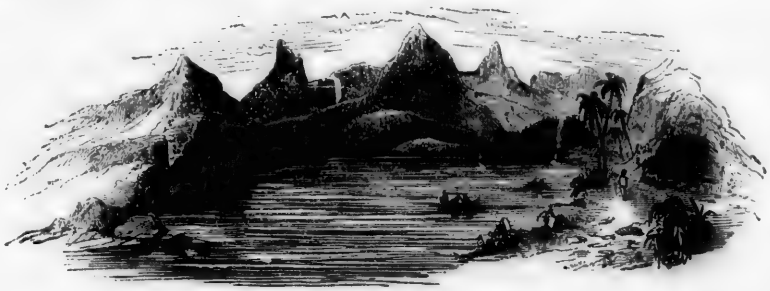
The people, who kept abreast of the ship on the beach, made many signals; but whether they were intended to frighten us away, or invite us on shore, it is not easy to determine: we returned them by waving our hats and shouting, and they replied by shouting again. We did not put their disposition to the test, by attempting to land; because, as the island was inconsiderable, and as we wanted nothing that it could afford, we thought it imprudent as well as cruel to risk a contest, in which the natives must have suffered by our superiority, merely to gratify an idle curiosity; especially as we expected soon to fall in with the island where we had been directed to make our astronomical observation, the inhabitants of which would probably admit us without opposition, as they were already acquainted with our strength, and might also procure us a ready and peaceable reception among the neighbouring people, if we should desire it. To these islands we gave the name of The Groups.

On the 7th, about half an hour after six in the morning, being just at daybreak, we discovered another island to the northward, which we judged to be about four miles in circumference. The land lay very low, and there was a piece of water in the middle of it;

there seemed to be some wood upon it, and it looked green and pleasant; but we saw neither cocoa-trees nor inhabitants: it abounded, however, with birds, and we therefore gave it the name of Bird Island. It lies in latitude 17° 48′ S., and longitude 143° 35′ W., at the distance of ten leagues, in the direction W. ½ N. from the west end of the Groups. The variation here was 6° 32′ E.

On the 8th, about two o'clock in the afternoon, we saw land to the northward, and about sunset came abreast of it, at about the distance of two leagues. It appeared to be a double range of low woody islands joined together by reefs, so as to form one island, in the form of an ellipsis or oval, with a lake in the middle of it. The small islands and reefs that circumscribe the lake have the appearance of a chain, and we therefore gave it the name of Chain Island. Its length seemed to be about five leagues, in the direction of N.W. and S.E., and its breadth about five miles. The trees upon it appeared to be large, and we saw smoke rising in different parts of it from among them: a certain sign that it was inhabited. The middle of it lies in latitude 17° 23′ S., and longitude 145° 54′ W., and is distant from Bird Island forty-five leages, in the direction of W. by N. The variation here was, by several azimuths, found to be 4° 54′ E.

On the 10th, having had a tempestuous night with thunder and rain, the weather was hazy till about nine o'clock in the morning, when it cleared up, and we saw the island to which Captain Wallis, who first discovered it, gave the name of Osnaburgh Island, called by the natives *Maitea*, bearing N.W. by W., distant about five leagues. It is a high round island, not above a league in circuit; in some parts it is covered with trees, and in others a naked rock. In this direction it looked like a high-crowned hat; but when it bears north, the top of it has more the appearance of the roof of a house. We made its latitude to be 17° 48′ S., its longitude 148° 10′ W., and its distance from Chain Island, forty-four leagues, in the direction of W. by S.



POLYNESIAN ISLAND.—VOLCANIC SHAPED.

CHAPTER VIII.—THE ARRIVAL OF THE ENDEAVOUR AT OTAHEITE, CALLED BY CAPTAIN WALLIS KING GEORGE THE THIRD'S ISLAND.—RULES ESTABLISHED FOR TRAFFIC WITH THE NATIVES, AND AN ACCOUNT OF SEVERAL INCIDENTS WHICH HAPPENED IN A VISIT TO TOOTAHAH AND TUBOURAI TAMAIDA, TWO CHIEFS.

About one o'clock, on Monday the 10th of April, some of the people who were looking out for the island to which we were bound, said they saw land a-head, in that part of the horizon where it was expected to appear; but it was so faint that whether there was land in sight or not remained a matter of dispute till sunset. The next morning, however, at six o'clock, we were convinced that those who said they had discovered land were not mistaken; it appeared to be very high and mountainous, extending from W. by S. ½ S. to W. by N. ½ N., and we knew it to be the same that Captain Wallis had called King George the Third's Island. We were delayed in our approach to it by light airs and calms, so that in the morning of the 12th we were but little nearer than we had been the

night before; but about seven a breeze sprang up, and before eleven several canoes were seen making towards the ship: there were but few of them, however, that would come near; and the people in those that did could not be persuaded to come on board. In every canoe there were young plantains, and branches of a tree which the Indians call *E'Midho:* these, as we afterwards learnt, were brought as tokens of peace and amity; and the people in one of the canoes handed them up the ship's side, making signals at the same time with great earnestness, which we did not immediately understand; at length we guessed that they wished these symbols should be placed in some conspicuous part of the ship; we, therefore, immediately stuck them among the rigging, at which they expressed the greatest satisfaction. We then purchased their cargoes, consisting of cocoa-nuts and various kinds of fruit, which, after our long voyage, were very acceptable.

We stood on with an easy sail all night, with soundings from twenty-two fathom to twelve, and about seven o'clock in the morning we came to an anchor in thirteen fathom, in Portroyal Bay, called by the natives *Matavai*. We were immediately surrounded by the natives in their canoes, who gave us cocoa-nuts, fruit resembling apples, bread-fruit, and some small fishes, in exchange for beads and other trifles. They had with them a pig, which they would not part with for anything but a hatchet, and therefore we refused to purchase it; because if we gave them a hatchet for a pig now, we knew they would never afterwards sell one for less, and we could not afford to buy as many as it was probable we should want at that price. The bread-fruit grows on a tree that is about the size of a middling oak: its leaves are frequently a foot and a half long, of an oblong shape, deeply sinuated like those of the fig-tree, which they resemble in consistence and colour, and in the exuding of a white milky juice upon being broken. The fruit is about the size and shape of a child's head, and the surface is reticulated, not much unlike a truffle: it is covered with a thin skin, and has a core about as big as the handle of a small knife: the eatable part lies between the skin and the core: it is as white as snow, and somewhat of the consistence of new bread: it must be roasted before it is eaten, being first divided into three or four parts: its taste is insipid, with a slight sweetness, somewhat resembling that of the crumb of wheaten bread mixed with a Jerusalem artichoke.

BREAD FRUIT.

Among others who came off to the ship was an elderly man, whose name, as we learnt afterwards, was Owhaw, and who was immediately known to Mr. Gore, and several others who had been here with Captain Wallis. As I was informed that he had been very useful to them, I took him on board the ship with some others, and was particularly attentive to gratify him, as I hoped he might also be useful to us.

As our stay here was not likely to be very short, and as it was necessary that the merchandise which we had brought for traffic with the natives should not diminish in its value, which it would certainly have done if every person had been left at liberty to give what he pleased for such things as he should purchase; at the same time, that confusion and quarrels must necessarily have arisen from there being no standard at market, I drew up the following rules, and ordered that they should be punctually observed:—

Rules to be observed by every Person in or belonging to his Majesty's Bark the Endeavour, for the better establishing a regular and uniform Trade for Provision, &c. with the Inhabitants of George's Island.

"I. To endeavour, by every fair means, to cultivate a friendship with the natives; and to treat them with all imaginable humanity.

"II. A proper person or persons will be appointed to trade with the natives for all manner of provisions, fruit, and other productions of the earth; and no officer or seaman, or other person belonging to the ship, excepting such as are so appointed, shall trade or offer to trade for any sort of provision, fruit, or other productions of the earth, unless they have leave so to do.

"III. Every person employed on shore, on any duty whatsoever, is strictly to attend to the same; and if by any neglect he loseth any of his arms, or working tools, or suffers them to be stolen, the full value thereof will be charged against his pay, according to the custom of the navy in such cases; and he shall receive such farther punishment as the nature of the offence may deserve.

"IV. The same penalty will be inflicted on every person who is found to embezzle, trade, or offer to trade, with any part of the ship's stores, of what nature soever.

"V. No sort of iron, or anything that is made of iron, or any sort of cloth, or other useful or necessary articles, are to be given in exchange for anything but provision.

"J. Cook."

As soon as the ship was properly secured, I went on shore with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, a party of men under arms, and our friend Owhaw. We were received from the boat by some hundreds of the inhabitants, whose looks at least gave us welcome, though they were struck with such awe, that the first who approached us crouched so low that he almost crept upon his hands and knees. It is remarkable that he, like the people in the canoes, presented to us the same symbol of peace that is known to have been in use among the ancient and mighty nations of the northern hemisphere, the green branch of a tree. We received it with looks and gestures of kindness and satisfaction; and observing that each of them held one in his hand, we immediately gathered every one a bough, and carried it in our hands in the same manner.

They marched with us about half-a-mile towards the place where the Dolphin had watered, conducted by Owhaw; they then made a full stop, and having laid the ground bare, by clearing away all the plants that grew upon it, the principal persons among them threw their green branches upon the naked spot, and made signs that we should do the same; we immediately showed our readiness to comply, and to give a greater solemnity to the rite, the marines were drawn up, and marching in order, each dropped his bough upon those of the Indians, and we followed their example. We then proceeded, and when we came to the watering-place it was intimated to us by signs, that we might occupy that ground, but it happened not to be fit for our purpose. During our walk, they had shaken off their first timid sense of our superiority, and were become familiar: they went with us from the watering-place and took a circuit through the woods; as we went along, we distributed beads and other small presents among them, and had the satisfaction to see that they were much gratified. Our circuit was not less than four or five miles, through groves of trees, which were loaded with cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit, and afforded the most grateful shade. Under these trees were the habitations of the people, most of them being only a roof without walls, and the whole scene realised the poetical fables of Arcadia. We remarked, however, not without some regret, that in all our walk we had seen only two hogs, and not a single fowl. Those of our company who had been here with the Dolphin told us, that none of the people whom we had yet seen were of the first class: they suspected that the chiefs had removed; and upon carrying us to the place where what they called the queen's palace had stood, we found that no traces of it were left. We determined therefore to return in the morning, and endeavour to find out the *noblesse* in their retreats.

In the morning, however, before we could leave the ship, several canoes came about us, most of them from the westward, and two of them were filled with people, who, by their dress and deportment, appeared to be of a superior rank: two of these came on board, and each singled out his friend; one of them, whose name we found to be Matahah, fixed upon Mr. Banks, and the other upon me: this ceremony consisted in taking off great part of their clothes and putting them upon us. In return for this, we presented each of them with a hatchet and some beads. Soon after they made signs for us to go with them to the

places where they lived, pointing to the S.W.; and as I was desirous of finding a more commodious harbour, and making farther trial of the disposition of the people, I consented.

I ordered out two boats, and with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, the other gentlemen, and our two Indian friends, we embarked for our expedition. After rowing about a league, they made signs that we should go on shore, and gave us to understand that this was the place of their residence. We accordingly landed, among several hundreds of the natives, who conducted us into a house of much greater length than any we had seen. When we entered, we saw a middle-aged man, whose name was afterwards discovered to be Tootahah: mats were immediately spread, and we were desired to sit down over-against him. Soon after we were seated, he ordered a cock and hen to be brought out, which he presented to Mr. Banks and me: we accepted the present; and in a short time each of us received a piece of cloth, perfumed after their manner, by no means disagreeably, which they took great pains to make us remark. The piece presented to Mr. Banks was eleven yards long and two wide; in return for which, he gave a laced silk neckcloth, which he happened to have on, and a linen pocket-handkerchief: Tootahah immediately dressed himself in this new finery, with an air of perfect complacency and satisfaction. But it is now time that I should take some notice of the ladies.

Soon after the interchanging of our presents with Tootahah, they attended us to several large houses, in which we walked about with great freedom: they showed us all the civility of which, in our situation, we could accept; and, on their part, seemed to have no scruple that would have prevented its being carried farther. The houses, which, as I have observed before, are all open, except a roof, afforded no place of retirement; but the ladies, by frequently pointing to the mats upon the ground, and sometimes seating themselves and drawing us down upon them, left us no room to doubt of their being much less jealous of observation than we were.

We now took leave of our friendly chief, and directed our course along the shore. When we had walked about a mile, we met, at the head of a great number of people, another chief, whose name was Tubourai Tamaide, with whom we were also to ratify a treaty of peace, with the ceremony of which we were now become better acquainted. Having received the branch which he presented to us, and given another in return, we laid our hands upon our left breasts, and pronounced the word *Taio*, which we supposed to signify friend; the chief then gave us to understand, that if we chose to eat, he had victuals ready for us. We accepted his offer, and dined very heartily upon fish, bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and plantains, dressed after their manner: they ate some of their fish raw; and raw fish was offered to us, but we declined that part of the entertainment.

During this visit a wife of our noble host, whose name was Tomio, did Mr. Banks the honour to place herself upon the same mat, close by him. Tomio was not in the first bloom of her youth, nor did she appear to have been ever remarkable for her beauty; he did not, therefore, I believe, pay her the most flattering attention: it happened, too, as a farther mortification to this lady, that seeing a very pretty girl among the crowd, he, not adverting to the dignity of his companion, beckoned her to come to him: the girl, after some entreaty, complied, and sat down on the other side of him: he loaded her with beads, and every showy trifle that would please her: his princess, though she was somewhat mortified at the preference that was given to her rival, did not discontinue her civilities, but still assiduously supplied him with the milk of the cocoa-nut, and such other dainties as were in her reach. This scene might possibly have become more curious and interesting, if it had not been suddenly interrupted by an interlude of a more serious kind. Just at this time, Dr. Solander and Mr. Monkhouse complained that their pockets had been picked. Dr. Solander had lost an opera-glass in a shagreen case, and Mr. Monkhouse his snuff-box. This incident unfortunately put an end to the good-humour of the company. Complaint of the injury was made to the chief; and, to give it weight, Mr. Banks started up, and hastily struck the butt-end of his firelock upon the ground: this action, and the noise that accompanied it, struck the whole assembly with a panic; and every one of the natives ran out of the house with the utmost precipitation, except the chief, three women, and two or three others, who appeared by their dress to be of a superior rank.

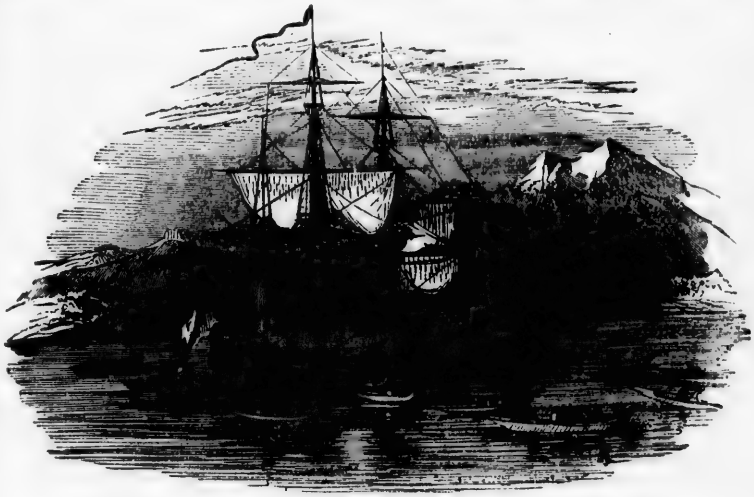
The chief, with a mixture of confusion and concern, took Mr. Banks by the hand, and led him to a large quantity of cloth, which lay at the other end of the house: this he offered to him piece by piece, intimating by signs, that if that would atone for the wrong which had been done, he might take any part of it, or, if he pleased, the whole. Mr. Banks put it by, and gave him to understand that he wanted nothing but what had been dishonestly taken away. Tubourai Tamaide then went hastily out, leaving Mr. Banks with his wife Tomio, who, during the whole scene of terror and confusion, had kept constantly at his side, and intimating his desire that he should wait there till his return. Mr. Banks accordingly sat down, and conversed with her, as well as he could by signs, about half an hour. The chief then came back with the snuff-box and the case of the opera-glass in his hand, and, with a joy in his countenance that was painted with a strength of expression which distinguishes these people from all others, delivered them to the owners. The case of the opera-glass, however, upon being opened, was found to be empty; upon this discovery, his countenance changed in a moment; and catching Mr. Banks again by the hand, he rushed out of the house, without uttering any sound, and led him along the shore, walking with great rapidity: when they had got about a mile from the house, a woman met him and gave him a piece of cloth, which he hastily took from her, and continued to press forward with it in his hand. Dr. Solander and Mr. Monkhouse had followed them, and they came at length to a house where they were received by a woman, to whom he gave the cloth, and intimated to the gentlemen that they should give her some beads. They immediately complied; and the beads and cloth being deposited upon the floor, the woman went out, and in about half an hour returned with the opera-glass, expressing the same joy upon the occasion that had before been expressed by the chief. The beads were now returned, with an inflexible resolution not to accept them; and the cloth was, with the same pertinacity, forced upon Dr. Solander, as a recompense for the injury that had been done him. He could not avoid accepting the cloth, but insisted in his turn upon giving a new present of beads to the woman. It will not, perhaps, be easy to account for all the steps that were taken in the recovery of the glass and snuff-box; but this cannot be thought strange, considering that the scene of action was among a people whose language, policy, and connexions, are even now but imperfectly known; upon the whole, however, they show an intelligence and influence which would do honour to any system of government, however regular and improved. In the evening, about six o'clock, we returned to the ship.

CHAPTER IX. — A PLACE FIXED UPON FOR AN OBSERVATORY AND FORT: AN EXCURSION INTO THE WOODS, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.—THE FORT ERECTED: A VISIT FROM SEVERAL CHIEFS ON BOARD AND AT THE FORT, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE MUSIC OF THE NATIVES, AND THE MANNER IN WHICH THEY DISPOSE OF THEIR DEAD.

On the next morning, Saturday the 15th, several of the chiefs, whom we had seen the day before, came on board, and brought with them hogs, bread-fruit, and other refreshments, for which we gave them hatchets and linen, and such things as seemed to be most acceptable.

As in my excursion to the westward, I had not found any more convenient harbour than that in which we lay, I determined to go on shore, and fix upon some spot, commanded by the ship's guns, where I might throw up a small fort for our defence, and prepare for making our astronomical observation. I therefore took a party of men, and landed without delay, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and the astronomer, Mr. Green. We soon fixed upon a part of the sandy beach, on the N.E. point of the bay, which was in every respect convenient for our purpose, and not near any habitation of the natives. Having marked out the ground that we intended to occupy, a small tent belonging to Mr. Banks was set up, which had been brought on shore for that purpose. By this time a great number of the people had gathered about us; but, as it appeared, only to look on, there not being a single weapon of any kind among them. I intimated, however, that none of them were to come

within the line I had drawn, except one who appeared to be a chief, and Owhaw. To these two persons I addressed myself by signs, and endeavoured to make them understand that we wanted the ground which we had marked out to sleep upon for a certain number of nights, and that then we should go away. Whether I was understood I cannot certainly determine; but the people behaved with a deference and respect that at once pleased and surprised us. They sat down peaceably without the circle, and looked on without giving



NATIVES OF OTAHEITE TRADING WITH CAPTAIN COOK.

as any interruption till we had done, which was upwards of two hours. As we had seen no poultry, and but two hogs, in our walk when we were last on shore at this place, we suspected that, upon our arrival, they had been driven farther up the country; and the rather, as Owhaw was very importunate with us, by signs, not to go into the woods, which, however, and partly for these reasons, we were determined to do. Having, therefore, appointed the thirteen marines and a petty officer to guard the tent, we set out, and a great number of the natives joined our party. As we were crossing a little river that lay in our way, we saw some ducks, and Mr. Banks, as soon as he had got over, fired at them, and happened to kill three at one shot: this struck them with the utmost terror, so that most of them fell suddenly to the ground, as if they also had been shot at the same discharge. It was not long, however, before they recovered from their fright, and we continued our route, but we had not gone far before we were alarmed by the report of two pieces, which were fired by the guard at the tent. We had then straggled a little distance from each other, but Owhaw immediately called us together, and, by waving his hand, sent away every Indian who followed us except three, each of whom, as a pledge of peace on their part, and an entreaty that there might be peace on ours, hastily broke a branch from the trees, and came to us with it in their hands. As we had too much reason to fear that some mischief had happened, we hasted back to the tent, which was not distant above half a mile, and when we came up, we found it entirely deserted, except by our own people.

It appeared that one of the Indians, who remained about the tent after we left it, had watched his opportunity, and, taking the sentry unawares, had snatched away his musket. Upon this the petty officer, a midshipman, who commanded the party, perhaps from a sudden fear of farther violence, perhaps from the natural petulance of power newly acquired, and perhaps from a brutality in his nature, ordered the marines to fire. The men, with as little consideration or humanity as the officer, immediately discharged their pieces among the thickest of the flying crowd, consisting of more than a hundred; and observing that the

thief did not fall, pursued him, and shot him dead. We afterwards learnt that none of the others were either killed or wounded.

Owhaw, who had never left us, observing that we were now totally deserted, got together a few of those who had fled, though not without some difficulty, and ranged them about us. We endeavoured to justify our people as well as we could, and to convince the Indians that, if they did no wrong to us, we should do no wrong to them. They went away without any appearance of distrust or resentment; and having struck our tent, we returned to the ship, but by no means satisfied with the transactions of the day.

Upon questioning our people more particularly, whose conduct they soon perceived we could not approve, they alleged that the sentinel, whose musket was taken away, was violently assaulted and thrown down, and that a push was afterwards made at him by the man who took the musket before any command was given to fire. It was also suggested, that Owhaw had suspicions, at least, if not certain knowledge, that something would be attempted against our people at the tent, which made him so very earnest in his endeavours to prevent our leaving it; others imputed his importunity to his desire that we should confine ourselves to the beach; and it was remarked, that neither Owhaw, nor the chiefs who remained with us after he had sent the rest of the people away, would have inferred the breach of peace from the firing at the tent, if they had had no reason to suspect that some injury had been offered by their countrymen; especially as Mr. Banks had just fired at the ducks: and yet that they did infer a breach of peace from that incident was manifest from their waving their hands for the people to disperse, and instantly pulling green branches from the trees. But what were the real circumstances of this unhappy affair, and whether either, and which of these conjectures, were true, can never certainly be known.

The next morning but few of the natives were seen upon the beach, and not one of them came off to the ship. This convinced us that our endeavours to quiet their apprehensions had not been effectual; and we remarked with particular regret that we were deserted even by Owhaw, who had hitherto been so constant in his attachment, and so active in renewing the peace that had been broken. Appearances being thus unfavourable, I warped the ship nearer to the shore, and moored her in such a manner as to command all the N.E. part of the bay, particularly the place which I had marked out for the building a fort. In the evening, however, I went on shore with only a boat's crew, and some of the gentlemen; the natives gathered about us, but not in the same number as before; there were, I believe, between thirty and forty; and they trafficked with us for cocoa-nuts and other fruit, to all appearance as friendly as ever.

On the 17th, early in the morning, we had the misfortune to lose Mr. Buchan, the person whom Mr. Banks had brought out as a painter of landscapes and figures. He was a sober, diligent, and ingenious young man, and greatly regretted by Mr. Banks; who hoped, by his means, to have gratified his friends in England with representations of this country and its inhabitants, which no other person on board could delineate with the same accuracy and elegance. He had always been subject to epileptic fits, one of which seized him on the mountains of Terra del Fuego; and this disorder being aggravated by a bilious complaint, which he contracted on board the ship, at length put an end to his life. It was at first proposed to bury him on shore, but Mr. Banks thinking that it might perhaps give offence to the natives, with whose customs we were then wholly unacquainted, we committed his body to the sea, with as much decency and solemnity as our circumstances and situation would admit.

In the forenoon of this day we received a visit from Tubourai Tamaide and Tootahah, our chiefs from the west. They brought with them, as emblems of peace, not branches of plantain, but two young trees, and would not venture on board till these had been received, having probably been alarmed by the mischief which had been done at the tent. Each of them also brought, as propitiatory gifts, some bread-fruit, and a hog ready-dressed: this was a most acceptable present, as we perceived that hogs were not always to be got; and in return we gave to each of our noble benefactors a hatchet and a nail. In the evening we went on shore, and set up a tent, in which Mr. Green and myself spent the night, in order to observe an eclipse of the first satellite of Jupiter; but the weather becoming cloudy, we were disappointed.

On the 18th, at daybreak, I went on shore, with as many people as could possibly be spared from the ship, and began to erect our fort. While some were employed in throwing up intrenchments, others were busy in cutting pickets and fascines, which the natives, who soon gathered round us as they had been used to do, were so far from hindering, that many of them voluntarily assisted us, bringing the pickets and fascines from the wood where they had been cut, with great alacrity. We had, indeed, been so scrupulous of invading their property, that we purchased every stake which was used upon this occasion, and cut down no tree till we had first obtained their consent. The soil where we constructed our fort was sandy, and this made it necessary to strengthen the intrenchments with wood; three sides were to be fortified in this manner; the fourth was bounded by a river, upon the banks of which I proposed to place a proper number of water-casks. This day we served pork to the ship's company for the first time; and the Indians brought down so much bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, that we found it necessary to send away part of them unbought, and to acquaint them by signs that we should want no more for two days to come. Everything was purchased this day with beads: a single bead, as big as a pea, being the purchase of five or six cocoa-nuts, and as many of the bread-fruit. Mr. Banks's tent was got up before night within the works, and he slept on shore for the first time. Proper sentries were placed round it, but no Indian attempted to approach it the whole night.

The next morning, our friend Tubourai Tamaide made Mr. Banks a visit at the tent, and brought with him not only his wife and family, but the roof of a house, and several materials for setting it up, with furniture and implements of various kinds, intending, as we understood him, to take up his residence in our neighbourhood. This instance of his confidence and good-will gave us great pleasure, and we determined to strengthen his attachment to us by every means in our power. Soon after his arrival, he took Mr. Banks by the hand, and leading him out of the line, signified that he should accompany him into the woods. Mr. Banks readily consented; and having walked with him about a quarter of a mile, they arrived at a kind of awning which he had already set up, and which seemed to be his occasional habitation. Here he unfolded a bundle of his country cloth, and taking out two garments, one of red cloth, and the other of very neat matting, he clothed Mr. Banks in them, and, without any other ceremony, immediately conducted him back to the tent. His attendants soon after brought him some pork and bread-fruit, which he ate, dipping his meat into salt-water instead of sauce: after his meal, he retired to Mr. Banks's bed, and slept about an hour. In the afternoon, his wife Tomio brought to the tent a young man about two-and-twenty years of age, of a very comely appearance, whom they both seemed to acknowledge as their son, though we afterwards discovered that he was not so. In the evening this young man and another chief, who had also paid us a visit, went away to the westward, but Tubourai Tamaide and his wife returned to the awning in the skirts of the wood.

Our surgeon, Mr. Monkhouse, having walked out this evening, reported, that he had seen the body of the man who had been shot at the tents, which he said was wrapped in cloth, and placed on a kind of bier, supported by stakes, under a roof that seemed to have been set up for the purpose: that near it were deposited some instruments of war and other things, which he would particularly have examined but for the stench of the body, which was intolerable. He said, that he saw also two more sheds of the same kind, in one of which were the bones of a human body that had lain till they were quite dry. We discovered afterwards, that this was the way in which they usually disposed of their dead.

A kind of market now began to be kept just without the lines, and was plentifully supplied with everything but pork. Tubourai Tamaide was our constant guest, imitating our manners, even to the using of a knife and fork, which he did very handily.

As my curiosity was excited by Mr. Monkhouse's account of the situation of the man who had been shot, I took an opportunity to go with some others to see it. I found the shed under which his body lay, close by the house in which he resided when he was alive, some others being not more than ten yards distant; it was about fifteen feet long, and seven broad, and of a proportionable height: one end was wholly open, and the other end, and the two sides, were partly enclosed with a kind of wicker-work. The bier on which

the corpse was deposited, was a frame of wood like that in which the sea-beds, called cots, are placed, with a matted bottom, and supported by four posts, at the height of about five feet from the ground. The body was covered first with a mat, and then with white cloth; by the side of it lay a wooden mace, one of their weapons of war, and near the head of it, which lay next to the close end of the shed, lay two cocoa-nut shells, such as are sometimes used to carry water in; at the other end a bunch of green leaves, with some dried twigs, all tied together, were stuck in the ground, by which lay a stone about as big as a cocoa-nut: near these lay one of the young plantain-trees which are used for emblems of peace, and close by it a stone axe. At the open end of the shed also hung, in several strings, a great number of palm-nuts, and without the shed was stuck upright in the ground the stem of a plantain-tree about five feet high, upon the top of which was placed a cocoa-nut shell full of fresh water: against the side of one of the posts hung a small bag, containing a few pieces of bread-fruit ready roasted, which were not all put in at the same time, for some of them were fresh, and others stale. I took notice that several of the natives observed us with a mixture of solicitude and jealousy in their countenances, and by their gestures expressed uneasiness when we went near the body, standing themselves at a little distance while we were making our examination, and appearing to be pleased when we came away.

Our residence on shore would by no means have been disagreeable, if we had not been incessantly tormented by the flies, which, among other mischief, made it almost impossible for Mr. Parkinson, Mr. Banks's natural-history painter, to work; for they not only covered his subject so as that no part of its surface could be seen, but even ate the colour off the paper as fast as he could lay it on. We had recourse to mosquito-nets and fly-traps, which, though they made the inconvenience tolerable, were very far from removing it.

On the 22nd, Tootahah gave us a specimen of the music of this country: four persons performed upon flutes, which had only two stops, and therefore could not sound more than four notes, by half tones: they were sounded like our German flutes, except that the performer, instead of applying it to his mouth, blew into it with one nostril, while he stopped the other with his thumb: to these instruments four other persons sung, and kept very good time; but only one tune was played during the whole concert.

Several of the natives brought us axes, which they had received from on board the Dolphin, to grind and repair; but among others there was one which became the subject of much speculation, as it appeared to be French: after much inquiry, we learnt that a ship had been here between our arrival and the departure of the Dolphin, which we then conjectured to have been a Spaniard, but now know to have been the Boudeuse, commanded by M. Bougainville.

CHAPTER X.—AN EXCURSION TO THE EASTWARD, AN ACCOUNT OF SEVERAL INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED BOTH ON BOARD AND ON SHORE, AND OF THE FIRST INTERVIEW WITH OBEREA, THE PERSON WHO, WHEN THE DOLPHIN WAS HERE, WAS SUPPOSED TO BE QUEEN OF THE ISLAND, WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE FORT.

On the 24th, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander examined the country for several miles along the shore to the eastward: for about two miles it was flat and fertile; after that the hills stretched quite to the water's edge, and a little farther ran out into the sea, so that they were obliged to climb over them. These hills, which were barren, continued for about three miles more, and then terminated in a large plain, which was full of good houses, and people who appeared to live in great affluence. In this place there was a river, much more considerable than that at our fort, which issued from a deep and beautiful valley, and, where our travellers crossed it, though at some distance from the sea, was near one hundred yards wide. About a mile beyond this river the country became again barren, the rocks everywhere projecting into the sea, for which reason they resolved to return. Just as they had formed this resolution, one of the natives offered them refreshment, which they accepted. They found this man to be of a kind that has been described by various authors, as mixed

with many nations, he is distinct from them all. His skin was of a dead white, without the least appearance of what is called complexion, though some parts of his body were in a small degree less white than others: his hair, eyebrows, and beard, were as white as his skin; his eyes appeared as if they were bloodshot, and he seemed to be very short-sighted. At their return they were met by Tubourai Tamaide, and his women, who, at seeing them, felt a joy which, not being able to express, they burst into tears, and wept some time before their passion could be restrained.

This evening Dr. Solander lent his knife to one of these women, who neglected to return it, and the next morning Mr. Banks's also was missing; upon this occasion I must bear my testimony, that the people of this country, of all ranks, men and women, are the arrantest thieves upon the face of the earth. The very day after we arrived here, when they came on board us, the chiefs were employed in stealing what they could in the cabin, and their dependants were no less industrious in other parts of the ship; they snatched up everything that it was possible for them to secrete till they got on shore, even to the glass ports, two of which they carried off undetected. Tubourai Tamaide was the only one except Tootahah who had not been found guilty; and the presumption, arising from this circumstance, that he was exempt from a vice, of which the whole nation besides were guilty, cannot be supposed to outweigh strong appearances to the contrary. Mr. Banks, therefore, though not without some reluctance, accused him of having stolen his knife: he solemnly and steadily denied that he knew anything of it; upon which Mr. Banks made him understand, that whoever had taken it, he was determined to have it returned. Upon this resolute declaration, one of the natives who was present produced a rag, in which three knives were very carefully tied up. One was that which Dr. Solander had lent to the woman, another was a table-knife belonging to me, and the owner of the third was not known. With these the chief immediately set out, in order to make restitution of them to their owners at the tents. Mr. Banks remained with the women, who expressed great apprehensions that some mischief was designed against their lord. When he came to the tents, he restored one of the knives to Dr. Solander, and another to me, the third not being owned, and then began to search for Mr. Banks' in all the places where he had ever seen it. After some time, one of Mr. Banks' servants, understanding what he was about, immediately fetched his master's knife, which it seems he had laid by the day before, and till now knew nothing of its having been missed. Tubourai Tamaide, upon this demonstration of his innocence, expressed the strongest emotions of mind, both in his looks and gestures: the tears started from his eyes; and he made signs with the knife, that, if he was ever guilty of such an action as had been imputed to him, he would submit to have his throat cut. He then rushed out of the lines, and returned hastily to Mr. Banks, with a countenance that severely reproached him with his suspicions. Mr. Banks soon understood that the knife had been received from his servant, and was scarcely less affected at what had happened than the chief: he felt himself to be the guilty person, and was very desirous to atone for his fault. The poor Indian, however violent his passions, was a stranger to sullen resentment; and upon Mr. Banks' spending a little time familiarly with him, and making him a few trifling presents, he forgot the wrongs that had been done him, and was perfectly reconciled.

Upon this occasion it may be observed, that these people have a knowledge of right and wrong from the mere dictates of natural conscience; and involuntarily condemn themselves when they do that to others which they would condemn others for doing to them. That Tubourai Tamaide felt the force of moral obligation is certain; for the imputation of an action which he considered as indifferent would not, when it appeared to be groundless, have moved him with such excess of passion. We must, indeed, estimate the virtue of these people by the only standard of morality, the conformity of their conduct to what in their opinion is right; but we must not hastily conclude that theft is a testimony of the same depravity in them that it is in us, in the instances in which our people were sufferers by their dishonesty; for their temptation was such as to surmount would be considered as a proof of uncommon integrity among those who have more knowledge, better principles, and stronger motives to resist the temptations of illicit advantage: an Indian among penny

knives, and beads, or even nails and broken glass, is in the same state of trial with the meanest servant in Europe among unlocked coffers of jewels and gold.

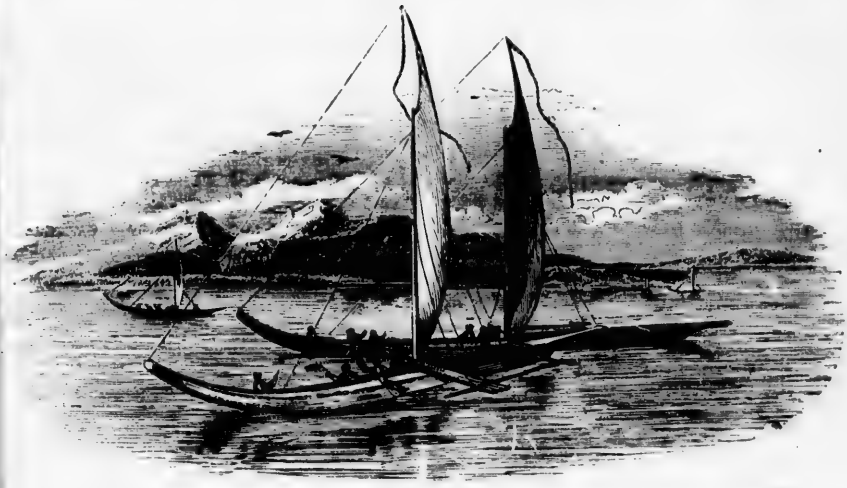
On the 26th, I mounted six swivel guns upon the fort, which I was sorry to see struck the natives with dread: some fishermen who lived upon the point removed farther off, and Owhaw told us, by signs, that in four days we should fire great guns. On the 27th, Tubourai Tamaide, with a friend, who ate with a voracity that I never saw before, and the three women that usually attended him, whose names were Terapo, Tirao, and Omie, dined at the fort: in the evening they took their leave, and set out for the house which Tubourai Tamaide had set up in the skirts of the wood; but in less than a quarter of an hour he returned in great emotion, and hastily seizing Mr. Banks's arm, made signs that he should follow him. Mr. Banks immediately complied, and they soon came up to a place where they found the ship's butcher with a reaping-hook in his hand: here the chief stopped, and, in a transport of rage which rendered his signs scarcely intelligible, intimated that the butcher had threatened, or attempted, to cut his wife's throat with the reaping-hook. Mr. Banks then signified to him that if he could fully explain the offence, the man should be punished. Upon this he became more calm, and made Mr. Banks understand that the offender, having taken a fancy to a stone-hatchet which lay in his house, had offered to purchase it of his wife for a nail: that she having refused to part with it upon any terms, he had catched it up, and throwing down the nail, threatened to cut her throat if she made any resistance: to prove this charge the hatchet and the nail were produced, and the butcher had so little to say in his defence, that there was not the least reason to doubt of its truth.

Mr. Banks having reported this matter to me, I took an opportunity, when the chief and his women, with other Indians, were on board the ship, to call up the butcher, and after a recapitulation of the charge and the proof, I gave orders that he should be punished, as well to prevent other offences of the same kind, as to acquit Mr. Banks of his promise: the Indians saw him stripped and tied up to the rigging with a fixed attention, waiting in silent suspense for the event; but as soon as the first stroke was given, they interfered with great agitation, earnestly entreating that the rest of the punishment might be remitted: to this, however, for many reasons, I could not consent, and when they found that they could not prevail by their intercession, they gave vent to their pity by tears.

Their tears, indeed, like those of children, were always ready to express any passion that was strongly excited, and like those of children they also appeared to be forgotten as soon as shed; of which the following, among many others, is a remarkable instance. Very early in the morning of the 28th, even before it was day, a great number of them came down to the fort, and Terapo being observed among the women on the outside of the gate, Mr. Banks went out and brought her in; he saw that the tears then stood in her eyes, and as soon as she entered they began to flow in great abundance: he inquired earnestly the cause, but instead of answering she took from under her garment a shark's tooth, and struck it six or seven times into her head with great force; a profusion of blood followed, and she talked loud, but in a most melancholy tone, for some minutes, without at all regarding his inquiries, which he repeated with still more impatience and concern, while the other Indians, to his great surprise, talked and laughed, without taking the least notice of her distress. But her own behaviour was still more extraordinary. As soon as the bleeding was over, she looked up with a smile, and began to collect some small pieces of cloth, which during her bleeding she had thrown down to catch the blood; as soon as she had picked them all up, she carried them out of the tent, and threw them into the sea, carefully dispersing them abroad, as if she wished to prevent the sight of them from reviving the remembrance of what she had done. She then plunged into the river, and after having washed her whole body returned to the tents with the same gaiety and cheerfulness as if nothing had happened.

It is not, indeed, strange, that the sorrows of these artless people should be transient, any more than that their passions should be suddenly and strongly expressed: what they feel they have never been taught either to disguise or suppress, and having no habits of thinking which perpetually recall the past and anticipate the future, they are affected by all

the changes of the passing hour, and reflect the colour of the time, however frequently it may vary; they have no project which is to be pursued from day to day, the subject of unremitted anxiety and solicitude, that first rushes into their mind when they awake in the morning, and is last dismissed when they sleep at night. Yet if we admit that they are upon the whole happier than we, we must admit that the child is happier than the man, and that we are losers by the perfection of our nature, the increase of our knowledge, and the enlargement of our views.



CANOES OF OTAHEITE.

Canoes were continually coming in during all this forenoon, and the tents at the fort were crowded with people of both sexes from different parts of the island. I was myself busy on board the ship, but Mr. Molineux, our master, who was one of those that made the last voyage in the Dolphin, went on shore. As soon as he entered Mr. Banks's tent he fixed his eyes upon one of the women, who was sitting there with great composure among the rest, and immediately declared her to be the person who at that time was supposed to be the queen of the island; she also, at the same time, acknowledging him to be one of the strangers whom she had seen before. The attention of all present was now diverted from every other object, and wholly engaged in considering a person who had made so distinguished a figure in the accounts that had been given of this island by its first discoverers; and we soon learnt that her name was Oberea. She seemed to be about forty years of age, and was not only tall but of a large make; her skin was white, and there was an uncommon intelligence and sensibility in her eyes; she appeared to have been handsome when she was young, but at this time little more than memorials of her beauty were left.

As soon as her quality was known, an offer was made to conduct her to the ship. Of this she readily accepted, and came on board with two men and several women, who seemed to be all of her family: I received her with such marks of distinction as I thought would gratify her most, and was not sparing of my presents, among which this august personage seemed particularly delighted with a child's doll. After some time spent on board, I attended her back to the shore; and as soon as we landed, she presented me with a hog and several bunches of plantains, which she caused to be carried from her canoes up to the fort in a kind of procession, of which she and myself brought up the rear. In our way to the fort we met Potahah, who, though not king, appeared to be at this time invested with the sovereign authority; he seemed not to be well pleased with the distinction that was showed to the lady, and became so jealous when she produced her doll, that to propitiate him it was

thought proper to compliment him with another. At this time he thought fit to prefer a doll to a hatchet; but this preference arose only from a childish jealousy, which could not be soothed but by a gift of exactly the same kind with that which had been presented to Oberea; for dolls in a very short time were universally considered as trifles of no value. The men who had visited us from time to time had, without scruple, eaten of our provisions; but the women had never yet been prevailed upon to taste a morsel. To-day, however, though they refused the most pressing solicitations to dine with the gentlemen, they afterwards retired to the servants' apartment, and ate of plantains very heartily; a mystery of female economy here, which none of us could explain.

On the 29th, not very early in the forenoon, Mr. Banks went to pay his court to Oberea, and was told that she was still asleep under the awning of her canoe; thither therefore he went to call her up, a liberty he thought he might take. The lady being too polite to

suffer Mr. Banks to wait long in her antechamber, dressed herself with more than usual expedition; and, as a token of special grace, clothed him in a suit of fine cloth and proceeded with him to the tents. In the evening Mr. Banks paid a visit to Tubourai Tamaide, as he had often done before, by candle-light, and was equally grieved and surprised to find him and his family in a melancholy mood, and most of them in tears; he endeavoured in vain to discover the cause, and therefore his stay among them was but short. When he reported this circumstance to the officers at the fort, they recollected that Owhaw had foretold, that in four days we should fire our great guns; and as this was the eve of the third day, the situation in which Tubourai Tamaide and his family had been found alarmed them. The sentries therefore were doubled at the fort, and the gentlemen slept under arms. At two in the morning, Mr. Banks himself went round the point, but found everything so quiet, that he gave up all suspicions of mischief intended by the natives as groundless. We had, however, another source of security,—our little fortification was now complete. The north and south sides consisted of a bank of earth four feet and a half high on the inside, and a ditch without ten feet broad and six deep: on the west side, facing the bay, there was a bank of earth four feet high, and palisadoes upon that, but no ditch, the works here being at high-water mark: on the east side, upon the bank of the river, was placed a double row of water-casks, filled with water; and as this was the weakest side, the two four-pounders were planted there, and six swivel guns were mounted so as to command the only two avenues from the woods. Our garrison consisted of about five-and-forty men with small arms, including the officers and the gentlemen who resided on shore; and our sentries were as well relieved as in the best regulated frontier in Europe.

We continued our vigilance the next day, though we had no particular reason to think it necessary; but about ten o'clock in the morning, Tomio came running to the tents, with a mixture of grief and fear in her countenance, and taking Mr. Banks, to whom they applied in every emergency and distress, by the arm, intimated that Tubourai Tamaide was dying, in consequence of something which our people had given him to eat, and that he must instantly go with her to his house. Mr. Banks set out without delay, and found his Indian friend leaning his head against a post, in an attitude of the utmost languor and despondency: the people about him intimated that he had been vomiting, and brought out a leaf folded up with great care, which they said contained some of the poison, by the deleterious effects of which he was now dying. Mr. Banks hastily opened the leaf, and upon examining its contents found them to be no other than a chew of tobacco, which the chief had begged of some of our people, and which they had indiscreetly given him: he had observed that they kept it long in the mouth, and being desirous of doing the same, he had chewed it to powder and swallowed the spittle. During the examination of the leaf and its contents, he looked up at Mr. Banks with the most piteous aspect, and intimated that he had but a very short time to live. Mr. Banks, however, being now master of his disease, directed him to drink

plentifully of cocoa-nut milk, which in a short time put an end to his sickness and apprehensions; and he spent the day at the fort with that uncommon flow of cheerfulness and good humour which is always produced by a sudden and unexpected relief from pain either of body or mind.

Captain Wallis having brought home one of the adzes which these people, having no metal of any kind, make of stone, Mr. Stevens, the secretary to the Admiralty, procured one to be made of iron in imitation of it, which I brought out with me, to show how much we excelled in making tools after their own fashion; this I had not yet produced, as it never happened to come into my mind. But on the first of May Tootahah coming on board about ten o'clock in the forenoon, expressed a great curiosity to see the contents of every chest and drawer that was in my cabin: as I always made a point of gratifying him, I opened them immediately; and having taken a fancy to many things that he saw, and collected them together, he at last happened to cast his eye upon this adze; he instantly snatched it up with the greatest eagerness, and putting away everything which he had before selected, he asked me whether I would let him have that, I readily consented; and, as if he was afraid I should repent, he carried it off immediately in a transport of joy, without making any other request, which, whatever had been our liberality, was seldom the case.

About noon, a chief, who had dined with me a few days before, accompanied by some of his women, came on board alone: I had observed that he was fed by his women, but I made no doubt that upon occasion he would condescend to feed himself; in this, however, I found myself mistaken. When my noble guest was seated, and the dinner upon the table, I helped him to some victuals: as I observed that he did not immediately begin his meal, I pressed him to eat; but he still continued to sit motionless like a statue, without attempting to put a single morsel into his mouth, and would certainly have gone without his dinner, if one of the servants had not fed him.

CHAPTER XI.—THE OBSERVATORY SET UP; THE QUADRANT STOLEN, AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE THEFT: A VISIT TO TOOTAHAH: DESCRIPTION OF A WRESTLING-MATCH: EUROPEAN SEEDS SOWN: NAMES GIVEN TO OUR PEOPLE BY THE INDIANS.

In the afternoon of Monday the 1st of May, we set up the observatory, and took the astronomical quadrant, with some other instruments, on shore, for the first time. The next morning, about nine o'clock, I went on shore with Mr. Green to fix the quadrant in a situation for use, when to our inexpressible surprise and concern it was not to be found. It had been deposited in the tent which was reserved for my use, where, as I passed the night on board, nobody slept: it had never been taken out of the packing-case, which was eighteen inches square, and the whole was of considerable weight; a sentinel had been posted the whole night within five yards of the tent door, and none of the other instruments were missing. We at first suspected that it might have been stolen by some of our own people, who seeing a deal box, and not knowing the contents, might think it contained nails, or some other subjects of traffic with the natives. A large reward was therefore offered to any one who could find it, as, without this, we could not perform the service for which our voyage was principally undertaken. Our search in the mean time was not confined to the fort and places adjacent, but as the case might possibly have been carried back to the ship, if any of our own people had been the thieves, the most diligent search was made for it on board; all the parties, however, returned without any news of the quadrant. Mr. Banks, therefore, who upon such occasions declined neither labour nor risk, and who had more influence over the Indians than any of us, determined to go in search of it into the woods; he hoped, that if it had been stolen by the natives, he should find it wherever they had opened the box, as they would immediately discover that to them it would be wholly useless: or, if in this expectation he should be disappointed, that he might recover it by the ascendancy he had acquired over the chiefs. He set out, accompanied by a midshipman and Mr. Green, and as he was crossing the river he was met by Tubourai Tamaide, who immediately made the figure of a triangle with three bits of straw upon his

hand. By this Mr. Banks knew that the Indians were the thieves; and that, although they had opened the case, they were not disposed to part with the contents. No time was therefore to be lost, and Mr. Banks made Tubourai Tamaide understand, that he must instantly go with him to the place whither the quadrant had been carried; he consented, and they set out together to the eastward, the chief inquiring at every house which they passed after the thief by name: the people readily told him which way he was gone, and how long it was since he had been there: the hope which this gave them that they should overtake him, supported them under their fatigue, and they pressed forward, sometimes walking, sometimes running, though the weather was intolerably hot; when they had climbed a hill at the distance of about four miles, their conductor showed them a point full three miles farther, and gave them to understand that they were not to expect the instrument till they had got thither. Here they paused; they had no arms, except a pair of pistols, which Mr. Banks always carried in his pocket; they were going to a place that was at least seven miles distant from the fort, where the Indians might be less submissive than at home, and to take from them what they had ventured their lives to get, and what, notwithstanding our conjectures, they appeared desirous to keep: these were discouraging circumstances, and their situation would become more critical at every step. They determined, however, not to relinquish their enterprise, nor to pursue it without taking the best measures for their security that were in their power. It was therefore determined, that Mr. Banks and Mr. Green should go on, and that the midshipman should return to me, and desire that I would send a party of men after them, acquainting me, at the same time, that it was impossible they should return till it was dark. Upon receiving this message, I set out, with such a party as I thought sufficient for the occasion; leaving orders, both at the ship and at the fort, that no canoe should be suffered to go out of the bay, but that none of the natives should be seized or detained.

In the mean time, Mr. Banks and Mr. Green pursued their journey, under the auspices of Tubourai Tamaide, and in the very spot which he had specified, they met one of his own people, with part of the quadrant in his hand. At this most welcome sight they stopped; and a great number of Indians immediately came up, some of whom pressing rather rudely upon them, Mr. Banks thought it necessary to show one of his pistols, the sight of which reduced them instantly to order: as the crowd that gathered round them was every moment increasing, he marked out a circle in the grass, and they ranged themselves on the outside of it to the number of several hundreds with great quietness and decorum. Into the middle of this circle, the box, which was now arrived, was ordered to be brought, with several reading-glasses, and other small matters, which in their hurry they had put into a pistol-case, that Mr. Banks knew to be his property, it having been some time before stolen from the tents, with a horse-pistol in it, which he immediately demanded, and which was also restored. Mr. Green was impatient to see whether all that had been taken away was returned, and upon examining the box found the stand, and a few small things of less consequence, wanting; several persons were sent in search of these, and most of the small things were returned: but it was signified that the thief had not brought the stand so far, and that it would be delivered to our friends as they went back; this being confirmed by Tubourai Tamaide, they prepared to return, as nothing would then be wanting but what might easily be supplied; and after they had advanced about two miles, I met them with my party, to our mutual satisfaction, congratulating each other upon the recovery of the quadrant, with a pleasure proportionate to the importance of the event.

About eight o'clock, Mr. Banks with Tubourai Tamaide got back to the fort; when to his great surprise, he found Tootahah in custody, and many of the natives in the utmost terror and distress, crowding about the gate. He went hastily in, some of the Indians were suffered to follow him, and the scene was extremely affecting. Tubourai Tamaide pressing forward, ran up to Tootahah, and catching him in his arms, they both burst into tears, and wept over each other, without being able to speak: the other Indians were also in tears for their chief, both he and they being strongly possessed with the notion that he was to be put to death. In this situation they continued till I entered the fort, which was

about a quarter of an hour afterwards. I was equally surprised and concerned at what had happened, the confining Tootahah being contrary to my orders, and therefore instantly set him at liberty. Upon inquiring into the affair, I was told, that my going into the woods with a party of men under arms, at a time when a robbery had been committed, which it was supposed I should resent, in proportion to our apparent injury by the loss, had so alarmed the natives, that in the evening they began to leave the neighbourhood of the fort with their effects: that a double canoe having been seen to put off from the bottom of the bay by Mr. Gore, the second lieutenant, who was left in command on board the ship, and who had received orders not to suffer any canoe to go out, he sent the boatswain with a boat after her to bring her back: that as soon as the boat came up, the Indians being alarmed, leaped into the sea; and that Tootahah, being unfortunately one of the number, the boatswain took him up, and brought him to the ship, suffering the rest of the people to swim on shore: that Mr. Gore, not sufficiently attending to the order that none of the people should be confined, had sent him to the fort, and Mr. Hicks, the first lieutenant, who commanded there, receiving him in charge from Mr. Gore, did not think himself at liberty to dismiss him. The notion that we intended to put him to death had possessed him so strongly, that he could not be persuaded to the contrary till by my orders he was led out of the fort. The people received him as they would have done a father in the same circumstances, and every one pressed forward to embrace him. Sudden joy is commonly liberal, without a scrupulous regard to merit: and Tootahah, in the first expansion of his heart, upon being unexpectedly restored to liberty and life, insisted upon our receiving a present of two hogs; though, being conscious that upon this occasion we had no claim to favours, we refused them many times.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander attended the next morning in their usual capacity of marketmen, but very few Indians appeared, and those who came brought no provisions. Tootahah, however, sent some of his people for the canoe that had been detained, which they took away. A canoe having also been detained that belonged to Oberea, Tupia, the person who managed her affairs when the Dolphin was here, was sent to examine whether anything on board had been taken away: and he was so well satisfied of the contrary, that he left the canoe where he found it, and joined us at the fort, where he spent the day, and slept on board the canoe at night. About noon some fishing-boats came abreast of the tents, but would part with very little of what they had on board; and we felt the want of cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit very severely. In the course of the day, Mr. Banks walked out into the woods, that by conversing with the people he might recover their confidence and good-will: he found them civil, but they all complained of the ill-treatment of their chief; who, they said, had been beaten and pulled by the hair. Mr. Banks endeavoured to convince them, that he had suffered no personal violence, which to the best of our knowledge was true; yet, perhaps the boatswain had behaved with a brutality which he was afraid or ashamed to acknowledge. The chief himself being probably, upon recollection, of opinion that we had ill deserved the hogs, which he had left with us as a present, sent a messenger in the afternoon to demand an axe, and a shirt, in return: but as I was told that he did not intend to come down to the fort for ten days, I excused myself from giving them till I should see him, hoping that his impatience might induce him to fetch them, and knowing that absence would probably continue the coolness between us, to which the first interview might put an end.

The next day we were still more sensible of the inconvenience we had incurred by giving offence to the people in the person of their chief, for the market was so ill supplied that we were in want of necessaries. Mr. Banks, therefore, went into the woods to Tubourai Tamaide, and with some difficulty persuaded him to let us have five baskets of bread-fruit; a very seasonable supply, as they contained above one hundred and twenty. In the afternoon another messenger arrived from Tootahah for the axe and shirt; as it was now become absolutely necessary to recover the friendship of this man, without which it would be scarcely possible to procure provisions, I sent word that Mr. Banks and myself would visit him on the morrow, and bring what he wanted with us. Early the next morning he sent again to remind me of my promise, and his people seemed to wait till we should set out

with great impatience: I therefore ordered the pinnace, in which I embarked with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander about ten o'clock: we took one of Tootahah's people in the boat with us, and in about an hour we arrived at his place of residence, which is called EPARRE, and is about four miles to the westward of the tents.

We found the people waiting for us in great numbers upon the shore, so that it would have been impossible for us to have proceeded, if way had not been made for us by a tall well-looking man, who had something like a turban about his head, and a long white stick in his hand, with which he laid about him at an unmerciful rate. This man conducted us to the chief, while the people shouted round us, *Taio Tootahah*, "Tootahah is your friend." We found him, like an ancient patriarch, sitting under a tree, with a number of venerable old men standing round him: he made a sign to us to sit down, and immediately asked for his axe. This I presented to him, with an upper garment of broad-cloth, made after the country fashion, and trimmed with tape, to which I also added a shirt. He received them with great satisfaction, and immediately put on the garment; but the shirt he gave to the person who had cleared the way for us upon our landing, who was now seated by us, and of whom he seemed desirous that we should take particular notice. In a short time, Oberea, and several other women whom we knew, came and sat down among us: Tootahah left us several times, but after a short absence returned,—we thought it had been to show himself in his new finery to the people; but we wronged him, for it was to give directions for our refreshment and entertainment. While we were waiting for his return the last time he left us, very impatient to be dismissed, as we were almost suffocated in the crowd, word was brought us that he expected us elsewhere. We found him sitting under the awning of our own boat, and making signs that we should come to him; as many of us, therefore, went on board as the boat would hold, and he then ordered bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts to be brought, of both which we tasted, rather to gratify him than because we had a desire to eat. A message was soon after brought him, upon which he went out of the boat, and we were in a short time desired to follow. We were conducted to a large area or court-yard, which was railed round with bamboos about three feet high, on one side of his house, where an entertainment was provided for us, entirely new: this was a wrestling-match. At the upper end of the area sat the chief, and several of his principal men were ranged on each side of him, so as to form a semicircle; these were the judges, by whom the victor was to be applauded. Seats were also left for us at each end of the line; but we chose rather to be at liberty among the rest of the spectators.

When all was ready, ten or twelve persons, whom we understood to be the combatants, and who were naked, except a cloth that was fastened about the waist, entered the area, and walked slowly round it, in a stooping posture, with their left hands on their right breasts, and their right hands open, with which they frequently struck the left fore-arm so as to produce a quick smart sound. This was a general challenge to the combatants whom they were to engage, or any other person present. After these followed others in the same manner; and then a particular challenge was given, by which each man singled out his antagonist: this was done by joining the finger-ends of both hands, and bringing them to the breast, at the same time moving the elbows up and down with a quick motion. If the person to whom this was addressed accepted the challenge, he repeated the signs, and immediately each put himself into an attitude to engage; the next minute they closed; but, except in first seizing each other, it was a mere contest of strength. Each endeavoured to lay hold of the other, first by the thigh, and, if that failed, by the hand, the hair, the cloth, or elsewhere as he could. When this was done, they grappled, without the least dexterity or skill, till one of them, by having a more advantageous hold, or greater muscular force, threw the other on his back. When the contest was over, the old men gave their plaudits to the victor in a few words, which they repeated together in a kind of tune: his conquest was also generally celebrated by three huzzas. The entertainment was then suspended for a few minutes; after which another couple of wrestlers came forward and engaged in the same manner. If it happened that neither was thrown, after the contest had continued about a minute, they parted, either by consent or the intervention of their friends; and in this case each slapped his arm, as a challenge to a new engagement either with the same antagonist or some other.

While the wrestlers were engaged, another party of men performed a dance, which lasted also about a minute; but neither of these parties took the least notice of each other, their attention being wholly fixed on what they were doing. We observed with pleasure that the conqueror never exulted over the vanquished, and that the vanquished never repined at the success of the conqueror: the whole contest was carried on with perfect good-will and good-humour, though in the presence of at least five hundred spectators, of whom some were women. The number of women, indeed, was comparatively small; none but those of rank were present; and we had reason to believe that they would not have been spectators of this exercise but in compliment to us. This lasted about two hours; during all which time the man who had made way for us when we landed, kept the people at a proper distance by striking those who pressed forward very severely with his stick. Upon inquiry, we learnt that he was an officer belonging to Tootahah, acting as a master of the ceremonies.

It is scarcely possible for those who are acquainted with the athletic sports of very remote antiquity, not to remark a rude resemblance of them in this wrestling-match among the natives of a little island in the midst of the Pacific Ocean; and even our female readers may recollect the account given of them by Fenelon in his Telemachus, where, though the events are fictitious, the manners of the age are faithfully transcribed from authors by whom they are supposed to have been truly related.

When the wrestling was over, we were given to understand that two hogs and a large quantity of bread-fruit were preparing for our dinner, which, as our appetites were now keen, was very agreeable intelligence. Our host, however, seemed to repent of his liberality; for, instead of setting his two hogs before us, he ordered one of them to be carried into our boat. At first we were not sorry for this new disposition of matters, thinking that we should dine more comfortably in the boat than on shore, as the crowd would more easily be kept at a distance; but when we came on board, he ordered us to proceed with his hog to the ship. This was mortifying, as we were now to row four miles while our dinner was growing cold; however, we thought fit to comply, and were at last gratified with the cheer that he had provided, of which he and Tubourai Tamaide had a liberal share. Our reconciliation with this man operated upon the people like a charm; for he was no sooner known to be on board, than bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other provisions, were brought to the fort in great plenty.

HEAD OF AN OTAHEITAN.

Affairs now went on in the usual channel; but pork being still a scarce commodity, our master, Mr. Mollineux, and Mr. Green, went in the pinnace to the eastward, on the 8th, early in the morning, to see whether they could procure any hogs or poultry in that part of the country: they proceeded in that direction twenty miles; but though they saw many hogs, and one turtle, they could not purchase either at any price: the people everywhere told them, that they all belonged to Tootahah, and that they could sell none of them without his permission. We now began to think that this man was indeed a great prince; for an influence so extensive and absolute could be acquired by no other. And we afterwards found that he administered the government of this part of the island, as sovereign, for a minor whom we never saw all the time that we were upon it. When Mr. Green returned from this expedition, he said he had seen a tree of a size which he was afraid to relate, it being no less than sixty yards in circumference; but Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander soon explained to him, that it was a species of the fig, the branches of which, bending down, take fresh root in the earth, and thus form a congeries of trunks, which being very close to each other, and all joined by a common vegetation, might easily be mistaken for one.

Though the market at the fort was now tolerably supplied, provisions were brought more slowly; a sufficient quantity used to be purchased between sunrise and eight o'clock, but it was now become necessary to attend the greatest part of the day. Mr. Banks, therefore, fixed his little boat up before the door of the fort, which was of great use as a place to trade in: hitherto we had purchased cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit for beads; but the market becoming rather slack in these articles, we were now, for the first time, forced to bring out our nails: one of our smallest size, which was about four inches long, procured us twenty cocoa-nuts, and bread-fruit in proportion, so that in a short time our first plenty was restored.

On the 9th, soon after breakfast, we received a visit from Oberea, being the first that she had made us after the loss of our quadrant, and the unfortunate confinement of Tootahah; with her came her present favourite, Obadée, and Tupia: they brought us a hog and some bread-fruit, in return for which we gave her a hatchet. We had now afforded our Indian friends a new and interesting object of curiosity, our forge, which having been set up some time, was almost constantly at work. It was now common for them to bring pieces of iron, which we suppose they must have got from the Dolphin, to be made into tools of various kinds; and as I was very desirous to gratify them, they were indulged except when the smith's time was too precious to be spared. Oberea having received her hatchet, produced as much old iron as would have made another, with a request that another might be made of it; in this, however, I could not gratify her, upon which she brought out a broken axe, and desired it might be mended: I was glad of an opportunity to compromise the difference between us: her axe was mended, and she appeared to be content. They went away at eight, and took with them the canoe, which had been a considerable time at the point, but promised to return in three days.

On the 10th, I put some seeds of melons and other plants into a spot of ground which had been turned up for the purpose; they had all been sealed up by the person of whom they were bought, in small bottles with rosin; but none of them came up except mustard; even the cucumbers and melons failed, and Mr. Banks is of opinion that they were spoiled by the total exclusion of fresh air.

This day we learnt the Indian name of the island, which is Otaheite, and by that name I shall hereafter distinguish it: but after great pains taken we found it utterly impossible to teach the Indians to pronounce our names; we had, therefore, new names, consisting of such sounds as they produced in the attempt. They called me *Toote;* Mr. Hicks, *Hete;* Mollineux they renounced in absolute despair, and called the Master *Boba*, from his Christian name Robert; Mr. Gore was *Toarro;* Dr. Solander, *Torano;* and Mr. Banks, *Tapane;* Mr. Green, *Eteree;* Mr. Parkinson, *Patini;* Mr. Sporing, *Polini;* Petersgill, *Petrodero;* and in this manner they had now formed names for almost every man in the ship: in some, however, it was not easy to find any traces of the original, and they were perhaps not mere arbitrary sounds formed upon the occasion, but significant words in their own language. Monkhouse, the midshipman, who commanded the party that killed the man for stealing the musket, they called *Matte;* not merely by an attempt to imitate in sound the first syllable of Monkhouse, but because *Matte* signifies *dead;* and this probably might be the case with others.

CHAPTER XII.—SOME LADIES VISIT THE FORT WITH VERY UNCOMMON CEREMONIES: THE INDIANS ATTEND DIVINE SERVICE, AND IN THE EVENING EXHIBIT A MOST EXTRAORNARY SPECTACLE: TUBOURAI TAMAIDE FALLS INTO TEMPTATION.

Friday, the 12th of May, was distinguished by a visit from some ladies whom we had never seen before, and who introduced themselves with some very singular ceremonies. Mr. Banks was trading in his boat at the gate of the fort as usual, in company with Tootahah, who had that morning paid him a visit, and some other of the natives; between nine and ten o'clock, a double canoe came to the landing-place, under the awning of which sat a man and two women: the Indians that were about Mr. Banks made signs that he should go out to meet them, which he hastened to do; but by the time he could get out of

the boat, they had advanced within ten yards of him; they then stopped, and made signs that he should do so too, laying down about a dozen young plantain-trees, and some other small plants: he complied, and the people having made a lane between them, the man, who appeared to be a servant, brought six of them to Mr. Banks by one of each at a time, passing and repassing six times, and always pronouncing a short sentence when he delivered them. Tupia, who stood by Mr. Banks, acted as his master of the ceremonies, and receiving the branches as they were brought, laid them down in the boat. When this was done, another man brought a large bundle of cloth, which having opened, he spread piece by piece upon the ground, in the space between Mr. Banks and his visitors; there were nine pieces, and having laid three pieces one upon another, the foremost of the women, who seemed to be the principal, and who was called Oorattooa, stepped upon them, and taking up her garments all round her to the waist, turned about, with great composure and deliberation, and with an air of perfect innocence and simplicity, three times; when this was done, she dropped the veil, and stepping off the cloth, three more pieces were laid on, and she repeated the ceremony, then stepping off as before, the last three were laid on, and the ceremony was repeated in the same manner the third time. Immediately after this the cloth was rolled up, and given to Mr. Banks as a present from the lady, who, with her friend, came up and saluted him. He made such presents to them both, as he thought would be most acceptable, and after having staid about an hour they went away. In the evening the gentlemen at the fort had a visit from Oberea, and her favourite female attendant, whose name was Otheothea,—an agreeable girl, whom they were the more pleased to see, because, having been some days absent, it had been reported she was either sick or dead.

On the 13th, the market being over about ten o'clock, Mr. Banks walked into the woods with his gun, as he generally did, for the benefit of the shade in the heat of the day: as he was returning back, he met Tubourai Tamaide near his occasional dwelling, and stopping to spend a little time with him, he suddenly took the gun out of Mr. Banks's hand, cocked it, and, holding it up in the air, drew the trigger: fortunately for him it flashed in the pan: Mr. Banks immediately took it from him, not a little surprised how he had acquired sufficient knowledge of a gun to discharge it, and reproved him with great severity for what he had done. As it was of infinite importance to keep the Indians totally ignorant of the management of fire-arms, he had taken every opportunity of intimating that they could never offend him so highly as by even touching his piece; it was now proper to enforce this prohibition, and he therefore added threats to his reproof: the Indian bore all patiently; but the moment Mr. Banks crossed the river, he set off with all his family and furniture for his house at Eparre. This being quickly known from the Indians at the fort, and great inconvenience being apprehended from the displeasure of this man, who upon all occasions had been particularly useful, Mr. Banks determined to follow him without delay, and solicit his return: he set out the same evening accompanied by Mr. Mollineux, and found him sitting in the middle of a large circle of people, to whom he had probably related what had happened, and his fears of the consequences; he was himself the very picture of grief and dejection, and the same passions were strongly marked in the countenances of all the people that surrounded him. When Mr. Banks and Mr. Mollineux went into the circle, one of the women expressed her trouble, as Terapo had done upon another occasion, and struck a shark's tooth into her head several times, till it was covered with blood. Mr. Banks lost no time in putting an end to this universal distress; he assured the chief, that everything which had passed should be forgotten, that there was not the least animosity remaining on one side, nor anything to be feared on the other. The chief was soon soothed into confidence and complacency, a double canoe was ordered to be got ready, they all returned together to the fort before supper, and as a pledge of perfect reconciliation, both he and his wife slept all night in Mr. Banks's tent: their presence, however, was no palladium; for, between eleven and twelve o'clock, one of the natives attempted to get into the fort by scaling the walls, with a design, no doubt, to steal whatever he should happen to find; he was discovered by the sentinel, who happily did not fire, and he ran away much faster than any of our people could follow him. The iron, and iron-tools, which were in continual use at the armourer's

forge, that was set up within the works, were temptations to theft which none of these people could withstand.

On the 14th, which was Sunday, I directed that divine service should be performed at the fort: we were desirous that some of the principal Indians should be present, but when the hour came, most of them were returned home. Mr. Banks, however, crossed the river, and brought back Tubourai Tamaide and his wife Tomio, hoping that it would give occasion to some inquiries on their part, and some instruction on ours: having seated them, he placed himself between them, and during the whole service, they very attentively observed his behaviour, and very exactly imitated it; standing, sitting, or kneeling, as they saw him do: they were conscious that we were employed about somewhat serious and important, as appeared by their calling to the Indians without the fort to be silent; yet when the service was over, neither of them asked any questions, nor would they attend to any attempt that was made to explain what had been done.

POLYNESIAN WAR CANOE.

On the 14th and 15th, we had another opportunity of observing the general knowledge which these people had of any design that was formed among them. In the night between the 13th and 14th, one of the water-casks was stolen from the outside of the fort: in the morning, there was not an Indian to be seen who did not know that it was gone; yet they appeared not to have been trusted, or not to have been worthy of trust; for they seemed all of them disposed to give intelligence where it might be found. Mr. Banks traced it to a part of the bay where he was told it had been put into a canoe, but as it was not of great consequence he did not complete the discovery. When he returned, he was told by Tubourai Tamaide, that another cask would be stolen before the morning: how he came by this knowledge it is not easy to imagine; that he was not a party in the design is certain, for he came with his wife and his family to the place where the water-casks stood, and placing their beds near them, he said he would himself be a pledge for their safety, in despite of the thief: of this, however, we would not admit; and making them understand that a sentry would be placed to watch the casks till the morning, he removed the beds into Mr. Banks's tent, where he and his family spent the night, making signs to the sentry when he retired that he should keep his eyes open. In the night this intelligence appeared to be true; about twelve o'clock the thief came, but discovering that a watch had been set, he went away without his booty.

Mr. Banks's confidence in Tubourai Tamaide had greatly increased since the affair of the knife; in consequence of which he was at length exposed to temptations which neither his integrity nor his honour was able to resist. They had withstood many allurements, but were at length ensnared by the fascinating charms of a basket of nails: these nails were much larger than any that had yet been brought into trade, and had, with perhaps some degree of criminal negligence, been left in a corner of Mr. Banks's tent, to which the chief had always free access. One of these nails Mr. Banks's servant happened to see in his possession, upon his having inadvertently thrown back that part of his garment under which it was concealed. Mr. Banks being told of this, and knowing that no such thing had been

given him, either as a present or in barter, immediately examined the basket, and discovered that out of seven nails five were missing. He then, though not without great reluctance, charged him with the fact, which he immediately confessed, and however he might suffer, was probably not more hurt than his accuser. A demand was immediately made of restitution; but this he declined, saying that the nails were at Eparre: however, Mr. Banks appearing to be much in earnest, and using some threatening signs, he thought fit to produce one of them. He was then taken to the fort, to receive such judgment as should be given against him by the general voice. After some deliberation, that we might not appear to think too lightly of his offence, he was told that if he would bring the other four nails to the fort, it should be forgotten. To this condition he agreed; but I am sorry to say he did not fulfil it. Instead of fetching the nails, he removed with his family before night, and took all his furniture with him.

As our long-boat had appeared to be leaky, I thought it necessary to examine her bottom, and, to my great surprise, found it so much eaten by the worms, that it was necessary to give her a new one; no such accident had happened to the Dolphin's boats, as I was informed by the officers on board, and therefore it was a misfortune that I did not expect: I feared that the pinnace also might be nearly in the same condition; but, upon examining her, I had the satisfaction to find that not a worm had touched her, though she was built of the same wood, and had been as much in the water: the reason of this difference I imagine to be, that the long-boat was payed with varnish of pine, and the pinnace painted with white lead and oil; the bottoms of all boats, therefore, which are sent into this country, should be painted like that of the pinnace, and the ships should be supplied with a good stock, in order to give them a new coating when it should be found necessary.

Having received repeated messages from Tootahah, that if we would pay him a visit he would acknowledge the favour by a present of four hogs, I sent Mr. Hicks, my first lieutenant, to try if he could not procure the hogs upon easier terms, with orders to show him every civility in his power. Mr. Hicks found that he was removed from Eparre to a place called Tettahah, five miles farther to the westward. He was received with great cordiality; one hog was immediately produced, and he was told that the other three, which were at some distance, should be brought in the morning. Mr. Hicks readily consented to stay; but the morning came without the hogs, and it not being convenient to stay longer, he returned in the evening with the one he had got.

On the 25th, Tubourai Tamaide and his wife Tomio made their appearance at the tent, for the first time since he had been detected in stealing the nails; he seemed to be under some discontent and apprehension, yet he did not think fit to purchase our countenance and good-will by restoring the four which he had sent away. As Mr. Banks and the other gentlemen treated him with a coolness and reserve which did not at all tend to restore his ease or good-humour, his stay was short, and his departure abrupt. Mr. Monkhouse, the surgeon, went the next morning in order to effect a reconciliation, by persuading him to bring down the nails, but he could not succeed.

CHAPTER IX.—ANOTHER VISIT TO TOOTAHAH, WITH VARIOUS ADVENTURES. — EXTRAORDINARY AMUSEMENT OF THE INDIANS, WITH REMARKS UPON IT. — PREPARATIONS TO OBSERVE THE TRANSIT OF VENUS, AND WHAT HAPPENED IN THE MEAN TIME AT THE FORT.

On the 27th, it was determined that we should pay our visit to Tootahah, though we were not very confident that we should receive the hogs for our pains. I therefore set out early in the morning, with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, and three others, in the pinnace. He was now removed from Tettahah, where Mr. Hicks had seen him, to a place called Toourou, about six miles farther; and as we could not go above half-way thither in the boat, it was almost evening before we arrived: we found him in his usual state, sitting under a tree, with a great crowd about him. We made our presents in due form, consisting of a yellow stuff petticoat, and some other trifling articles, which were graciously received; a

hog was immediately ordered to be killed and dressed for supper, with a promise of more in the morning: however, as we were less desirous of feasting upon our journey than of carrying back with us provisions, which would be more welcome at the fort, we procured a reprieve for the hog, and supped upon the fruits of the country. As night now came on, and the place was crowded with many more than the houses and canoes would contain, there being Oberea with her attendants, and many other travellers whom we knew, we began to look out for lodgings. Our party consisted of six: Mr. Banks thought himself fortunate in being offered a place by Oberea in her canoe; and wishing his friends a good night, took his leave. He went to rest early, according to the custom of the country, and taking off his clothes, as was his constant practice, the nights being hot, Oberea kindly insisted upon taking them into her own custody, for otherwise she said they would certainly be stolen. Mr. Banks having such a safeguard, resigned himself to sleep with all imaginable tranquillity: but waking about eleven o'clock, and wanting to get up, he searched for his clothes where he had seen them deposited by Oberea when he lay down to sleep, and soon perceived that they were missing. He immediately awakened Oberea, who starting up, and hearing his complaint, ordered lights, and prepared in great haste to recover what he had lost. Tootahah himself slept in the next canoe, and being soon alarmed, he came to them, and set out with Oberea in search of the thief. Mr. Banks was not in a condition to go with them, for of his apparel scarce anything was left him but his breeches; his coat and his waistcoat, with his pistols, powder-horn, and many other things that were in the pockets, were gone. In about half an hour his two noble friends returned, but without having obtained any intelligence of his clothes or of the thief. At first he began to be alarmed: his musket had not indeed been taken away; but he had neglected to load it; where I and Dr. Solander had disposed of ourselves he did not know; and therefore, whatever might happen, he could not have recourse to us for assistance. He thought it best, however, to express neither fear nor suspicion of those about him, and giving his musket to Tupia, who had been waked in the confusion, and stood by him, with a charge not to suffer it to be stolen, he betook himself again to rest, declaring himself perfectly satisfied with the pains that Tootahah and Oberea had taken to recover his things, though they had not been successful. As it cannot be supposed that in such a situation his sleep was very sound, he soon after heard music, and saw lights at a little distance on shore: this was a concert or assembly, which they call a HEIVA, a common name for every public exhibition; and as it would necessarily bring many people together, and there was a chance of my being among them with his other friends, he rose, and made the best of his way towards it: he was soon led by the lights and the sound to the hut where I lay, with three other gentlemen of our party; and easily distinguishing us from the rest, he made up to us more than half naked, and told us his melancholy story. We gave him such comfort as the unfortunate generally give to each other, by telling him that we were fellow-sufferers; I showed him that I was myself without stockings, they having been stolen from under my head, though I was sure I had never been asleep, and each of my associates convinced him, by his appearance, that he had lost a jacket. We determined, however, to hear out the concert, however deficient we might appear in our dress; it consisted of three drums, four flutes, and several voices; when this entertainment, which lasted about an hour, was over, we retired again to our sleeping places; having agreed that nothing could be done toward the recovery of our things till the morning.

We rose at day-break, according to the custom of the country: the first man that Mr. Banks saw was Tupia, faithfully attending with his musket; and soon after Oberea brought him some of her country clothes, as a succedaneum for his own; so that when he came to us he made a most motley appearance, half Indian and half English. Our party soon got together, except Dr. Solander, whose quarters we did not know, and who had not assisted at the concert: in a short time Tootahah made his appearance, and we pressed him to recover our clothes; but neither he nor Oberea could be persuaded to take any measures for that purpose, so that we began to suspect that they had been parties in the theft. About eight o'clock we were joined by Dr. Solander, who had fallen into honester hands at a house about a mile distant, and had lost nothing. Having given up all hope of recovering our

clothes, which, indeed, were never afterwards heard of, we spent all the morning in soliciting the hogs which we had been promised; but in this we had no better success: we therefore, in no very good humour, set out for the boat about twelve o'clock, with only that which we had redeemed from the butcher and the cook the night before.

As we were returning to the boat, however, we were entertained with a sight that in some measure compensated for our fatigue and disappointment. In our way we came to one of the few places where access to the island is not guarded by a reef, and, consequently, a high surf breaks upon the shore; a more dreadful one, indeed, I had seldom seen; it was impossible for any European boat to have lived in it; and if the best swimmer in Europe had, by any accident, been exposed to its fury, I am confident that he would not have been able to preserve himself from drowning, especially as the shore was covered with pebbles and large stones; yet, in the midst of these breakers, were ten or twelve Indians swimming for their amusement: whenever a surf broke near them, they dived under it, and, to all appearance with infinite facility, rose again on the other side. This diversion was greatly improved by the stern of an old canoe, which they happened to find upon the spot: they took this before them, and swam out with it as far as the outermost breach, then two or three of them getting into it, and turning the square end to the breaking wave, were driven in towards the shore with incredible rapidity, sometimes almost to the beach; but generally the wave broke over them before they got half way, in which case they dived, and rose on the other side with the canoe in their hands: they then swam out with it again, and were again driven back, just as our holiday youth climb the hill in Greenwich-park for the pleasure of rolling down it. At this wonderful scene we stood gazing for more than half an hour, during which time none of the swimmers attempted to come on shore, but seemed to enjoy their sport in the highest degree; we then proceeded in our journey, and late in the evening got back to the fort.

Upon this occasion it may be observed, that human nature is endued with powers which are only accidentally exerted to the utmost; and that all men are capable of what no man attains, except he is stimulated to the effort by some uncommon circumstances or situation. These Indians effected what to us appeared to be supernatural, merely by the application of such powers as they possessed in common with us, and all other men who have no particular infirmity or defect. The truth of the observation is also manifest from more familiar instances. The rope-dancer and balance-master owe their art, not to any peculiar liberality of nature, but to an accidental improvement of her common gifts; and though equal diligence and application would not always produce equal excellence in these, any more than in other arts, yet there is no doubt but that a certain degree of proficiency in them might be universally attained. Another proof of the existence of abilities in mankind, that are almost universally dormant, is furnished by the attainments of blind men. It cannot be supposed that the loss of one sense, like the amputation of a branch from a tree, gives new vigour to those that remain. Every man's hearing and touch, therefore, are capable of the nice distinctions which astonish us in those that have lost their sight, and if they do not give the same intelligence to the mind, it is merely because the same intelligence is not required of them: he that can see may do from choice what the blind do by necessity, and by the same diligent attention to the other senses may receive the same notices from them; let it, therefore, be remembered, as an encouragement to persevering diligence, and a principle of general use to mankind, that he who does all he can will ever effect much more than is generally thought to be possible.

Among other Indians that had visited us, there were some from a neighbouring island which they called Eimeo or Imao, the same to which Captain Wallis had given the name of the Duke of York's Island, and they gave us an account of no less than two-and-twenty islands that lay in the neighbourhood of Otaheite.

As the day of observation now approached, I determined, in consequence of some hints which had been given me by Lord Morton, to send out two parties to observe the transit in other situations; hoping, that if we should fail at Otaheite, they might have better success. We were, therefore, now busily employed in preparing our instruments, and instructing such gentlemen in the use of them as I intended to send out. On Thursday the

1st of June, the Saturday following being the day of the transit, I despatched Mr. Gore in the long-boat to Imao, with Mr. Monkhouse and Mr. Sporing, a gentleman belonging to Mr. Banks, Mr. Green having furnished them with proper instruments. Mr. Banks himself thought fit to go upon this expedition, and several natives, particularly Tubourai Tamaide and Tomio, were also of the party. Very early on the Friday morning, I sent Mr. Hicks, with Mr. Clerk and Mr. Petersgill, the master's mates, and Mr. Saunders, one of the midshipmen, in the pinnace to the eastward, with orders to fix on some convenient spot, at a distance from our principal observatory, where they also might employ the instruments with which they had been furnished for the same purpose.

The long-boat not having been got ready till Thursday in the afternoon, though all possible expedition was used to fit her out; the people on board, after having rowed most part of the night, brought her to a grappling just under the land of Imao. Soon after day-break, they saw an Indian canoe, which they hailed, and the people on board showed them an inlet through the reef into which they pulled, and soon fixed upon a coral rock, which rose out of the water about one hundred and fifty yards from the shore, as a proper situation for their observatory: it was about eighty yards long and twenty broad, and in the middle of it was a bed of white sand, large enough for the tents to stand upon. Mr. Gore and his assistants immediately began to set them up, and make other necessary preparations for the important business of the next day. While this was doing, Mr. Banks, with the Indians of Otaheite, and the people whom they had met in the canoe, went ashore upon the main island, to buy provisions; of which he procured a sufficient supply before night. When he returned to the rock, he found the observatory in order, and the telescopes all fixed and tried. The evening was very fine, yet their solicitude did not permit them to take much rest in the night: one or other of them was up every half hour, who satisfied the impatience of the rest by reporting the changes of the sky, now encouraging their hope, by telling them that it was clear, and now alarming their fears, by an account that it was hazy.

At day-break they got up, and had the satisfaction to see the sun rise without a cloud. Mr. Banks then wishing the observers, Mr. Gore and Mr. Monkhouse, success, repaired again to the island, that he might examine its produce, and get a fresh supply of provisions: he began by trading with the natives, for which purpose he took his station under a tree; and to keep them from pressing upon him in a crowd, he drew a circle round him, which he suffered none of them to enter. About eight o'clock he saw two canoes coming towards the place, and was given to understand by the people about him that they belonged to TARRAO, the king of the island, who was coming to make him a visit. As soon as the canoes came near the shore, the people made a lane from the beach to the trading-place, and his Majesty landed with his sister, whose name was NUNA; as they advanced towards the tree where Mr. Banks stood, he went out to meet them, and, with great formality, introduced them into the circle from which the other natives had been excluded. As it is the custom of these people to sit during all their conferences, Mr. Banks unwrapped a kind of turban of Indian cloth, which he wore upon his head instead of a hat, and spreading it upon the ground, they all sat down upon it together. The royal present was then brought, which consisted of a hog and a dog, some bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other articles of the like kind. Mr. Banks then despatched a canoe to the observatory for his present, and the messengers soon returned with an adze, a shirt, and some beads, which were presented to his Majesty, and received with great satisfaction. By this time Tubourai Tamaide and Tomio joined them, from the observatory. Tomio said, that she was related to Tarrao, and brought him a present of a long nail, at the same time complimenting Nuna with a shirt.

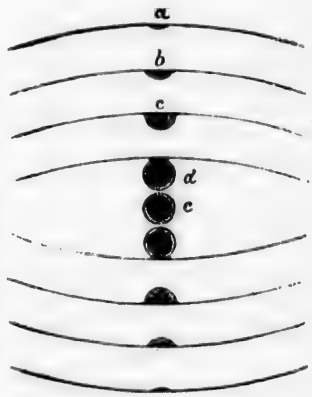
The first internal contact of the planet with the sun being over, Mr. Banks returned to the observatory, taking Tarrao, Nuna, and some of their principal attendants, among whom were three very handsome young women, with him; he showed them the planet upon the sun, and endeavoured to make them understand that he and his companions had come from their own country on purpose to see it. Soon after Mr. Banks returned with them to the island, where he spent the rest of the day in examining its produce, which he found to be much the same with that of Otaheite. The people whom he saw there also exactly resembled the inhabitants of that island, and many of them were persons whom he had seen upon it;

that all those whom he had dealt with knew of what his trading articles consisted, and the value they bore. The next morning, having struck the tents, they set out on their return, and arrived at the fort before night.

The observation was made with equal success by the persons whom I had sent to the eastward; and at the fort, there not being a cloud in the sky from the rising to the setting of the sun, the whole passage of the planet Venus over the sun's disk was observed with great advantage by Mr. Green, Dr. Solander, and myself: Mr. Green's telescope and mine were of the same magnifying power, but that of Dr. Solander was greater. We all saw an atmosphere or dusky cloud round the body of the planet, which very much disturbed the times of contact, especially of the internal ones; and we differed from each other in our accounts of the times of the contacts much more than might have been expected. According to Mr. Green,

	H.	M.	S.	
The first external contact, or first appearance of Venus on the sun, was	9	25	42	Morning.
The first internal contact, or total emersion, was	9	44	4	Morning.
The second internal contact, or beginning of the emersion . .	3	14	8	Afternoon.
The second external contact, or total emersion	3	32	10	Afternoon.

The latitude of the observatory was found to be 17° 29′ 15″, and the longitude 149° 32′ 30″ W. of Greenwich. A more particular account will appear by the tables, for which the reader is referred to the Transactions of the Royal Society, vol. lxi. part 2, page 397, *et seq.*, where they are illustrated by a cut.



THE TRANSIT OF VENUS.

a. First contact of the planet with the limb of the sun.
b, c, d, e. Successive stages of its passage.
Its course on leaving the sun's disk follows.

But if we had reason to congratulate ourselves upon the success of our observation, we had scarce less cause to regret the diligence with which that time had been improved by some of our people to another purpose. While the attention of the officers was engrossed by the transit of Venus, some of the ship's company broke into one of the store rooms, and stole a quantity of spike nails, amounting to no less than one hundredweight; this was a matter of public and serious concern; for these nails, if circulated by the people among the Indians, would do us irreparable injury, by reducing the value of iron, our staple commodity. One of the thieves was detected, but only seven nails were found in his custody. He was punished with two dozen lashes, but would impeach none of his accomplices.

CHAPTER XIV.—THE CEREMONIES OF AN INDIAN FUNERAL PARTICULARLY DESCRIBED: GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE SUBJECT: A CHARACTER FOUND AMONG THE INDIANS TO WHICH THE ANCIENTS PAID GREAT VENERATION: A ROBBERY AT THE FORT, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES: WITH A SPECIMEN OF INDIAN COOKERY, AND VARIOUS INCIDENTS.

On the 5th, we kept his Majesty's birth-day; for though it is the 4th, we were unwilling to celebrate it during the absence of the two parties who had been sent out to observe the transit. We had several of the Indian chiefs at our entertainment, who drank his Majesty's health by the name of Kiliargo, which was the nearest imitation they could produce of King George.

About this time died an old woman of some rank, who was related to Tomio, which gave us an opportunity to see how they disposed of the body, and confirmed us in our opinion that these people, contrary to the present custom of all other nations now known, never bury their dead. In the middle of a small square, neatly railed in with bamboo, the awning of a

canoe was raised upon two posts, and under this the body was deposited upon such a frame as has before been described; it was covered with fine cloth, and near it was placed bread-fruit, fish, and other provisions: we suppose that the food was placed there for the spirit of the deceased, and consequently, that these Indians had some confused notion of a separate state; but upon our applying for further information to Tubourai Tamaide, he told us, that the food was placed there as an offering to their gods. They do not, however, suppose that the gods eat, any more than the Jews suppose that Jehovah could dwell in a house: the offering is made here upon the same principle as the temple was built at Jerusalem, as an expression of reverence and gratitude, and a solicitation of the more immediate presence of the Deity. In the front of the area was a kind of stile, where the relations of the deceased stood, to pay the tribute of their sorrow; and under the awning were innumerable small pieces of cloth, on which the tears and blood of the mourners had been shed; for in their paroxysms of grief it is a universal custom to wound themselves with the shark's tooth. Within a few yards two occasional houses were set up, in one of which some relations of the deceased constantly resided, and in the other the chief mourner, who is always a man, and who keeps there a very singular dress in which a ceremony is performed that will be described in its turn. Near the place where the dead are thus set up to rot, the bones are afterwards buried.

What can have introduced among these people the custom of exposing their dead above ground till the flesh is consumed by putrefaction, and then burying the bones, it is, perhaps, impossible to guess; but it is remarkable, that Ælian and Apollonius Rhodius impute a similar practice to the ancient inhabitants of Colchis, a country near Pontus, in Asia, now called Mingrelia; except that among them this manner of disposing of the dead did not extend to both sexes: the women they buried; but the men they wrapped in a hide, and hung up in the air by a chain. This practice among the Colchians is referred to a religious cause. The principal objects of their worship were the earth and the air; and it is supposed that, in consequence of some superstitious notion, they devoted their dead to both. Whether the natives of Otaheite had any notion of the same kind, we were never able certainly to determine; but we soon discovered, that the repositories of their dead were also places of worship. Upon this occasion it may be observed, that nothing can be more absurd than the notion that the happiness or misery of a future life depends, in any degree, upon the disposition of the body when the state of probation is past; yet that nothing is more general than a solicitude about it. However cheap we may hold any funeral rites which custom has not familiarised, or superstition rendered sacred, most men gravely deliberate now to prevent their body from being broken by the mattock and devoured by the worm, when it is no longer capable of sensation; and purchase a place for it in holy ground, when they believe the lot of its future existence to be irrevocably determined. So strong is the association of pleasing or painful ideas with certain opinions and actions which affect us while we live, that we involuntarily act as if it was equally certain that they would affect us in the same manner when we are dead, though this is an opinion that nobody will maintain. Thus it happens, that the desire of preserving from reproach even the name that we leave behind us, or of procuring it honour, is one of the most powerful principles of action, among the inhabitants of the most speculative and enlightened nations. Posthumous reputation, upon every principle, must be acknowledged to have no influence upon the dead; yet the desire of obtaining and securing it, no force of reason, no habits of thinking, can subdue, except in those whom habitual baseness and guilt have rendered indifferent to honour and shame while they lived. This, indeed, seems to be among the happy imperfections of our nature, upon which the general good of society in a certain measure depends; for as some crimes are supposed to be prevented by hanging the body of the criminal in chains after he is dead, so in consequence of the same association of ideas, much good is procured to society, and much evil prevented, by a desire of preventing disgrace or procuring honour to a name, when nothing but a name remains.

Perhaps no better use can be made of reading an account of manners altogether new, by which the follies and absurdities of mankind are taken out of that particular connexion in which habit has reconciled them to us, than to consider in how many instances they are

essentially the same. When an honest devotee of the church of Rome reads, that there are Indians on the banks of the Ganges who believe that they shall secure the happiness of a future state by dying with a cow's tail in their hands, he laughs at their folly and superstition; and if these Indians were to be told, that there are people upon the continent of Europe, who imagine that they shall derive the same advantage from dying with the slipper of St. Francis upon their foot, they would laugh in their turn. But if, when the Indian heard the account of the catholic, and the catholic that of the Indian, each was to reflect, that there was no difference between the absurdity of the slipper and of the tail, but that the veil of prejudice and custom, which covered it in their own case, was withdrawn in the other, they would turn their knowledge to a profitable purpose.

Having observed that bread-fruit had for some days been brought in less quantities than usual, we inquired the reason; and were told, that there being a great show of fruit upon the trees, they had been thinned all at once, in order to make a kind of sour paste, which the natives call *Mahie*, and which, in consequence of having undergone a fermentation, will keep a considerable time, and supply them with food when no ripe fruit is to be had.

On the 10th the ceremony was to be performed, in honour of the old woman whose sepulchral tabernacle has just been described, by the chief mourner; and Mr. Banks had so great a curiosity to see all the mysteries of the solemnity, that he determined to take a part in it, being told that he could be present upon no other condition. In the evening, therefore, he repaired to the place where the body lay, and was received by the daughter of the deceased, and several other persons, among whom was a boy about fourteen years old, who were to assist in the ceremony. Tubourai Tamaide was to be the principal mourner; and his dress, which was extremely fantastical, though not unbecoming, is represented by a figure in one of the cuts. Mr. Banks was stripped of his European clothes, and a small piece of cloth being tied round his middle, his body was smeared with charcoal and water, as low as the shoulders, till it was as black as that of a negro: the same operation was performed upon several others, among whom were some women, who were reduced to a state as near to nakedness as himself; the boy was blacked all over, and then the procession set forward. Tubourai Tamaide uttered something, which was supposed to be a prayer, near the body; and did the same when he came up to his own house: when this was done, the procession was continued towards the fort, permission having been obtained to approach it upon this occasion. It is the custom of the Indians to fly from these processions with the utmost precipitation, so that as soon as those who were about the fort saw it at a distance they hid themselves in the woods It proceeded from the fort along the shore, and put to flight another body of Indians, consisting of more than a hundred, every one hiding himself under the first shelter that he could find: it then crossed the river, and entered the woods, passing several houses, all which were deserted, and not a single Indian could be seen during the rest of the procession, which continued more than half an hour. The office that Mr. Banks performed, was called that of the *Nineeeh*, of which there were two besides himself; and the natives having all disappeared, they came to the chief mourner, and said, *Imatata*, there are no people; after which the company was dismissed to wash themselves in the river, and put on their customary apparel.

On the 12th, complaint being made to me, by some of the natives, that two of the seamen had taken from them several bows and arrows, and some strings of plaited hair, I examined the matter, and finding the charge well supported, I punished each of the criminals with two dozen lashes. Their bows and arrows have not been mentioned before, nor were they often brought down to the fort. This day, however, Tubourai Tamaide brought down his, in consequence of a challenge which he had received from Mr. Gore. The chief supposed it was to try who could send the arrow farthest; Mr. Gore, who best could hit a mark; and as Mr. Gore did not value himself upon shooting to a great distance, nor the chief upon hitting a mark, there was no trial of skill between them. Tubourai Tamaide, however, to show us what he could do, drew his bow, and sent an arrow, none of which are feathered, two hundred and seventy-four yards, which is something more than a seventh, and something less than a sixth part of a mile. Their manner of shooting is somewhat singular; they kneel down, and the moment the arrow is discharged drop the bow.

Mr. Banks, in his morning walk this day, met a number of the natives, whom, upon inquiry, he found to be travelling musicians; and having learnt where they were to be at night, we all repaired to the place. The band consisted of two flutes and three drums, and we found a great number of people assembled upon the occasion. The drummers accompanied the music with their voices, and, to our great surprise, we discovered that we were generally the subject of the song. We did not expect to have found among the uncivilized inhabitants of this sequestered spot a character, which has been the subject of such praise and veneration where genius and knowledge have been most conspicuous; yet these were the bards or minstrels of Otaheite. Their song was unpremeditated, and accompanied with music; they were continually going about from place to place, and they were rewarded by the master of the house, and the audience, with such things as one wanted and the other could spare.

On the 14th, we were brought into new difficulties and inconvenience by another robbery at the fort. In the middle of the night, one of the natives contrived to steal an iron coal-rake, that was made use of for the oven. It happened to be set up against the inside of the wall, so that the top of the handle was visible from without; and we were informed that the thief, who had been seen lurking there in the evening, came secretly about three o'clock in the morning, and, watching his opportunity when the sentinel's back was turned, very dexterously laid hold of it with a long crooked stick, and drew it over the wall. I thought it of some consequence, if possible, to put an end to these practices at once, by doing something that should make it the common interest of the natives themselves to prevent them. I had given strict orders that they should not be fired upon, even when detected in these attempts, for which I had many reasons: the common sentinels were by no means fit to be entrusted with a power of life and death, to be exerted whenever they should think fit; and I had already experienced that they were ready to take away the lives that were in their power upon the slightest occasion; neither, indeed, did I think that the thefts which these people committed against us were, in them, crimes worthy of death: that thieves are hanged in England I thought no reason why they should be shot in Otaheite; because, with respect to the natives, it would have been an execution by a law *ex post facto*. They had no such law among themselves, and it did not appear to me that we had any right to make such a law for them. That they should abstain from theft, or be punished with death, was not one of the conditions under which they claimed the advantages of civil society, as it is among us; and as I was not willing to expose them to fire-arms, loaded with shot, neither could I perfectly approve of firing only with powder. At first, indeed, the noise and the smoke would alarm them, but when they found that no mischief followed, they would be led to despise the weapons themselves, and proceed to insults, which would make it necessary to put them to the test, and from which they would be deterred by the very sight of a gun, if it was never used but with effect. At this time an accident furnished me with what I thought a happy expedient. It happened that above twenty of their sailing canoes were just come in with a supply of fish: upon these I immediately seized, and bringing them into the river behind the fort, gave public notice, that except the rake, and all the rest of the things which from time to time had been stolen, were returned, the canoes should be burnt. This menace I ventured to publish, though I had no design to put it into execution, making no doubt but that it was well known in whose possession the stolen goods were, and that as restitution was thus made a common cause, they would all of them in a short time be brought back. A list of the things was made out, consisting principally of the rake; the musket which had been taken from the marine when the Indian was shot; the pistols which Mr. Banks lost with his clothes at Atahourou; a sword belonging to one of the petty officers, and the water-cask. About noon, the rake was restored, and great solicitation was made for the release of the canoes; but I still insisted upon my original condition. The next day came, and nothing farther was restored, at which I was much surprised, for the people were in the utmost distress for the fish, which in a short time would be spoilt; I was, therefore, reduced to a disagreeable situation, either of releasing the canoes, contrary to what I had solemnly and publicly declared, or to detain them, to the great injury of those who were innocent, without answering any good purpose to ourselves:

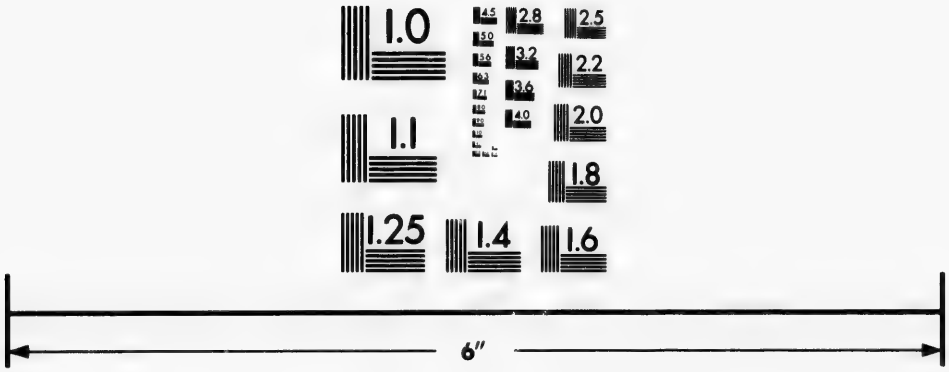
as a temporary expedient, I permitted them to take the fish; but still detained the canoes. This very license, however, was productive of new confusion and injury; for, it not being easy at once to distinguish to what particular persons the several lots of fish belonged, the canoes were plundered, under favour of this circumstance, by those who had no right to any part of their cargo. Most pressing instances were still made that the canoes might be restored; and I having now the greatest reason to believe, either that the things for which I detained them were not in the island, or that those who suffered by their detention had not sufficient influence over the thieves to prevail upon them to relinquish their booty, determined at length to give them up, not a[illegible]ortified at the bad success of my project.

Another accident also about this time was, notwithstanding all our caution, very near embroiling us with the Indians. I sent the boat on shore with an officer to get ballast for the ship, and not immediately finding stones convenient for the purpose, he began to pull down some part of an enclosure where they deposited the bones of their dead. This the Indians violently opposed, and a messenger came down to the tents to acquaint the officers that they would not suffer it. Mr. Banks immediately repaired to the place, and an amicable end was soon put to the dispute by sending the boat's crew to the river, where stones enough were to be gathered without a possibility of giving offence. It is very remarkable, that these Indians appeared to be much more jealous of what was done to the dead than the living. This was the only measure in which they ventured to oppose us, and the only insult that was offered to any individual among us was upon a similar occasion. Mr. Monkhouse happening one day to pull a flower from a tree which grew in one of their sepulchral enclosures, an Indian, whose jealousy had probably been upon the watch, came suddenly behind him, and struck him. Mr. Monkhouse laid hold of him, but he was instantly rescued by two more, who took hold of Mr. Monkhouse's hair, and forced him to quit his hold of their companion, and then ran away without offering him any farther violence.

In the evening of the 19th, while the canoes were still detained, we received a visit from Oberea, which surprised us not a little, as she brought with her none of the things that had been stolen, and knew that she was suspected of having some of them in her custody. She said, indeed, that her favourite Obadée, whom she had beaten and dismissed, had taken them away; but she seemed conscious that she had no right to be believed. She discovered the strongest signs of fear; yet she surmounted it with astonishing resolution, and was very pressing to sleep with her attendants in Mr. Banks's tent. In this, however, she was not gratified; the affair of the jacket was too recent, and the tent was besides filled with other people. Nobody else seemed willing to entertain her, and she, therefore, with great appearance of mortification and disappointment, spent the night in her canoe.

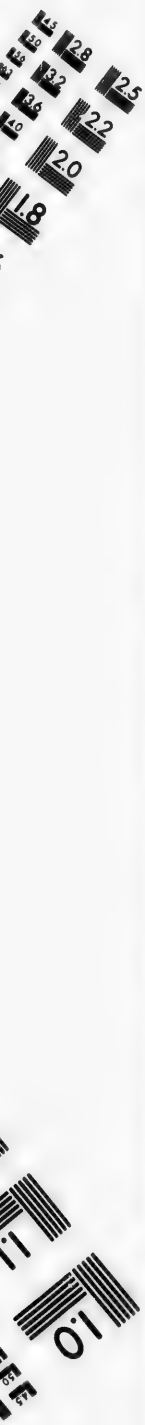
The next morning early she returned to the fort with her canoe, and everything that it contained, putting herself wholly into our power, with something like greatness of mind, which excited our wonder and admiration. As the most effectual means to bring about a reconciliation, she presented us with a hog, and several other things, among which was a dog. We had lately learnt that these animals were esteemed by the Indians as more delicate food than their pork; and upon this occasion we determined to try the experiment. The dog, which was very fat, we consigned over to Tupia, who undertook to perform the double office of butcher and cook. He killed him by holding his hands close over his mouth and nose, an operation which continued above a quarter of an hour. While this was doing, a hole was made in the ground about a foot deep, in which a fire was kindled, and some small stones placed in layers alternately with the wood to heat; the dog was then singed, by holding him over the fire, and, by scraping him with a shell, the hair taken off as clean as if he had been scalded in hot water: he was then cut up with the same instrument, and his entrails being taken out, were sent to the sea, where, being carefully washed, they were put into cocoa-nut shells, with what blood had come from the body. When the hole was sufficiently heated, the fire was taken out, and some of the stones, which were not so hot as to discolour anything that they touched, being placed at the bottom, were covered with green leaves. The dog, with the entrails, was then placed upon the leaves, and other leaves being laid upon them, the whole was covered with the rest of the hot stones, and the mouth of the

IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)



Photographic
Sciences
Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503


2.8
2.5
3.2
2.2
3.6
2.0
4.0
1.8
1.1
1.0

hole close stopped with mould. In somewhat less than four hours it was again opened, and the dog taken out excellently baked; and we all agreed that he made a very good dish. The dogs which are here bred to be eaten taste no animal food, but are kept wholly upon bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, yams, and other vegetables of the like kind: all the flesh and fish eaten by the inhabitants is dressed in the same way.

On the 21st we were visited at the fort by a chief, called OAMO, whom we had never seen before, and who was treated by the natives with uncommon respect; he brought with him a boy about seven years old, and a young woman about sixteen: the boy was carried upon a man's back, which we considered as a piece of state, for he was as well able to walk as any present. As soon as they were in sight, Oberea, and several other natives who were in the fort, went out to meet them, having first uncovered their heads and bodies as low as the waist: as they came on, the same ceremony was performed by all the natives who were without the fort. Uncovering the body, therefore, is in this country probably a mark of respect; and as all parts are here exposed with equal indifference, the ceremony of uncovering it from the waist downwards, which was performed by Oorattooa, might be nothing more than a different mode of compliment, adapted to persons of a different rank. The chief came into the tent, but no entreaty could prevail upon the young woman to follow him, though she seemed to refuse contrary to her inclination. The natives without were, indeed, all very solicitous to prevent her, sometimes, when her resolution seemed to fail, almost using force: the boy also they restrained in the same manner; but Dr. Solander happening to meet him at the gate, took him by the hand, and led him in before the people were aware of it. As soon, however, as those that were within saw him, they took care to have him sent out.

These circumstances having strongly excited our curiosity, we inquired who they were, and were informed that Oamo was the husband of Oberea, though they had been a long time separated by mutual consent; and that the young woman and the boy were their children. We learnt also that the boy, whose name was TERRIDIRI, was her heir-apparent to the sovereignty of the island, and that his sister was intended for his wife, the marriage being deferred only till he should arrive at a proper age. The sovereign at this time was a son of WHAPPAI, whose name was OUTOU, and who, as before has been observed, was a minor. Whappai, Oamo, and Tootahah, were brothers: Whappai was the eldest, and Oamo the second; so that, Whappai having no child but Outou, Terridiri, the son of his next brother Oamo, was heir to the sovereignty. It will, perhaps, seem strange that a boy should be sovereign during the life of his father; but, according to the custom of the country, a child succeeds to a father's title and authority as soon as it is born: a regent is then elected, and the father of the new sovereign is generally continued in his authority, under that title, till his child is of age; but at this time the choice had fallen upon Tootahah, the uncle, in consequence of his having distinguished himself in a war. Oamo asked many questions concerning England and its inhabitants, by which he appeared to have great shrewdness and understanding.

CHAPTER XV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF THE ISLAND, AND VARIOUS INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED DURING THE EXPEDITION, WITH A DESCRIPTION OF A BURYING-PLACE AND PLACE OF WORSHIP, CALLED A MORAI.

ON Monday the 26th, about three o'clock in the morning, I set out in the pinnace, accompanied by Mr. Banks, to make the circuit of the island, with a view to sketch out the coast and harbours. We took our route to the eastward, and about eight in the forenoon we went on shore, in a district called OAHOUNUE, which is governed by AHIO, a young chief whom we had often seen at the tents, and who favoured us with his company to breakfast. Here also we found two other natives of our old acquaintance, TITUBOALO and HOONA, who carried us to their houses, near which we saw the body of the old woman, at whose funeral

rites Mr. Banks had assisted, and which had been removed hither from the spot where it was first deposited, this place having descended from her by inheritance to Hoona; and it being necessary on that account that it should lie here. We then proceeded on foot, the boat attending within call, to the harbour in which M. Bougainville lay, called OHIDEA, where the natives showed us the ground upon which his people pitched their tent, and the brook at which they watered, though no trace of them remained, except the holes where the poles of the tent had been fixed, and a small piece of potsherd, which Mr. Banks found in looking narrowly about the spot. We met, however, with ORETTE, a chief who was their principal friend, and whose brother OUTORROU went away with them.

This harbour lies on the west side of a great bay, under shelter of a small island called BOOUROU, near which is another called TAAWIRRII; the breach in the reefs is here very large, but the shelter for the ships is not the best. Soon after we had examined this place, we took boat, and asked Tituboalo to go with us to the other side of the bay; but he refused, and advised us not to go; for he said the country there was inhabited by people who were not subject to Tootahah, and who would kill both him and us. Upon receiving this intelligence, we did not, as may be imagined, relinquish our enterprise, but we immediately loaded our pieces with ball: this was so well understood by Tituboalo as a precaution which rendered us formidable, that he now consented to be of our party.

Having rowed till it was dark, we reached a low neck of land, or isthmus at the bottom of the bay, that divides the island into two peninsulas, each of which is a district or government wholly independent of the other. From Port-Royal, where the ship was at anchor, the coast trends E. by S. and E.S.E. ten miles, then S. by E. and S. eleven miles to the isthmus. In the first direction the shore is in general open to the sea; but in the last it is covered by reefs of rocks, which form several good harbours, with safe anchorage, in sixteen, eighteen, twenty, and twenty-four fathom of water, with other conveniences. As we had not yet got into our enemy's country, we determined to sleep on shore. We landed, and though we found but few houses, we saw several double canoes, whose owners were well known to us, and who provided us with supper and lodging; of which Mr. Banks was indebted for his share to Ooratooa, the lady who had paid him her compliments in so singular a manner at the fort.

In the morning we looked about the country, and found it to be a marshy flat, about two miles over, across which the natives haul their canoes to the corresponding bay on the other side. We then prepared to continue our route for what Tituboalo called the other kingdom; he said that the name of it was TIARRABOU, or OTAHEITE ETE; and that of the chief who governed it WAHEATUA. Upon this occasion, also, we learnt that the name of the peninsula where we had taken our station was OPOUREONU, or OTAHEITE NUE. Our new associate seemed to be now in better spirits than he had been the day before: the people in Tiarrabou would not kill us, he said; but he assured us that we should be able to procure no victuals among them; and indeed we had seen no bread-fruit since we set out.

After rowing a few miles, we landed in a district, which was the dominion of a chief called MARAITATA, the burying-place of men, whose father's name was PAHAIREDO, the stealer of boats. Though these names seemed to favour the account that had been given by Tituboalo, we soon found that it was not true. Both the father and the son received us with the greatest civility, gave us provisions, and, after some delay, sold us a very large hog for a hatchet. A crowd soon gathered round us, but we saw only two people that we knew; neither did we observe a single bead or ornament among them that had come from our ship, though we saw several things which had been brought from Europe. In one of the houses lay two twelve-pound shot, one of which was marked with the broad arrow of England, though the people said they had them from the ships that lay in Bougainville's harbour.

We proceeded on foot till we came to the district which was immediately under the government of the principal chief, or king of the peninsula, Waheatua. Waheatua had a son, but whether, according to the custom of Opoureonu, he administered the government as regent, or in his own right, is uncertain. This district consists of a large and fertile plain, watered by a river so wide, that we were obliged to ferry over it in a canoe: our Indian

train, however, chose to swim, and took to the water with the same facility as a pack of hounds. In this place we saw no house that appeared to be inhabited, but the ruins of many that had been very large. We proceeded along the shore, which forms a bay, called OAITIPEHA, and at last we found the chief sitting near some pretty canoe awnings, under which, we supposed, he and his attendants slept. He was a thin old man, with a very white head and beard, and had with him a comely woman, about five-and-twenty years old, whose name was TOUDIDDE. We had often heard the name of this woman, and, from report and observation, we had reason to think that she was the OBEREA of this peninsula. From this place, between which and the isthmus there are other harbours, formed by the reefs that lie along the shore, where shipping may lie in perfect security, and from whence the land trends S. S. E. and S. to the S. E. part of the island, we were accompanied by TEAREE, the son of Waheatua, of whom we had purchased a hog, and the country we passed through appeared to be more cultivated than any we had seen in other parts of the island: the brooks were everywhere banked into narrow channels with stone, and the shore had also a facing of stone, where it was washed by the sea. The houses were neither large nor numerous, but the canoes that were hauled up along the shore were almost innumerable, and superior to any that we had seen before both in size and make; they were longer, the sterns were higher, and the

DOUBLE CANOE WITH CANOPY.

awnings were supported by pillars. At almost every point there was a sepulchral building, and there were many of them also inland. They were of the same figure as those in Opoureonu, but they were cleaner and better kept, and decorated with many carved boards, which were set upright, and on the top of which were various figures of birds and men. On one in particular, there was the representation of a cock, which was painted red and yellow, to imitate the feathers of that animal, and rude images of men were, in some of them, placed one upon the head of another. But in this part of the country, however fertile and cultivated, we did not see a single bread-fruit: the trees were entirely bare; and the inhabitants seemed to subsist principally upon nuts, which are not unlike a chesnut, and which they call *Ahee*.

When we had walked till we were weary, we called up the boat, but both our Indians, Tituboalo and Tuahow, were missing: they had, it seems, stayed behind at Waheatua's, expecting us to return thither, in consequence of a promise which had been extorted from us, and which we had it not in our power to fulfil. Tearee, however, and another, embarked with us, and we proceeded till we came abreast of a small island called OTOOAREITE; it being then dark, we determined to land, and our Indians conducted us to a place where they said we might sleep: it was a deserted house, and near it was a little cove, in which the boat might lie with great safety and convenience. We were, however, in want of provisions, having been very sparingly supplied since we set out; and Mr. Banks immediately went into the woods to see whether any could be procured. As it was dark, he met with no people, and could find but one house that was inhabited: a bread-fruit and a half, a few ahees, and some fire, were all that it afforded; upon which, with a duck or two, and a few

curlews, we made our supper—which, if not scanty, was disagreeable, by the want of bread, with which we had neglected to furnish ourselves, as we depended upon meeting with bread-fruit—and took up our lodging under the awning of a canoe belonging to Tearee, which followed us.

The next morning, after having spent some time in another fruitless attempt to procure a supply of provisions, we proceeded round the south-east point, part of which is not covered by any reef, but lies open to the sea; and here the hill rises directly from the shore. At the southernmost part of the island, the shore is again covered by a reef, which forms a good harbour; and the land about it is very fertile. We made this route partly on foot, and partly in the boat: when we had walked about three miles, we arrived at a place where we saw several large canoes, and a number of people with them, whom we were agreeably surprised to find were of our intimate acquaintance. Here, with much difficulty, we procured some cocoa-nuts, and then embarked, taking with us Tuahow, one of the Indians who had waited for us at Waheatua's, and had returned the night before, long after it was dark.

When we came abreast of the south-east end of the island, we went ashore, by the advice of our Indian guide, who told us that the country was rich and good. The chief, whose name was Mathiabo, soon came down to us, but seemed to be a total stranger both to us and to our trade: his subjects, however, brought us plenty of cocoa-nuts, and about twenty bread-fruit. The bread-fruit we bought at a very dear rate, but his excellency sold us a pig for a glass-bottle, which he preferred to everything else that we could give him. We found in his possession a goose and a turkey-cock, which, we were informed, had been left upon the island by the Dolphin: they were both enormously fat, and so tame that they followed the Indians, who were fond of them to excess, wherever they went. In a long house in this neighbourhood, we saw what was altogether new to us. At one end of it, fastened to a semicircular board, hung fifteen human jaw-bones: they appeared to be fresh; and there was not one of them that wanted a single tooth. A sight so extraordinary strongly excited our curiosity, and we made many inquiries about it; but at this time could get no information, for the people either could not, or would not, understand us.

When we left this place, the chief, Mathiabo, desired leave to accompany us, which was readily granted. He continued with us the remainder of the day, and proved very useful, by piloting us over the shoals. In the evening, we opened the bay on the north-west side of the island, which answered to that on the south-east, so as at the isthmus, or carrying-place, almost to intersect the island, as I have observed before; and when we had coasted about two-thirds of it, we determined to go on shore for the night. We saw a large house at some distance, which Mathiabo informed us belonged to one of his friends; and soon after several canoes came off to meet us, having on board some very handsome women, who, by their behaviour, seemed to have been sent to entice us on shore. As we had before resolved to take up our residence here for the night, little invitation was necessary. We found that the house belonged to the chief of the district, whose name was Wiverou: he received us in a very friendly manner, and ordered his people to assist us in dressing our provision, of which we had now got a tolerable stock. When our supper was ready, we were conducted into that part of the house where Wiverou was sitting, in order to eat it: Mathiabo supped with us; and Wiverou calling for his supper at the time, we ate our meal very sociably, and with great good-humour. When it was over, we began to inquire where we were to sleep, and a part of the house was shown us, of which we were told we might take possession for that purpose. We then sent for our cloaks, and Mr. Banks began to undress, as his custom was, and, with a precaution which he had been taught by the loss of the jackets at Atahourou, sent his clothes aboard the boat, proposing to cover himself with a piece of Indian cloth. When Mathiabo perceived what was doing, he also pretended to want a cloak; and, as he had behaved very well, and done us some service, a cloak was ordered for him. We lay down, and observed that Mathiabo was not with us; but we supposed that he was gone to bathe, as the Indians always do before they sleep. We had not waited long, however, when an Indian, who was a stranger to us, came and told Mr. Banks, that the cloak and Mathiabo had disappeared together. This man had so far gained our confidence, that we did not at first believe the report; but it being soon after confirmed by

Tuahow, our own Indian, we knew no time was to be lost. As it was impossible for us to pursue the thief with any hope of success, without the assistance of the people about us, Mr. Banks started up, and telling our case, required them to recover the cloak; and to enforce this requisition, showed one of his pocket-pistols, which he always kept about him. Upon the sight of the pistol, the whole company took the alarm, and, instead of assisting to catch the thief, or recover what had been stolen, began with great precipitation to leave the place: one of them, however, was seized; upon which he immediately offered to direct the chase: I set out, therefore, with Mr. Banks; and though we ran all the way, the alarm had got before us; for in about ten minutes we met a man bringing back the cloak, which the thief had relinquished in great terror; and as we did not then think fit to continue the pursuit, he made his escape. When we returned, we found the house, in which there had been between two and three hundred people, entirely deserted. It being, however, soon known that we had no resentment against any body but Mathiabo, the chief, Wiverou, our host, with his wife, and many others, returned, and took up their lodgings with us for the night. In this place, however, we were destined to more confusion and trouble; for about five oclock in the morning our sentry alarmed us, with an account that the boat was missing: he had seen her, he said, about half an hour before, at her grappling, which was not above fifty yards from the shore; but, upon hearing the sound of oars, he had looked out again, and could see nothing of her. At this account we started up greatly alarmed, and ran to the water-side: the morning was clear and starlight, so that we could see to a considerable distance, but there was no appearance of the boat. Our situation was now such as might justify the most terrifying apprehensions: as it was a dead calm, and we could not therefore suppose her to have broken from her grappling, we had great reason to fear that the Indians had attacked her, and finding the people asleep, had succeeded in their enterprise: we were but four, with only one musket and two pocket-pistols, without a spare ball or charge of powder for either. In this state of anxiety and distress we remained a considerable time, expecting the Indians every moment to improve their advantage, when, to our unspeakable satisfaction, we saw the boat return, which had been driven from her grappling by the tide; a circumstance to which, in our confusion and surprise, we did not advert.

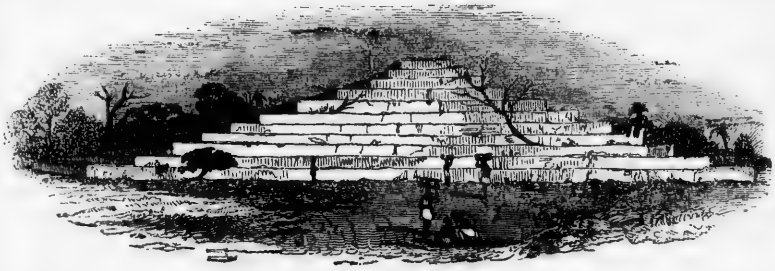
As soon as the boat returned, we got our breakfast, and were impatient to leave the place lest some other vexatious accident should befall us. It is situated on the north side of Tiarrabou, the south-east peninsula, or division, of the island, and at the distance of about five miles south-east from the isthmus, having a large and commodious harbour, inferior to none in the island; about which the land is very rich in produce. Notwithstanding we had had little communication with this division, the inhabitants everywhere received us in a friendly manner. We found the whole of it fertile and populous, and, to all appearance, in a more flourishing state than Opoureonu, though it is not above one-fourth part as large.

The next district in which we landed was the last in Tiarrabou, and governed by a chief, whose name we understood to be OMOE. Omoe was building a house, and being therefore very desirous of procuring a hatchet, he would have been glad to have purchased one with anything that he had in his possession; it happened, however, rather unfortunately for him and us, that we had not one hatchet left in the boat. We offered to trade with nails, but he would not part with anything in exchange for them; we therefore reimbarked, and put off our boat, but the chief being unwilling to relinquish all hope of obtaining something from us that would be of use to him, embarked in a canoe, with his wife Whannoouda, and followed us. After some time, we took them into the boat; and when we had rowed about a league, they desired we would put ashore. We immediately complied with his request, and found some of his people, who had brought down a very large hog. We were as unwilling to lose the hog as the chief was to part with us, and it was indeed worth the best axe we had in the ship; we therefore hit upon an expedient, and told him, that if he would bring his hog to the fort at Matavai, the Indian name for Port Royal bay, he should have a large axe, and a nail into the bargain, for his trouble. To this proposal, after having consulted with his wife, he agreed, and gave us a large piece of his country cloth as a pledge that he would perform his agreement, which, however, he never did.

At this place we saw a very singular curiosity: it was the figure of a man, constructed of basket-work, rudely made, but not ill designed. It was something more than seven feet high, and rather too bulky in proportion to its height. The wicker skeleton was completely covered with feathers, which were white where the skin was to appear, and black in the parts which it is their custom to paint or stain, and upon the head, where there was to be a representation of hair. Upon the head also were four protuberances, three in front and one behind, which we should have called horns, but which the Indians dignified with the name of Tate Ete, little men. The image was called Manioe, and was said to be the only one of the kind in Otaheite. They attempted to give us an explanation of its use and design, but we had not then acquired enough of their language to understand them. We learnt, however, afterwards, that it was a representation of Mauwe, one of their Eatuas, or gods of the second class.

After having settled our affairs with Omoe, we proceeded on our return, and soon reached Opoureonu, the north-west peninsula. After rowing a few miles, we went on shore again; but the only thing we saw worth notice was a repository for the dead, uncommonly decorated. The pavement was extremely neat, and upon it was raised a pyramid, about five feet high, which was entirely covered with the fruits of two plants peculiar to the country. Near the pyramid was a small image of stone, of very rude workmanship, and the first instance of carving in stone that we had seen among these people. They appeared to set a high value upon it, for it was covered from the weather by a shed that had been erected on purpose.

We proceeded in the boat, and passed through the only harbour, on the south side of Opoureonu, that is fit for shipping. It is situated about five miles to the westward of the isthmus, between two small islands that lie near the shore, and about a mile distant from each other, and affords good anchorage in eleven and twelve fathom water. We were now not far from the district called PAPARRA, which belonged to our friends Oamo and Oberea, where we proposed to sleep. We went on shore about an hour before night, and found that they were both absent, having left their habitations to pay us a visit at Matavai: this, however, did not alter our purpose; we took up our quarters at the house of Oberea, which, though small, was very neat, and at this time had no inhabitant but her father, who received us with looks that bid us welcome. Having taken possession, we were willing to improve the little daylight that was left us, and therefore walked out to a point, upon which we had seen, at a distance, trees that are here called *Etoa*, which generally distinguish the places where these people bury the bones of their dead. Their name for such burying-grounds, which are also places of worship, is MORAI. We were soon struck with the sight of an enormous pile, which we were told was the morai of Oamo and Oberea, and the principal



MORAI OF OAMO AND OBEREA.

piece of Indian architecture in the island. It was a pile of stone-work, raised pyramidically upon an oblong base, or square, two hundred and sixty-seven feet long, and eighty-seven wide. It was built like the small pyramidal mounts upon which we sometimes fix the pillar of a sun-dial, where each side is a flight of steps; the steps, however, at the sides, were broader than those at the ends, so that it terminated not in a square of the same figure with the base, but in a ridge, like the roof of a house. There were eleven of these steps, each of

which was four feet high, so that the height of the pile was forty-four feet: each step was formed of one course of white coral stone, which was neatly squared and polished; the rest of the mass, for there was no hollow within, consisted of round pebbles, which, from the regularity of their figure, seemed to have been wrought. Some of the coral stones were very large; we measured one of them, and found it three feet and a half by two feet and a half. The foundation was of rock stones, which were also squared; and one of them measured four feet seven inches by two feet four. Such a structure, raised without the assistance of iron tools to shape the stones, or mortar to join them, struck us with astonishment: it seemed to be as compact and firm as it could have been made by any workman in Europe, except that the steps, which range along its greatest length, are not perfectly straight, but sink in a kind of hollow in the middle, so that the whole surface, from end to end, is not a right line, but a curve. The quarry stones, as we saw no quarry in the neighbourhood, must have been brought from a considerable distance; and there is no method of conveyance here but by hand: the coral must also have been fished from under the water, where, though it may be found in plenty, it lies at a considerable depth, never less than three feet. Both the rock stone and the coral could be squared only by tools made of the same substance, which must have been a work of incredible labour; but the polishing was more easily effected by means of the sharp coral sand, which is found everywhere upon the sea-shore in great abundance. In the middle of the top stood the image of a bird, carved in wood; and near it lay the broken one of a fish, carved in stone. The whole of this pyramid made part of one side of a spacious area or square, nearly of equal sides, being three hundred and sixty feet by three hundred and fifty-four, which was walled in with stone, and paved with flat stones in its whole extent; though there were growing in it, notwithstanding the pavement, several of the trees which they call *Etoa*, and plantains. About an hundred yards to the west of this building was another paved area or court, in which were several small stages raised on wooden pillars, about seven feet high, which are called by the Indians *Ewattas*, and seem to be a kind of altars, as upon these are placed provisions of all kinds as offerings to their gods. We have since seen whole hogs placed upon them; and we found here the skulls of above fifty, besides the skulls of a great number of dogs.

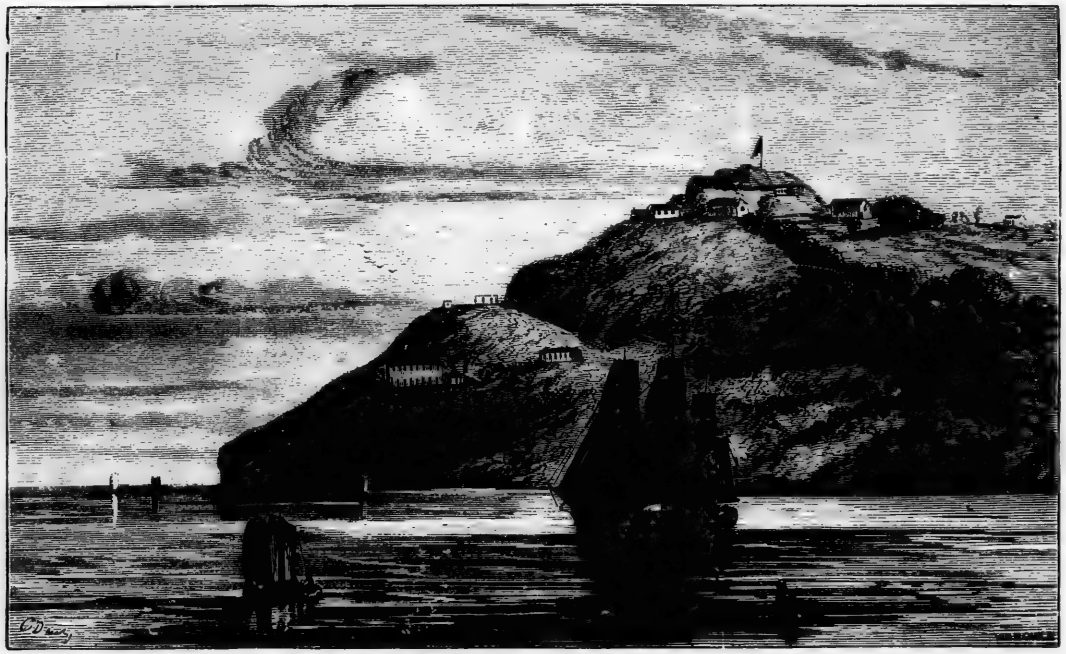
The principal object of ambition among these people is to have a magnificent morai, and this was a striking memorial of the rank and power of Oberea. It has been remarked that we did not find her invested with the same authority that she exercised when the Dolphin was at this place, and we now learnt the reason of it. Our way from her house to the morai lay along the sea-side, and we observed everywhere under our feet a great number of human bones, chiefly ribs and vertebræ. Upon inquiring into the cause of so singular an appearance, we were told that in the then last month of *Owarahew*, which answered to our December 1768, about four or five months before our arrival, the people of Tiarrabou, the S. E. peninsula which we had just visited, made a descent at this place, and killed a great number of people, whose bones were those that we saw upon the shore: that, upon this occasion, Oberea and Oamo, who then administered the government for his son, had fled to the mountains; and that the conquerors burnt all the houses, which were very large, and carried away the hogs, and what other animals they found. We learnt also that the turkey and goose, which we had seen when we were with Mathiabo, the stealer of cloaks, were among the spoils: this accounted for their being found among people with whom the Dolphin had little or no communication; and upon mentioning the jaw-bones, which we had seen hanging from a board in a long house, we were told that they also had been carried away as trophies, the people here carrying away the jaw-bones of their enemies as the Indians of North America do the scalps.

After having thus gratified our curiosity we returned to our quarters, where we passed the night in perfect security and quiet. By the next evening we arrived at Atahourou, the residence of our friend Tootahah, where, the last time we passed the night under his protection, we had been obliged to leave the best part of our clothes behind us. This adventure, however, seemed now to be forgotten on both sides. Our friends received us with great pleasure, and gave us a good supper and a good lodging, where we suffered neither loss nor disturbance.

tep was
the rest
rom the
ere very
d a half.
red four
e of iron
seemed
, except
sink in
ght line,
ast have
here but
h it may
the rock
ich must
y means
undance.
t lay the
e side of
by three
nes in its
several of
st of this
raised on
d seem to
eir gods.
of above

orai, and
rked that
Dolphin
the morai
of human
pearance,
December
E. penin-
umber of
n, Obereа
ountains;
away the
se, which
e spoils:
ttle or no
g from a
plies, the
America

passed the
ouron, the
r his pro-
dventure,
with great
r loss nor



CAPE ST. VINCENT.

The next day
the circuit of th
complaining of t
nearly exhaustec
use in less than
of it in our rout
supplied in some
a succession; bu
the sour paste, w
are in perfection.
uch plenty of br
varies.

At our return c
Though I had det
nd not yet beer
ccasion I could n
etty frauds again
pinion of them th
rong temptation
able metal and n
r the release of a
l. I consented,
end: he went in
ith the assistance
aimed by the rigl
m for invading th
is he desired to be
ho claimed it; bu
enced the clamou
quiesced; and Pot
n overheard by s
t the Indians sho
ir canoe, and Pot
vy to his knavery.

PTER XVI.—AN E
ANEOUS FIRE.—P

On the 3rd Mr. Ba
r up the valley fr
ut six miles they r
r, and the valley w
ne side to the foot
e told was the last
red them refreshme
t stay, they walk
pute distances;
wing the course
ments of the rock,
ight. Soon after
g with great violer
They seemed, inde

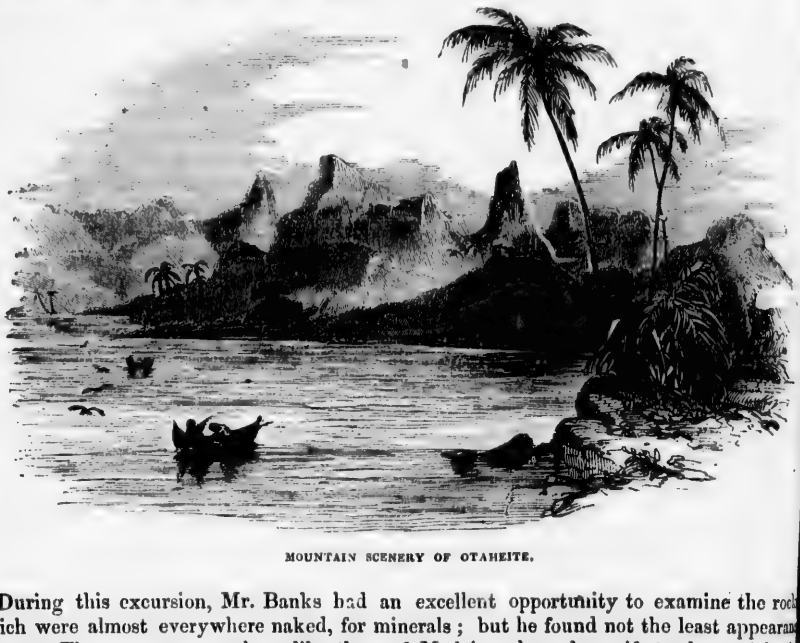
The next day, Saturday July the 1st, we got bac.. to our fort at Matavai, having found the circuit of the island, including both peninsulas, to be about thirty leagues. Upon our complaining of the want of bread-fruit, we were told that the produce of the last season was nearly exhausted, and that what was seen sprouting upon the trees would not be fit to use in less than three months: this accounted for our having been able to procure so little of it in our route. While the bread-fruit is ripening upon the flats, the inhabitants are supplied in some measure from the trees which they have planted upon the hills to preserve a succession; but the quantity is not sufficient to prevent scarcity: they live, therefore, upon the sour paste, which they call *Mahie*, upon wild plantains and ahee nuts, which at this time are in perfection. How it happened that the Dolphin, which was here at this season, found much plenty of bread-fruit upon the trees I cannot tell, except the season in which they ripen varies.

At our return our Indian friends crowded about us, and none of them came empty-handed. Though I had determined to restore the canoes which had been detained to their owners, it had not yet been done; but I now released them as they were applied for. Upon this occasion I could not but remark with concern that these people were capable of practising petty frauds against each other, with a deliberate dishonesty, which gave me a much worse opinion of them than I had ever entertained from the robberies they committed, under the strong temptation to which a sudden opportunity of enriching themselves with the inestimable metal and manufactures of Europe exposed them. Among others who applied to me for the release of a canoe, was one POTATTOW, a man of some consequence, well known to us all. I consented, supposing the vessel to be his own, or that he applied on the behalf of a friend: he went immediately to the beach, and took possession of one of the boats, which, with the assistance of his people, he began to carry off. Upon this, however, it was eagerly claimed by the right owners, who, supported by the other Indians, clamorously reproached him for invading their property, and prepared to take the canoe from him by force. Upon this he desired to be heard, and told them that the canoe did, indeed, once belong to those who claimed it; but that I, having seized it as a forfeit, had sold it to him for a pig. This silenced the clamour: the owners, knowing that from my power there was no appeal, acquiesced; and Potattow would have carried off his prize, if the dispute had not fortunately been overheard by some of our people, who reported it to me. I gave orders immediately that the Indians should be undeceived; upon which the right owners took possession of their canoe, and Potattow was so conscious of his guilt, that neither he nor his wife, who was privy to his knavery, could look us in the face for some time afterwards.

CHAPTER XVI.—AN EXPEDITION OF MR. BANKS TO TRACE THE RIVER.—MARKS OF SUBTERRANEOUS FIRE.—PREPARATIONS FOR LEAVING THE ISLAND.—AN ACCOUNT OF TUPIA.

ON the 3rd Mr. Banks set out early in the morning with some Indian guides, to trace our river up the valley from which it issues, and examine how far its banks were inhabited. For about six miles they met with houses, not far distant from each other, on each side of the river, and the valley was everywhere about four hundred yards wide from the foot of the hill on one side to the foot of that on the other; but they were now shown a house which they were told was the last that they would see. When they came up to it, the master of it offered them refreshments of cocoa-nuts and other fruits, of which they accepted. After a short stay, they walked forward for a considerable time: in bad way it is not easy to dispute distances; but they imagined that they had walked about six miles farther, following the course of the river, when they frequently passed under vaults, formed by fragments of the rock, in which they were told people who were benighted frequently passed the night. Soon after they found the river banked by steep rocks, from which a cascade, falling with great violence, formed a pool, so steep, that the Indians said they could not pass it. They seemed, indeed, not much to be acquainted with the valley beyond this place.

their business lying chiefly upon the declivity of the rocks on each side, and the plains which extended on their summits, where they found plenty of wild plantain, which they called *Vae*. The way up these rocks from the banks of the river was in every respect dreadful: the sides were nearly perpendicular, and in some places one hundred feet high: they were also rendered exceedingly slippery by the water of innumerable springs which issued from the fissures on the surface; yet up these precipices a way was to be traced by a succession of long pieces of the bark of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, which served as a rope for the climber to take hold of, and assisted him in scrambling from one ledge to another, though upon these ledges there was footing only for an Indian or a goat. One of these ropes was nearly thirty feet in length, and their guides offered to assist them in mounting this pass, but recommended another at a little distance lower down, as less difficult and dangerous. They took a view of this "better way," but found it so bad that they did not choose to attempt it, as there was nothing at the top to reward their toil and hazard, but a grove of the wild plantain or vae tree, which they had often seen before.



MOUNTAIN SCENERY OF OTAHEITE.

During this excursion, Mr. Banks had an excellent opportunity to examine the rocks which were almost everywhere naked, for minerals; but he found not the least appearance of any. The stones everywhere, like those of Madeira, showed manifest tokens of having been burnt; nor is there a single specimen of any stone, among all those that were collected in the island, upon which there are not manifest and indubitable marks of fire; except perhaps, some small pieces of the hatchet-stone, and even of that, other fragments were collected which were burnt almost to a pumice. Traces of fire were also manifest in the very clay upon the hills; and it may therefore, not unreasonably be supposed that this and the neighbouring islands are either shattered remains of a continent which some have supposed to be necessary in this part of the globe, to preserve an equilibrium of its parts which were left behind when the rest sunk by the mining of a subterraneous fire, so as to give a passage to the sea over it; or were torn from rocks, which, from the creation of the world, had been the bed of the sea, and thrown up in heaps to a height which the water never reach. One or other of these suppositions will perhaps be thought the more probable as the water does not gradually grow shallow as the shore is approached, and the islands are almost everywhere surrounded by reefs, which appear to be rude and broken, as so

violent concussion would naturally leave the solid substance of the earth. It may also be remarked upon this occasion, that the most probable cause of earthquakes seems to be the sudden rushing in of water upon some vast mass of subterraneous fire, by the instantaneous rarefaction of which into vapour the mine is sprung, and various substances in all stages of vitrification, with shells, and other marine productions that are now found fossil, and the strata that covered the furnace, are thrown up, while those parts of the land which were supported upon the broken shell give way, and sink into the gulf. With this theory the phenomena of all earthquakes seem to agree: pools of water are frequently left where land ha subsided; and various substances which manifestly appear to have suffered by the action of fire, are thrown up. It is indeed true that fire cannot subsist without air; but this cannot be urged against there being fire below that part of the earth which forms the bed of the sea; because there may be innumerable fissures by which a communication between those parts and the external air may be kept up, even upon the highest mountains, and at the greatest distance from the sea-shore.

On the 4th, Mr. Banks employed himself in planting a great quantity of the seeds of water-melons, oranges, lemons, limes, and other plants and trees which he had collected at Rio de Janeiro. For these he prepared ground on each side of the fort, with as many varieties of soil as he could choose; and there is little doubt but that they will succeed. He also gave liberally of these seeds to the Indians, and planted many of them in the woods: some of the melon seeds having been planted soon after our arrival, the natives showed him several of the plants, which appeared to be in the most flourishing condition, and were continually asking him for more.

We now began to prepare for our departure, by bending the sails and performing other necessary operations on board the ship, our water being already on board, and the provisions examined. In the mean time we had another visit from Oamo, Oberea, and their son and daughter; the Indians expressing their respect by uncovering the upper parts of their body as they had done before. The daughter, whose name we understood to be TOIMATA, was very desirous to see the fort, but her father would by no means suffer her to come in. Tearee, the son of Waheatua, the sovereign of Tiarrabou, the south-east peninsula, was also with us at this time; and we received intelligence of the landing of another guest, whose company was neither expected nor desired: this was no other than the ingenious gentleman who contrived to steal our quadrant. We were told that he intended to try his fortune again in the night; but the Indians all offered very zealously to assist us against him, desiring that, for this purpose, they might be permitted to lie in the fort. This had so good an effect, that the thief relinquished his enterprise in despair.

On the 7th, the carpenters were employed in taking down the gates and palisadoes of our little fortification, for firewood on board the ship; and one of the Indians had dexterity enough to steal the staple and hook upon which the gate turned; he was immediately pursued, and after a chase of six miles, he appeared to have been passed, having concealed himself among some rushes in the brook; the rushes were searched, and though the thief had escaped, a scraper was found which had been stolen from the ship some time before; and soon after our old friend Tubourai Tamaide brought us the staple. On the 8th and 9th we continued to dismantle our fort, and our friends still flocked about us; some, I believe, sorry at the approach of our departure, and others desirous to make as much as they could of us while we staid.

We were in hopes that we should now leave the island, without giving or receiving any other offence; but it unfortunately happened otherwise. Two foreign seamen having been out with my permission, one of them was robbed of his knife, and endeavouring to recover it probably with circumstances of great provocation, the Indians attacked him, and dangerously wounded him with a stone; they wounded his companion also slightly in the head, and then fled into the mountains. As I should have been sorry to take any farther notice of the affair, I was not displeased that the offenders had escaped; but I was immediately involved in a quarrel which I very much regretted, and which yet it was not possible to avoid.

In the middle of the night between the 8th and 9th, Clement Webb and Samuel Gibson,

two of the marines, both young men, went privately from the fort, and in the morning were not to be found. As public notice had been given, that all hands were to go on board on the next day, and that the ship would sail on the morrow of that day or the day following, I began to fear that the absentees intended to stay behind. I knew that I could take no effectual steps to recover them, without endangering the harmony and good-will which at present subsisted among us; and therefore determined to wait a day for the chance of their return. On Monday morning the 10th, the marines, to my great concern, not being returned, an inquiry was made after them of the Indians, who frankly told us that they did not intend to return, and had taken refuge in the mountains, where it was impossible for our people to find them. They were then requested to assist in the search, and after some deliberation, two of them undertook to conduct such persons as I should think proper to send after them to the place of their retreat. As they were known to be without arms, I thought two would be sufficient, and accordingly despatched a petty officer, and the corporal of the marines, with the Indian guides, to fetch them back. As the recovery of these men was a matter of great importance, as I had no time to lose, and as the Indians spoke doubtfully of their return, telling us, that they had each of them taken a wife, and were become inhabitants of the country, it was intimated to several of the chiefs who were in the fort with their women, among whom were Tubourai Tamaide, Tomio, and Oberea, that they would not be permitted to leave it till our deserters were brought back. This precaution I thought the more necessary, as, by concealing them a few days, they might compel me to go without them; and I had the pleasure to observe that they received the intimation with very little signs either of fear or discontent; assuring me that my people should be secured and sent back as soon as possible. While this was doing at the fort, I sent Mr. Hicks in the pinnace to fetch Tootahah on board the ship, which he did, without alarming either him or his people. If the Indian guides proved faithful and in earnest, I had reason to expect the return of my people with the deserters before evening. Being disappointed, my suspicions increased; and night coming on, I thought it was not safe to let the people whom I had detained as hostages continue at the fort, and I therefore ordered Tubourai Tamaide, Oberea, and some others, to be taken on board the ship. This spread a general alarm, and several of them, especially the women, expressed their apprehensions with great emotion and many tears when they were put into the boat. I went on board with them, and Mr. Banks remained on shore, with some others whom I thought it of less consequence to secure.

About nine o'clock, Webb was brought back by some of the natives, who declared that Gibson, and the petty officer and corporal, would be detained till Tootahah should be set at liberty. The tables were now turned upon me; but I had proceeded too far to retreat. I immediately despatched Mr. Hicks in the long-boat, with a strong party of men, to rescue the prisoners, and told Tootahah that it behoved him to send some of his people with them, with orders to afford them effectual assistance, and to demand the release of my men in his name, for that I should expect him to answer for the contrary. He readily complied: this party recovered my men without the least opposition; and about seven o'clock in the morning returned with them to the ship, though they had not been able to recover the arms which had been taken from them when they were seized: these, however, were brought on board in less than half an hour, and the chiefs were immediately set at liberty.

When I questioned the petty officer concerning what had happened on shore, he told me, that neither the natives who went with him, nor those whom they met in their way, would give them any intelligence of the deserters, but, on the contrary, became very troublesome: that, as he was returning for further orders to the ship, he and his comrade were suddenly seized by a number of armed men, who having learnt that Tootahah was confined, had concealed themselves in a wood for that purpose, and who, having taken them at a disadvantage, forced their weapons out of their hands, and declared that they would detain them till their chief should be set at liberty. He said, however, that the Indians were not unanimous in this measure; that some were for setting them at liberty, and others for detaining them; that an eager dispute ensued, and that from words they came to blows, but that the party for detaining them at length prevailed; that soon after Webb and Gibson were brought in by a party of the natives, as prisoners, that they also might be secured

as hostages for the chief; but that it was, after some debate, resolved to send Webb to inform me of their resolution, to assure me that his opinions were safe, and direct me where I might send my answer. Thus it appears, that, whatever were the disadvantages of seizing the chiefs, I should never have recovered my men by any other method. When the chiefs were set on shore from the ship, those at the fort were also set at liberty, and, after staying with Mr. Banks about an hour, they all went away. Upon this occasion, as they had done upon another of the same kind, they expressed their joy by an undeserved liberality, strongly urging us to accept of four hogs. These we absolutely refused as a present, and they as absolutely refusing to be paid for them, the hogs did not change masters. Upon examining the deserters, we found that the account which the Indians had given of them was true: they had strongly attached themselves to two girls, and it was their intention to conceal themselves till the ship had sailed, and take up their residence upon the island. This night everything was got off from the shore, and everybody slept on board.

Among the natives who were almost constantly with us, was Tupia, whose name has been often mentioned in this narrative. He had been, as I have before observed, the first minister of Oberea, when she was in the height of her power: he was also the chief Tahowa or priest of the island, consequently well acquainted with the religion of the country, as well with respect to its ceremonies as principles. He had also great experience and knowledge in navigation, and was particularly acquainted with the number and situation of the neighbouring islands. This man had often expressed a desire to go with us, and on the 12th in the morning, having, with the other natives, left us the day before, he came on board, with a boy about thirteen years of age, his servant, and urged us to let him proceed with us on our voyage. To have such a person on board was certainly desirable, for many reasons; by learning his language, and teaching him ours, we should be able to acquire a much better knowledge of the customs, policy, and religion of the people, than our short stay among them could give us; I therefore gladly agreed to receive them on board. As we were prevented from sailing to-day, by having found it necessary to make new stocks to our small and best bower anchors, the old ones having been totally destroyed by the worms, Tupia said, he would go once more on shore, and make a signal for the boat to fetch him off in the evening. He went accordingly, and took with him a miniature picture of Mr. Banks, to show his friends, and several little things to give them as parting presents.

After dinner, Mr. Banks being desirous to procure a drawing of the Morai belonging to Tootahah at Eparré, I attended him thither, accompanied by Dr. Solander, in the pinnace. As soon as we landed, many of our friends came to meet us, though some absented themselves in resentment of what had happened the day before. We immediately proceeded to Tootahah's house, where we were joined by Oberea, with several others who had not come out to meet us, and a perfect reconciliation was soon brought about; in consequence of which they promised to visit us early the next day, to take a last farewell of us, as we told them we should certainly set sail in the afternoon. At this place also we found Tupia, who returned with us, and slept this night on board the ship for the first time.

On the next morning, Thursday the 13th of July, the ship was very early crowded with our friends, and surrounded by a multitude of canoes, which were filled with the natives of an inferior class. Between eleven and twelve we weighed anchor, and as soon as the ship was under sail, the Indians on board took their leaves, and wept, with a decent and silent sorrow, in which there was something very striking and tender: the people in the canoes, on the contrary, seemed to vie with each other in the loudness of their lamentations, which we considered rather as affectation than grief. Tupia sustained himself in this scene with a firmness and resolution truly admirable: he wept, indeed, but the effort that he made to conceal his tears concurred with them to do him honour. He sent his last present, a shirt, by Otheothea, to Potomai, Tootahah's favourite mistress, and then went with Mr. Banks to the mast-head, waving to the canoes as long as they continued in sight.

Thus we took leave of Otaheite, and its inhabitants, after a stay of just three months; for much the greater part of the time we lived together in the most cordial friendship, and a perpetual reciprocation of good offices. The accidental differences which now and then happened could not be more sincerely regretted on their part than they were on ours: the

principal causes were such as necessarily resulted from our situation and circumstances, in conjunction with the infirmities of human nature, from our not being able perfectly to understand each other, and from the disposition of the inhabitants to theft, which we could not at all times bear with or prevent. They had not, however, except in one instance, been attended with any fatal consequence; and to that accident were owing the measures that I took to prevent others of the same kind. I hoped, indeed, to have availed myself of the impression which had been made upon them by the lives that had been sacrificed in their contest with the Dolphin*, so as that the intercourse between us should have been carried on wholly without bloodshed; and by this hope all my measures were directed during the whole of my continuance at the island; and I sincerely wish, that whoever shall next visit it may be still more fortunate. Our traffic here was carried on with as much order as in the best regulated market in Europe. It was managed principally by Mr. Banks, who was indefatigable in procuring provisions and refreshments while they were to be had; but during the latter part of our time they became scarce, partly by the increased consumption at the fort and ship, and partly by the coming on of the season in which cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit fail. All kind of fruit we purchased for beads and nails; but no nails less than fortypenny were current: after a very short time we could never get a pig of more than ten or twelve pounds for less than a hatchet; because, though these people set a high value upon spike-nails, yet these being an article with which many people in the ship were provided, the women found a much more easy way of procuring them than by bringing down provisions.

The best articles for traffic here are axes, hatchets, spikes, large nails, looking-glasses, knives, and beads; for some of which, everything that the natives have may be procured. They are indeed fond of fine linen cloth, both white and printed; but an axe worth half-a-crown will fetch more than a piece of cloth worth twenty shillings.

CHAPTER XVII.—A PARTICULAR DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND—ITS PRODUCE AND INHABITANTS—THEIR DRESS, HABITATIONS, FOOD, DOMESTIC LIFE, AND AMUSEMENTS.

WE found the longitude of Port-Royal bay, in this island, as settled by Captain Wallis, who discovered it on the 9th of June 1767, to be within half a degree of the truth. We found Point Venus, the northern extremity of the island, and the eastern point of the bay, to lie in the longitude of 149° 13′, this being the mean result of a great number of observations made upon the spot. The island is surrounded by a reef of coral rock, which forms several excellent bays and harbours, some of which have been particularly described, where there is room and depth of water for any number of the largest ships. Port-Royal bay, called, by the natives, Matavai, which is not inferior to any in Otaheite, may easily be known by a very high mountain in the middle of the island, which bears due south from Point Venus. To sail into it, either keep the west point of the reef that lies before Point Venus close on board, or give it a berth of near half a mile, in order to avoid a small shoal of coral rocks, on which there is but two fathom and a half of water. The best anchoring is on the eastern side of the bay, where there is sixteen and fourteen fathom upon an oozy bottom. The shore of the bay is a fine sandy beach, behind which runs a river of fresh water, so that any number of ships may water here without incommoding each other; but the only wood for firing, upon the whole island, is that of fruit-trees, which must be purchased of the natives, or all hope of living upon good terms with them given up. There are some harbours to the westward of this bay, which have not been mentioned; but, as they are contiguous to it, and laid down in the map, a description of them is unnecessary.

The face of the country, except that part of it which borders upon the sea, is very uneven; it rises in ridges that run up into the middle of the island, and there form mountains, which may be seen at the distance of sixty miles: between the foot of these ridges

* This happened on Captain Wallis's arrival, and was attended with considerable loss to the natives, upon whom the ship's guns were repeatedly fired.—ED.

and the sea is a border of low land, surrounding the whole island, except in a few places where the ridges rise directly from the sea: the border of low land is in different parts of different breadths, but nowhere more than a mile and a half. The soil, except upon the very tops of the ridges, is extremely rich and fertile, watered by a great number of rivulets of excellent water, and covered with fruit-trees of various kinds, some of which are of a stately growth and thick foliage, so as to form one continued wood; and even the tops of the ridges, though in general they are bare, and burnt up by the sun, are, in some parts, not without their produce. The low land that lies between the foot of the ridges and the sea, and some of the valleys, are the only parts of the island that are inhabited, and here it is populous: the houses do not form villages or towns, but are ranged along the whole border at the distance of about fifty yards from each other, with little plantations of plantains, and the tree which furnishes them with cloth. The whole island, according to Tupia's account, who certainly knew, could furnish six thousand seven hundred and eighty fighting men, from which the number of inhabitants may easily be computed.

The produce of this island is bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, bananas, of thirteen sorts, the best we had ever eaten; plantains; a fruit not unlike an apple, which, when ripe, is very pleasant; sweet potatoes, yams, cocoas, a kind of *Arum;* a fruit known here by the name of *Jambu*, and reckoned most delicious; sugar-cane, which the inhabitants eat raw; a root of the salop kind, called by the inhabitants *Pea;* a plant called *Ethee*, of which the root only is eaten; a fruit that grows in a pod, like that of a large kidney-bean, which, when it is roasted, eats very much like a chesnut, by the natives called *Ahee;* a tree called *Wharra*, called in the East Indies *Pandanes*, which produces fruit, something like the pine-apple; a shrub called *Nono;* the *Morinda*, which also produces fruit; a species of fern, of which the root is eaten, and sometimes the leaves; and a plant called *Theve*, of which the root also is eaten: but the fruits of the Nono, the fern, and the Theve, are eaten only by the inferior people, and in times of scarcity. All these, which serve the inhabitants for food, the earth produces spontaneously, or with so little culture, that they seem to be exempted from the first general curse, that "man should eat his bread in the sweat of his brow." They have also the Chinese paper mulberry, *Morus papyrifera*, which they call *Aouta;* a tree resembling the wild fig-tree of the West Indies; another species of fig, which they call *Matte;* the *Cordia sebestina orientalis*, which they call *Etou;* a kind of Cyperus grass, which they call *Moo;* a species of *Tournefortia*, which they call *Taheinoo;* another of the *Convolvulus soldanella*, which they call *Eurhe;* the *Solanum centifolium*, which they call *Eboca;* the *Calophyllum mophylum*, which they call *Tamannu;* the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, called *Poerou*, a putrescent nettle; the *Urtica argentea*, called *Ereiwa;* with many other plants which cannot here be particularly mentioned: those that have been named already will be referred to in the subsequent part of this work. They have no European fruit, garden stuff, pulse, or legumes, nor grain of any kind.

Of tame animals they have only hogs, dogs, and poultry; neither is there a wild animal in the island, except ducks, pigeons, paroquets, with a few other birds, and rats, there being no other quadruped, nor any serpent. But the sea supplies them with great variety of most excellent fish, to eat which is their chief luxury, and to catch it their principal labour.

As to the people, they are of the largest size of Europeans. The men are tall, strong, well-limbed, and finely shaped. The tallest that we saw was a man upon a neighbouring island, called HUAHEINE, who measured six feet three inches and a half. The women of the superior rank are also in general above our middle stature, but those of the inferior class are rather below it, and some of them are very small. This defect in size probably proceeds from their early commerce with men, the only thing in which they differ from their superiors that could possibly affect their growth. Their natural complexion is that kind of clear olive, or *brunette*, which many people in Europe prefer to the finest white and red. In those that are exposed to the wind and sun, it is considerably deepened, but in others that live under shelter, especially the superior class of women, it continues of its native hue, and the skin is most delicately smooth and soft: they have no tint in their cheeks which we distinguish by the name of colour. The shape of the face is comely, the cheek-bones

are not high, neither are the eyes hollow, nor the brow prominent: the only feature that does not correspond with our ideas of beauty is the nose, which, in general, is somewhat flat; but their eyes, especially those of the women, are full of expression, sometimes sparkling with fire, and sometimes melting with softness; their teeth also are, almost without exception, most beautifully even and white, and their breath perfectly without taint.

HEAD OF OTAHEITAN WOMAN.

The hair is almost universally black, and rather coarse: the men have beards, which they wear in many fashions, always, however, plucking out great part of them, and keeping the rest perfectly clean and neat. Both sexes also eradicate every hair from under their arms, and accused us of great uncleanliness for not doing the same. In their motions there is at once vigour and ease; their walk is graceful, their deportment liberal, and their behaviour to strangers and to each other affable and courteous. In their dispositions, also, they seemed to be brave, open, and candid, without either suspicion or treachery, cruelty or revenge; so that we placed the same confidence in them as in our best friends, many of us, particularly Mr. Banks, sleeping frequently in their houses in the woods, without a companion, and consequently wholly in their power. They were, however, all thieves; and when that is allowed, they need not much fear a competition with the people of any other nation upon earth. During our stay in this island, we saw about five or six persons like one that was met by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander on the 24th of April, in their walk to the eastward, whose skins were of a dead white, like the nose of a white horse; with white hair, beard, brows, and eye-lashes; red, tender eyes; a short sight, and scurfy skins covered with a kind of white down; but we found that no two of these belonged to the same family, and therefore concluded, that they were not a species, but unhappy individuals, rendered anomalous by disease.

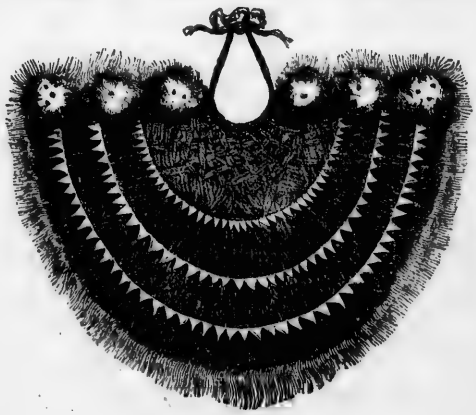
It is a custom in most countries where the inhabitants have long hair, for the men to cut it short, and the women to pride themselves in its length. Here, however, the contrary custom prevails; the women always cut it short round their ears, and the men, except the fishers, who are almost continually in the water, suffer it to flow in large waves over their shoulders, or tie it up in a bunch on the top of their heads. They have a custom, also, of anointing their heads with what they call *Monoe*, an oil expressed from the cocoa-nut, in which some sweet herbs or flowers have been infused: as the oil is generally rancid, the smell is at first very disagreeable to a European; and as they live in a hot country, and have no such thing as a comb, they are not able to keep their heads free from lice, which the children and common people sometimes pick out and eat: a hateful custom, wholly different from their manners in every other particular; for they are delicate and cleanly almost without example; and those to whom we distributed combs soon delivered themselves from vermin, with a diligence which showed that they were not more odious to us than to them.

They have a custom of staining their bodies, nearly in the same manner as is practised in many other parts of the world, which they call *Tattowing*. They prick the skin, so as just not to fetch blood, with a small instrument, something in the form of a hoe; that part which answers to the blade is made of a bone or shell, scraped very thin, and is from a quarter of an inch to an inch and a half wide; the edge is cut into sharp teeth or points from the number of three to twenty, according to its size: when this is to be used, they dip the teeth into a mixture of a kind of lamp-black, formed of the smoke that rises from an oily nut which they burn instead of candles, and water; the teeth, thus prepared, an

placed upon the skin, and the handle to which they are fastened being struck, by quick smart blows, with a stick fitted to the purpose, they pierce it, and at the same time carry into the puncture the black composition, which leaves an indelible stain. The operation is painful, and it is some days before the wounds are healed. It is performed upon the youth of both sexes when they are about twelve or fourteen years of age, on several parts of the body, and in various figures, according to the fancy of the parent, or perhaps the rank of the party. The women are generally marked with this stain, in the form of a Z, on every joint of their fingers and toes, and frequently round the outside of their feet: the men are also marked with the same figure, and both men and women have squares, circles, crescents, and ill-designed representations of men, birds, or dogs, and various other devices impressed upon their legs, and arms, some of which, we are told, had significations, though we could never learn what they were. But the part on which these ornaments are lavished with the greatest profusion is the breech: this, in both sexes, is covered with a deep black; above which, arches are drawn one over another as high as the short ribs. They are often a quarter of an inch broad, and the edges are not straight lines, but indented. These arches are their pride, and are shown both by men and women with a mixture of ostentation and pleasure; whether as an ornament, or a proof of their fortitude and resolution in bearing pain, we could not determine. The face in general is left unmarked: for we saw but one instance to the contrary. Some old men had the greatest part of their bodies covered with large patches of black, deeply indented at the edges, like a rude imitation of flame; but we were told, that they came from a low island, called NOOUOORA, and were not natives of Otaheite.

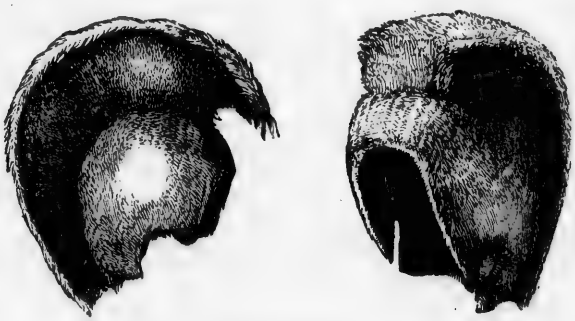
Mr. Banks saw the operation of *tattowing* performed upon the back of a girl about thirteen years old. The instrument used upon this occasion had thirty teeth, and every stroke, of which at least a hundred were made in a minute, drew an ichor or serum a little tinged with blood. The girl bore it with most stoical resolution for about a quarter of an hour; but the pain of so many hundred punctures as she had received in that time then became intolerable: she first complained in murmurs, then wept, and at last burst into loud lamentations, earnestly imploring the operator to desist. He was, however, inexorable; and when she began to struggle, she was held down by two women, who sometimes soothed and sometimes chid her, and now and then, when she was most unruly, gave her a smart blow. Mr. Banks staid in a neighbouring house an hour, and the operation was not over when he went away; yet it was performed but upon one side, the other having been done some time before; and the arches upon the loins, in which they most pride themselves, and which give more pain than all the rest, were still to be done. It is strange that these people should value themselves upon what is no distinction; for I never saw a native of this island, either man or woman, in a state of maturity, in whom these marks were wanting: possibly they may have their rise in superstition, especially as they produce no visible advantage, and are not made without great pain; but though we inquired of many hundreds, we could never get any account of the matter.

Their clothing consists of cloth or matting of different kinds, which will be described among their other manufactures. The cloth which will not bear wetting they wear in dry weather, and the matting when it rains: they are put on in many different ways, just as their fancy leads them; for in their garments nothing is cut into shape, nor are any two pieces sewed together. The dress of the better sort of women consists of three or four pieces: one piece, about two yards wide, and eleven yards long, they wrap several times round their waist, so as to hang down like a petticoat as low as the middle of the leg,



MAT-WORK TIPPET OF A CHIEF.

and this they call *Parou:* two or three other pieces, about two yards and a half long, and one wide, each having a hole cut in the middle, they place one upon another, and then putting the head through the holes, they bring the long ends down before and behind; the others remain open at the sides, and give liberty to the arms: this, which they call the *Tebuta*, is gathered round the waist, and confined with a girdle or sash of thinner cloth, which is long enough to go many times round them, and exactly resembles the garment worn by the inhabitants of Peru and Chili, which the Spaniards call *Poncho* The dress of the men is the same, except that, instead of suffering the cloth that is wound about the hips to hang down like a petticoat, they bring it between their legs so as to have some resemblance to breeches, and it is then called *Maro.* This is the dress of all ranks of people, and being universally the same as to form, the gentlemen and ladies distinguish themselves from the lower people by the quantity: some of them will wrap round them several pieces of cloth, eight or ten yards long, and two or three broad; and some throw a large piece loosely over their shoulders, in the manner of a cloak; or perhaps two pieces, if they are very great personages, and are desirous to appear in state. The inferior sort, who have only a small allowance of cloth from the tribes or families to which they belong, are obliged to be more thinly clad. In the heat of the day, they appear almost naked, the women having only a scanty petticoat, and the men nothing but the sash that is passed between their legs and fastened round the waist. As finery is always troublesome, and particularly in a hot country, where it consists in putting one covering upon another, the women of rank always uncover themselves as low as the waist in the evening, throwing off all that they wear on the upper part of the body, with the same negligence and ease as our ladies would lay by a cardinal or double handkerchief. And the chiefs, even when they visited us, though they had as much cloth round their middle as would clothe a dozen people, had frequently the rest of the body quite naked.



SPECIMENS OF CAPS.

Upon their legs and feet, they wear no covering; but they shade their faces from the sun with little bonnets, either of matting or of cocoa-nut leaves, which they make occasionally in a few minutes. This, however, is not all their head-dress; the women sometimes wear little turbans, and sometimes a dress which they value much more, and which, indeed, is much more becoming, called *tomou:* the *tomou* consists of human hair, plaited in threads, scarcely thicker than sewing-silk. Mr. Banks has pieces of it above a mile in length, without a knot. These they wind round the head in such a manner as produces a very pretty effect, and in a very great quantity; for I have seen five or six such pieces wound about the head of one woman: among these threads they stick flowers of various kinds, particularly the Cape-jessamine, of which they have great plenty, as it is always planted near their houses. The men sometimes stick the tail-feather of the tropic-bird upright in their hair, which, as I have observed before, is often tied in a bunch upon the top of their heads: sometimes they wear a kind of whimsical garland, made of flowers of various kinds, stuck into a piece of the rind of a plantain; or of scarlet peas, stuck with gum upon a piece

of wood: and sometimes they wear a kind of wig, made of the hair of men or dogs, or perhaps of cocoa-nut strings, woven upon one thread, which is tied under their hair, so that these artificial honours of their head may hang down behind. Their personal ornaments, besides flowers, are few; both sexes wear ear-rings, but they are placed only on one side: when we came they consisted of small pieces of shell, stone, berries, red peas, or some small pearls, three in a string; but our beads very soon supplanted them all. The children go quite naked: the girls till they are three or four years old; and the boys till they are six or seven.

MANTLE OF A CHIEF.

The houses, or rather dwellings, of these people have been occasionally mentioned before: they are all built in the wood between the sea and the mountains, and no more ground is cleared for each house than just sufficient to prevent the dropping of the branches from rotting the thatch with which they are covered; from the house, therefore, the inhabitant steps immediately under the shade, which is the most delightful that can be imagined. It consists of groves of bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, without underwood, which are intersected, in all directions, by the paths that lead from one house to the other. Nothing can be more grateful than this shade in so warm a climate, nor anything more beautiful than these walks. As there is no underwood, the shade cools without impeding the air; and the houses having no walls, receive the gale from whatever point it blows. I shall now give a particular description of a house of a middling size, from which, as the structure is universally the same, a perfect idea may be formed both of those that are bigger and those that are less.

The ground which it covers is an oblong square, four-and-twenty feet long, and eleven wide; over this a roof is raised upon three rows of pillars or posts, parallel to each other, one on each side, and the other in the middle. This roof consists of two flat sides inclining to each other, and terminating in a ridge, exactly like the roofs of our thatched houses in England. The utmost height within is about nine feet, and the eaves on each side reach to within about three feet and a half of the ground: below this, and through the whole height, at each end, it is open, no part of it being inclosed with a wall. The roof is thatched with palm-leaves, and the floor is covered, some inches deep, with soft hay: over this are laid mats, so that the whole is one cushion, upon which they sit in the day and sleep in the night. In some houses, however, there is one stool, which is wholly appropriated to the master of the family; besides this, they have no furniture, except a few little blocks of wood, the upper side of which is hollowed into a curve, and which serves them for pillows.

The house is indeed principally used as a dormitory; for, except it rains, they eat in the open air, under the shade of the next tree. The clothes that they wear in the day serve them for covering in the night: the floor is the common bed of the whole household, and is not divided by any partition. The master of the house and his wife sleep in the middle, next to them the married people, next to them the unmarried women, and next to them, at a little distance, the unmarried men: the servants, or *toutous*, as they are called, sleep in the open air, except it rains; and in that case they come just within the shade.

There are, however, houses of another kind belonging to the chiefs, in which there is some degree of privacy. These are much smaller, and so constructed as to be carried about in their canoes from place to place, and set up occasionally like a tent: they are inclosed on the sides with cocoa-nut leaves, but not so close as to exclude the air; and the chief and his wife sleep in them alone. There are houses also of a much larger size, not built either for the accommodation of a single chief or a single family; but as common receptacles for all

the people of a district. Some of them are two hundred feet long, thirty broad, and, under the ridge, twenty feet high: these are built and maintained at the common expense of the district, for the accommodation of which they are intended; and have on one side of them a large area, inclosed with low palisadoes.

INTERIOR OF A POLYNESIAN HOUSE.

These houses, like those of separate families, have no walls. Privacy, indeed, is little wanted among people who have not even the idea of indecency, and who gratify every appetite and passion before witnesses with no more sense of impropriety than we feel when we satisfy our hunger at a social board with our family or friends. Those who have no idea of indecency with respect to actions, can have none with respect to words; it is, therefore, scarcely necessary to observe that in the conversation of these people, that which is the principal source of their pleasure is always the principal topic; and that everything is mentioned without any restraint or emotion, and in the most direct terms, by both sexes.

Of the food eaten here the greater part is vegetable. Here are no tame animals except hogs, dogs, and poultry, as I have observed before, and these are by no means plenty. When a chief kills a hog, it is almost equally divided among his dependants; and, as they are very numerous, the share of each individual at these feasts, which are not frequent, must necessarily be small. Dogs and fowls fall somewhat more frequently to the share of the common people. I cannot much commend the flavour of their fowls; but we all agreed that a South-sea dog was little inferior to an English lamb: their excellence is probably owing to their being kept up, and fed wholly upon vegetables. The sea affords them a great variety of fish. The smaller fish, when they catch any, are generally eaten raw, as we eat oysters; and nothing that the sea produces comes amiss to them: they are fond of lobsters, crabs, and other shell-fish, which are found upon the coast; and they will eat not only sea-insects, but what the seamen call *blubbers*, though some of them are so tough, that they are obliged to suffer them to become putrid before they can be chewed. Of the many vegetables that have been mentioned already as serving them for food, the principal is the bread-fruit, to procure which costs them no trouble or labour but climbing a tree: the tree which produces it does

not indeed shoot up spontaneously; but if a man plants ten of them in his lifetime, which he may do in about an hour, he will as completely fulfil his duty to his own and future generations as the natives of our less temperate climate can do by ploughing in the cold of winter, and reaping in the summer's heat, as often as these seasons return; even if, after he has procured bread for his present household, he should convert a surplus into money, and lay it up for his children. It is true, indeed, that the bread-fruit is not always in season; but cocoa-nuts, bananas, plantains, and a great variety of other fruits, supply the deficiency.

It may well be supposed that cookery is but little studied by these people as an art; and indeed they have but two ways of applying fire to dress their food,—broiling and baking. The operation of broiling is so simple, that it requires no description; and their baking has been described already (page 65), in the account of an entertainment prepared for us by Tupia. Hogs and large fish are extremely well dressed in the same manner; and, in our opinion, were more juicy and more equally done than by any art of cookery now practised in Europe. Bread-fruit is also cooked in an oven of the same kind, which renders it soft, and something like a boiled potato; not quite so farinaceous as a good one, but more so than those of the middling sort. Of the bread-fruit they also make three dishes, by putting either water or the milk of the cocoa-nut to it, then beating it to a paste with a stone pestle, and afterwards mixing it with ripe plantains, bananas, or the sour paste which they call *Mahie*.

The mahie, which has been mentioned as a succedaneum for ripe bread-fruit, before the season for gathering a fresh crop comes on, is thus made:—The fruit is gathered just before it is perfectly ripe, and being laid in heaps, is closely covered with leaves; in this state it undergoes a fermentation, and becomes disagreeably sweet: the core is then taken out entire, which is done by gently pulling the stalk, and the rest of the fruit is thrown into a hole which is dug for that purpose, generally in the houses, and neatly lined in the bottom and sides with grass; the whole is then covered with leaves, and heavy stones laid upon them: in this state it undergoes a second fermentation, and becomes sour, after which it will suffer no change for many months: it is taken out of the hole as it is wanted for use, and being made into balls, it is wrapped up in leaves and baked; after it is dressed, it will keep five or six weeks. It is eaten both cold and hot, and the natives seldom make a meal without it, though to us the taste was as disagreeable as that of a pickled olive generally is the first time it is eaten.

As the making of this mahie depends, like brewing, upon fermentation, so, like brewing, it sometimes fails, without their being able to ascertain the cause; it is very natural, therefore, that the making it should be connected with superstitious notions and ceremonies. It generally falls to the lot of the old women, who will suffer no creature to touch anything belonging to it, but those whom they employ as assistants, nor even to go into that part of the house where the operation is carrying on. Mr. Banks happened to spoil a large quantity of it only by inadvertently touching a leaf which lay upon it. The old woman who then presided over these mysteries told him that the process would fail, and immediately uncovered the hole in a fit of vexation and despair. Mr. Banks regretted the mischief he had done, but was somewhat consoled by the opportunity which it gave him of examining the preparation, which perhaps, but for such an accident, would never have offered.

Such is their food, to which salt-water is the universal sauce, no meal being eaten without it: those who live near the sea have it fetched as it is wanted; those who live at some distance keep it in large bamboos, which are set up in their houses for use. Salt-water, however, is not their only sauce; they make another of the kernels of cocoa-nuts, which being fermented till they dissolve into a paste somewhat resembling butter, are beaten up with salt-water. The flavour of this is very strong, and was, when we first tasted it, exceedingly nauseous; a little use, however, reconciled some of our people to it so much, that they preferred it to our own sauces, especially with fish. The natives seemed to consider it as a dainty, and do not use it at their common meals; possibly, because they think it ill management to use cocoa-nuts so lavishly, or perhaps, when we were at the island, they were scarcely ripe enough for the purpose.

For drink, they have in general nothing but water, or the juice of the cocoa-nut; the a of producing liquors that intoxicate, by fermentation, being happily unknown among them neither have they any narcotic which they chew, as the natives of some other countries do opium, betel-root, and tob cco. Some of them drank freely of our liquors, and in a few instances became very drunk; but the persons to whom this happened were so far from desiring to repeat the debauch, that they would never touch any of our liquors afterwards We were, however, informed, that they became drunk by drinking a juice that is expressed from the leaves of a plant which they call *Ava Ava*. This plant was not in season when we were there, so that we saw no instances of its effects; and as they considered drunkenness as a disgrace, they probably would have concealed from us any instances which might have happened during our stay. This vice is almost peculiar to the chiefs and considerable persons, who vie with each other in drinking the greatest number of draughts, each draught being about a pint. They keep this intoxicating juice with great care from their women.

Table they have none; but their apparatus for eating is set out with great neatness, though the articles are too simple and too few to allow anything for show; and they commonly eat alone; but when a stranger happens to visit them, he sometimes makes a second in their mess. Of the meal of one of their principal people I shall give a particular description. He sits down under the shade of the next tree, or on the shady side of his house, and a large quantity of leaves, either of the bread-fruit or banana, are neatly spread before him upon the ground as a table-cloth; a basket is then set by him that contains his provision, which, if fish or flesh, is ready dressed, and wrapped up in leaves, and two cocoa-nut shells, one full of salt water, and the other of fresh: his attendants, which are not few, seat themselves round him, and when all is ready, he begins by washing his hands and his mouth thoroughly with the fresh water, and this he repeats almost continually throughout the whole meal; he then takes part of his provision out of the basket, which generally consists of a small fish or two, two or three bread-fruits, fourteen or fifteen ripe bananas, or six or seven apples; he first takes half a bread-fruit, peels off the rind, and takes out the core with his nails; of this he puts as much into his mouth as it can hold, and while he chews it, takes the fish out of the leaves, and breaks one of them into the salt water, placing the other, and what remains of the bread-fruit, upon the leaves that have been spread before him. When this is done, he takes up a small piece of the fish that has been broken into the salt water, with all the fingers of one hand, and sucks it into his mouth, so as to get with it as much of the salt water as possible: in the same manner he takes the rest by different morsels, and between each, at least very frequently, takes a small sup of the salt water, either out of the cocoa-nut shell, or the palm of his hand: in the mean time one of his attendants has prepared a young cocoa-nut, by peeling off the outer rind with his teeth, an operation which to a European appears very surprising; but it depends so much upon sleight, that many of us were able to do it before we left the island, and some that could scarcely crack a filbert: the master, when he chooses to drink, takes the cocoa-nut thus prepared, and boring a hole through the shell with his finger, or breaking it with a stone, he sucks out the liquor. When he has eaten his bread-fruit and fish, he begins with his plantains, one of which makes but a mouthful, though it be as big as a black-pudding; if, instead of plantains, he has apples, he never tastes them till they have been pared; to do this a shell is picked up from the ground, where they are always in plenty, and tossed to him by an attendant: he immediately begins to cut or scrape off the rind, but so awkwardly that great part of the fruit is wasted. If, instead of fish, he has flesh, he must have some succedaneum for a knife to divide it; and for this purpose a piece of bamboo is tossed to him, of which he makes the necessary implement by splitting it transversely with his nail. While all this has been doing, some of his attendants have been employed in beating bread-fruit with a stone pestle upon a block of wood; by being beaten in this manner, and sprinkled from time to time with water, it is reduced to the consistence of a soft paste, and is then put into a vessel somewhat like a butcher's tray, and either made up alone, or mixed with banana or mahie, according to the taste of the master, by pouring water upon it by degrees and squeezing it often through the hand: under this operation it acquires the consistence of a thick custard, and a large cocoa-nut shell full of it being set before him, he sips it as we should do a jelly

if we had no spoon to take it from the glass: the meal is then finished by again washing his hands and his mouth. After which the cocoa-nut shells are cleaned, and everything that is left is replaced in the basket.

The quantity of food which these people eat at a meal is prodigious: I have seen one man devour two or three fishes as big as a perch; three bread-fruits, each bigger than two fists; fourteen or fifteen plantains or bananas, each of them six or seven inches long, and four or five round; and near a quart of the pounded bread-fruit, which is as substantial as the thickest unbaked custard. This is so extraordinary that I scarcely expect to be believed; and I would not have related it upon my own single testimony; but Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and most of the other gentlemen, have had ocular demonstration of its truth, and know that I mention them upon the occasion.

It is very wonderful that these people, who are remarkably fond of society, and particularly that of their women, should exclude its pleasures from the table, where among all other nations, whether civil or savage, they have been principally enjoyed. How a meal, which everywhere else brings families and friends together, came to separate them here, we often inquired, but could never learn. They ate alone, they said, because it was right; but why it was right to eat alone they never attempted to tell us: such, however, was the force of habit, that they expressed the strongest dislike, and even disgust, at our eating in society, especially with our women, and of the same victuals. At first, we thought this strange singularity arose from some superstitious opinion; but they constantly affirmed the contrary. We observed also some caprices in the custom, for which we could as little account as for the custom itself. We could never prevail with any of the women to partake of the victuals at our table when we were dining in company; yet they would go, five or six together, into the servants' apartments, and there eat very heartily of whatever they could find, of which I have before given a particular instance; nor were they in the least disconcerted if we came in while they were doing it. When any of us have been alone with a woman, she has sometimes eaten in our company; but then she has expressed the greatest unwillingness that it should be known, and always extorted the strongest promises of secrecy.

Among themselves, even two brothers and two sisters have each their separate baskets with provision and the apparatus of their meal. When they first visited us at our tents, each brought his basket with him; and when we sat down to table, they would go out, sit down upon the ground, at two or three yards' distance from each other, and turning their faces different ways, take their repast without interchanging a single word. The women not only abstain from eating with the men, and of the same victuals, but even have their victuals separately prepared by boys kept for that purpose, who deposit it in a separate shed, and attend them with it at their meals. But though they would not eat with us or with each other, they have often asked us to eat with them, when we have visited those with whom we were particularly acquainted at their houses; and we have often upon such occasions eaten out of the same basket, and drunk out of the same cup. The elder women, however, always appeared to be offended at this liberty; and if we happened to touch their victuals, or even the basket that contained it, would throw it away.

After meals, and in the heat of the day, the middle-aged people of the better sort generally sleep: they are, indeed, extremely indolent; and sleeping and eating is almost all that they do. Those that are older are less drowsy, and the boys and girls are kept awake by the natural activity and sprightliness of their age.

Their amusements have occasionally been mentioned in my account of the incidents that happened during our residence in this island, particularly music, dancing, wrestling, and shooting with the bow; they also sometimes vie with each other in throwing a lance. As shooting is not at a mark, but for distance; throwing the lance is not for distance, but at a mark: the weapon is about nine feet long, the mark is the bole of a plantain, and the distance about twenty yards. Their only musical instruments are flutes and drums; the flutes are made of a hollow bamboo about a foot long, and, as has been observed before, have only two stops, and consequently but four notes, out of which they seem hitherto to have formed but one tune: to these stops they apply the fore finger of the left hand and the middle finger of the right.

FLUTE AND DRUM PLAYERS.

The drum is made of a hollow block of wood, of a cylindrical form, solid at one end, and covered at the other with shark's skin: these they beat, not with sticks, but their hands; and they know how to tune two drums of different notes into concord. They have also an expedient to bring the flutes that play together into unison, which is to roll up a leaf so as to slip over the end of the shortest, like our sliding tubes for telescopes, which they move up or down till the purpose is answered, of which they seem to judge by their ear with great nicety.

To these instruments they sing; and, as I have observed before, their songs are often extempore: they call every two verses or couplet a song, *pehay:* they are generally, though not always, in rhyme; and when pronounced by the natives, we could discover that they were metre. Mr. Banks took great pains to write down some of them which were made upon our arrival, as nearly as he could express their sounds by combinations of our letters; but when we read them, not having their accent, we could scarcely make them either metre or rhyme. The reader will easily perceive that they are of a very different structure.

Tede pahai de parow-a
Ha maru no mina.

E pahah Tayo malama tai ya
No Tabane tonatou whannomi ya.

E Turai eattu terara patee whennua toai
Ino o maio Pretane to whennuaia no Tute.

Of these verses our knowledge of the language is too imperfect to attempt a translation. They frequently amuse themselves by singing such couplets as these when they are alone, or with their families, especially after it is dark; for though they need no fires, they are not without the comfort of artificial light between sunset and bedtime. Their candles are made of the kernels of a kind of oily nut, which they stick one over another upon a skewer that is thrust through the middle of them; the upper one being lighted, burns down to the second, at the same time consuming that part of the skewer which goes through it; the second taking fire, burns in the same manner down to the third, and so of the rest: some of these candles will burn a considerable time, and they give a very tolerable light. They do not often sit up above an hour after it is dark; but when they have strangers who sleep in the house, they generally keep a light burning all night, possibly as a check upon such of the women as they wish not to honour them with their favours. Of their itinerary concerts I need add nothing to what has been said already; especially as I shall have occasion more particularly to mention them when I relate our adventures upon another island.

In other countries the girls and unmarried women are supposed to be wholly ignorant of what others upon some occasions may appear to know; and their conduct and conversation are consequently restrained within narrower bounds, and kept at a more remote distance from whatever relates to a connexion with the other sex; but here it is just contrary. Among other diversions, there is a dance, called *timorodee*, which is performed by young girls, whenever eight or ten of them can be collected together, consisting of motions and gestures beyond imagination wanton, in the practice of which they are brought up from their earliest childhood, accompanied by words which, if it were possible, would more

1700

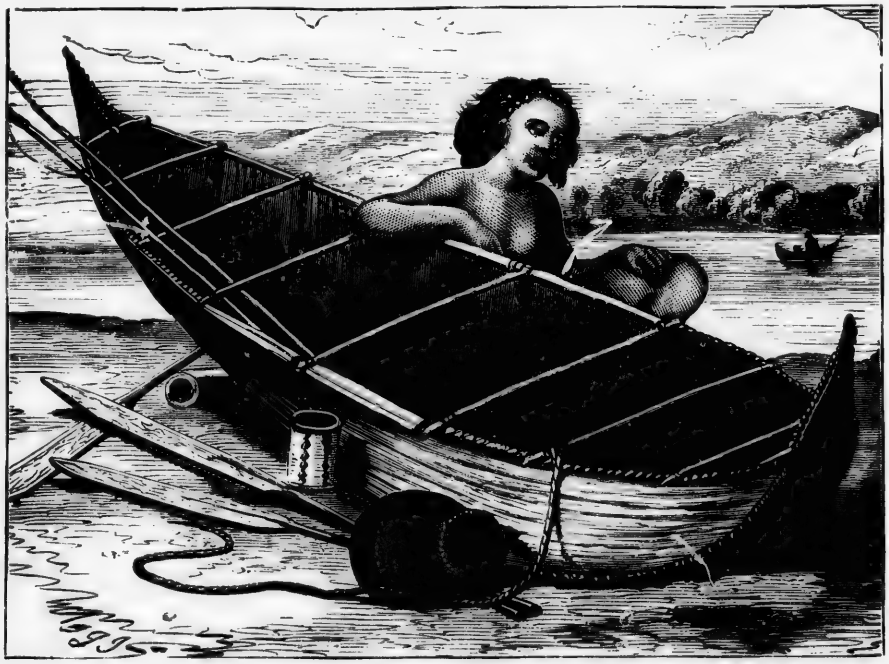
ok of
end,
skin:
their
rums
have
that
l up a
rtest,
which
ose is
ge by

nd, as
often
es or
rally,
when
l dis-
Banks
ne of
al, as
ds by
n we
could
ey are

ation.
lone,
y are
s are
ewer
o the
the
ne of
o not
n the
the
certs
more

nt of
ation
ance
rary.
oung
and
from
more

CAPE HORN.

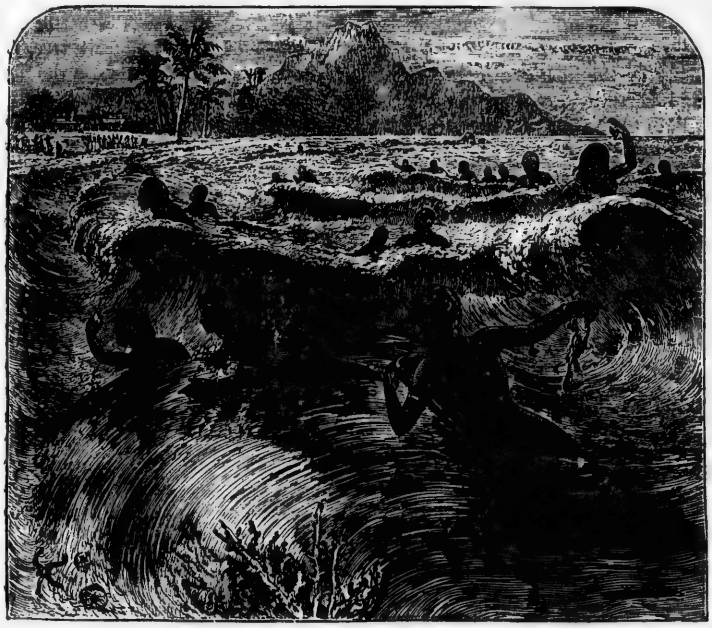


BOATMAN AND CANOE OF TERRA DEL FUEGO.

Plate IV.] [*Cook's Voyages.*

explicitly convey the same ideas. In these dances they keep time with an exactness which is scarcely excelled by the best performers upon the stages of Europe. But the practice which is allowed to the virgin is prohibited to the woman from the moment that she has put these hopeful lessons in practice, and realized the symbols of the dance.

It cannot be supposed that, among these people, chastity is held in much estimation. It might be expected that sisters and daughters would be offered to strangers, either as a courtesy or for reward; and that breaches of conjugal fidelity, even in the wife, should not be otherwise punished than by a few hard words, or perhaps a slight beating, as indeed is the case; but there is a scale in dissolute sensuality, which these people have ascended, wholly unknown to every other nation whose manners have been recorded from the beginning of the world to the present hour, and which no imagination could possibly conceive.



SURF SWIMMING.

But I must not conclude my account of the domestic life of these people without mentioning their personal cleanliness. If that which lessens the good of life and increases the evil is vice, surely cleanliness is a virtue: the want of it tends to destroy both beauty and health, and mingles disgust with our best pleasures. The natives of Otaheite, both men and women, constantly wash their whole bodies in running water three times every day; once as soon as they rise in the morning, once at noon, and again before they sleep at night, whether the sea or river is near them or at a distance. I have already observed that they wash not only the mouth but the hands at their meals, almost between every morsel; and their clothes, as well as their persons, are kept without spot or stain; so that in a large company of these people nothing is suffered but heat, which, perhaps, is more than can be said of the politest assembly in Europe.

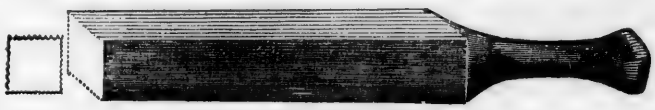
CHAPTER XVIII.—OF THE MANUFACTURES, BOATS, AND NAVIGATION OF OTAHEITE.

If necessity is the mother of invention, it cannot be supposed to have been much exerted where the liberality of Nature has rendered the diligence of Art almost superfluous; yet there are many instances both of ingenuity and labour among these people, which, considering the want of metal for tools, do honour to both. Their principal manufacture is their cloth, in the making and dyeing of which I think there are some particulars which may instruct even the artificers of Great Britain, and for that reason my description will be more minute.

Their cloth is of three kinds; and it is made of the bark of three different trees, the Chinese paper mulberry, the bread-fruit tree, and the tree which resembles the wild fig-tree of the West Indies. The finest and whitest is made of the paper mulberry, *Aouta;* this is worn chiefly by the principal people, and when it is dyed red takes a better colour. A second sort, inferior in whiteness and softness, is made of the bread-fruit tree, *Ooroo*, and worn chiefly by the inferior people; and a third, of the tree that resembles the fig, which is coarse and harsh, and of the colour of the darkest brown paper; this, though it is less pleasing both to the eye and the touch, is the most valuable, because it resists water, which the other two sorts will not. Of this, which is the most rare as well as the most useful, the greater part is perfumed, and worn by the chiefs as a morning dress.

All these trees are propagated with great care, particularly the mulberry, which covers the largest part of the cultivated land, and is not fit for use after two or three years' growth, when it is about six or eight feet high, and somewhat thicker than a man's thumb; its excellence is to be thin, straight, tall, and without branches: the lower leaves, therefore, are carefully plucked off, with their germs, as often as there is any appearance of their producing a branch.

But though the cloth made of these three trees is different, it is all manufactured in the same manner; I shall, therefore, describe the process only in the fine sort, that is made of the mulberry. When the trees are of a proper size, they are drawn up, and stripped of their branches, after which the roots and tops are cut off; the bark of these rods being then slit up longitudinally, is easily drawn off, and when a proper quantity has been procured, it is carried down to some running water, in which it is deposited to soak, and secured from floating away by heavy stones: when it is supposed to be sufficiently softened, the women servants go down to the brook, and stripping themselves, sit down in the water, to separate the inner bark from the green part on the outside; to do this they place the under side upon a flat smooth board, and with the shell, which our dealers call tiger's tongue, *Tellina gargadia*, scrape it very carefully, dipping it continually in the water till nothing remains but the fine fibres of the inner coat. Being thus prepared in the afternoon, they are spread out upon plantain leaves in the evening; and in this part of the work there appears to be some difficulty, as the mistress of the family always superintends the doing of it: they are placed in lengths of about eleven or twelve yards, one by the side of another, till they are about a foot broad, and two or three layers are also laid one upon the other: care is taken that the cloth shall be in all parts of an equal thickness, so that if the bark happens to be thinner in any particular part of one layer than the rest, a piece that is somewhat thicker is picked out to be laid over it in the next. In this state it remains till the morning, when great part of the water which it contained when it was laid out, is either drained off or evaporated, and the several fibres adhere together, so as that the whole may be raised from the ground in one piece.



CLOTH-BEATING MALLET.

It is then taken away, and laid upon the smooth side of a long piece of wood prepared for the purpose, and beaten by the women servants with instruments about a foot long and three inches thick, made of a hard wood which they call Etoa. The shape of this instrument is not unlike a square razor-strop, only that the handle is longer, and each of its four sides or faces is marked, lengthways, with small grooves or furrows, of different degrees of fineness; those on one side being of a width and depth sufficient to receive a small packthread, and the others finer in a regular gradation, so that the last are not more than equal to sewing-silk. They beat it first with the coarsest side of this mallet, keeping time like our smiths; it spreads very fast under the strokes, chiefly, however, in the breadth, and the grooves in the mallet mark it with the appearance of threads; it is successively beaten with the other sides, last with the finest, and is then fit for use. Sometimes, however, it is made still thinner, by beating it with the finest side of the mallet, after it has been several times doubled; it is then called Hoboo, and is almost as thin as a muslin. It becomes very white by being bleached in the air, but is made still whiter and softer by being washed and beaten again after it has been worn.

SPECIMENS OF CLOTH.

Of this cloth there are several sorts, of different degrees of fineness, in proportion as it is more or less beaten without being doubled. The other cloth also differs in proportion as it is beaten; but they differ from each other in consequence of the different materials of which they are made. The bark of the bread-fruit is not taken till the trees are considerably longer and thicker than those of the fig; the process afterwards is the same.

When cloth is to be washed after it has been worn, it is taken down to the brook, and left to soak, being kept fast to the bottom, as at first, by a stone; it is then gently wrung or squeezed; and sometimes several pieces of it are laid one upon another, and beaten together with the coarsest side of the mallet, and they are then equal in thickness to broad-cloth, and much more soft and agreeable to the touch after they have been a little while in use, though when they come immediately from the mallet they feel as if they had been starched. This cloth sometimes breaks in the beating, but is easily repaired by pasting on a patch with a gluten that is prepared from the root of the *Pea*, which is done so nicely that it cannot be discovered. The women also employ themselves in removing blemishes of every kind, as our ladies do in needlework or knotting; sometimes, when their work is intended to be very fine, they will paste an entire covering of hoboo over the whole. The principal excellences of this cloth are its coolness and softness; and its imperfections, its being pervious to water like paper, and almost as easily torn.

The colours with which they dye this cloth are principally red and yellow. The red is exceedingly beautiful, and I may venture to say a brighter and more delicate colour than

any we have in Europe; that which approaches nearest is our full scarlet; and the best imitation which Mr. Banks's natural-history painter could produce, was by a mixture of vermilion and carmine. The yellow is also a bright colour, but we have many as good. The red colour is produced by the mixture of the juices of two vegetables, neither of which separately has the least tendency to that hue. One is a species of fig, called here *matte*, and the other the *Cordia Sebestina*, or *etou;* of the fig the fruit is used, and of the *Cordia*, the leaves.

The fruit of the fig is about as big as a Rounceval pea, or very small gooseberry; and each of them, upon breaking off the stalk very close, produces one drop of a milky liquor, resembling the juice of our figs, of which the tree is indeed a species. This liquor the women collect into a small quantity of cocoa-nut water: to prepare a gill of cocoa-nut water will require between three and four quarts of these little figs. When a sufficient quantity is prepared, the leaves of the Etou are well wetted in it, and then laid upon a plantain-leaf, where they are turned about till they become more and more flaccid; and then they are gently squeezed, gradually increasing the pressure, but so as not to break them. As the flaccidity increases, and they become spongy, they are supplied with more of the liquor; in about five minutes the colour begins to appear upon the veins of the leaves; and in about ten, or a little more, they are perfectly saturated with it. They are then squeezed with as much force as can be applied, and the liquor strained at the same time that it is expressed.

For this purpose, the boys prepare a large quantity of the Moo, by drawing it between their teeth, or two little sticks, till it is freed from the green bark and the branny substance that lies under it, and a thin web of the fibres only remains; in this the leaves of the etou are enveloped, and through these the juice which they contain is strained as it is forced out. As the leaves are not succulent, little more juice is pressed out of them than they have imbibed: when they have been once emptied, they are filled again, and again pressed, till the quality which tinctures the liquor as it passes through them is exhausted; they are then thrown away; but the Moo, being deeply stained with the colour, is preserved as a brush to lay the dye upon the cloth. The expressed liquor is always received into small cups made of the plantain leaf; whether from a notion that it has any quality favourable to the colour, or from the facility with which it is procured, and the convenience of small vessels to distribute it among the artificers, I do not know.

Of the thin cloth they seldom dye more than the edges, but the thick cloth is coloured through the whole surface; the liquor is, indeed, used rather as a pigment than a dye, for a coat of it is laid upon one side only with the fibres of the Moo; and though I have seen of the thin cloth that has appeared to have been soaked in the liquor, the colour has not had the same richness and lustre as when it has been applied in the other manner.

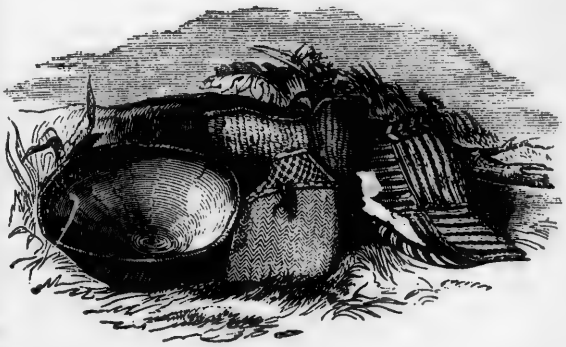
Though the leaf of the Etou is generally used in this process, and probably produces the finest colour, yet the juice of the figs will produce a red by a mixture with the species of Tournefortia, which they call *Taheinoo*, the *Pohue*, the *Eurhe*, or *Convolvulus brasiliensis*, and a species of Solanum, called *Eboua;* from the use of these different plants, or from different proportions of the materials, many varieties are observable in the colours of their cloth, some of which are conspicuously superior to others. The beauty, however, of the best is not permanent; but it is probable that some method might be found to fix it, if proper experiments were made; and, perhaps, to search for latent qualities, which may be brought out by the mixture of one vegetable juice with another, would not be an unprofitable employment. Our present most valuable dyes afford sufficient encouragement to the attempt; for by the mere inspection of indigo, woad, dyer's-weed, and most of the leaves which are used for the like purposes, the colours which they yield could never be discovered. Of this Indian red I shall only add, that the women who have been employed in preparing or using it, carefully preserve the colour upon their fingers and nails, where it appears in its utmost beauty as a great ornament.

The yellow is made of the bark of the root of the *Morinda citrifolia*, called *Nona*, by scraping and infusing it in water; after standing some time, the water is strained and used as a dye, the cloth being dipped into it. The Morinda, of which this is a species, seems

to be a good subject for examination with a view to dyeing. Brown, in his History of Jamaica, mentions three species of it, which he says are used to dye brown; and Rumphius says of the *Bancuda angustifolia*, which is nearly allied to our Nono, that it is used by the inhabitants of the East Indian islands as a fixing drug for red colours, with which it particularly agrees. The inhabitants of this island also dye yellow with the fruit of the Tamanu, but how the colour is extracted we had no opportunity to discover. They have also a preparation with which they dye brown and black; but these colours are so indifferent, that the method of preparing them did not excite our curiosity.

Another considerable manufacture is matting of various kinds; some of which is finer and better, in every respect, than any we have in Europe: the coarser sort serves them to sleep upon, and the finer to wear in wet weather. With the fine, of which there are also two sorts, much pains is taken, especially with that made of the bark of the Poerou, the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* of Linnæus, some of which is as fine as a coarse cloth; the other sort, which is still more beautiful, they call *vanne;* it is white, glossy, and shining, and is made of the leaves of their *w'arrou*, a species of the *Pandanus*, of which we had no opportunity to see either the flowers or fruit: they have other mats,—or as they call them, *moeas*,—to sit or to sleep upon, which are formed of a great variety of rushes and grass, and which they make, as they do everything else that is plaited, with amazing facility and despatch.

They are also very dexterous in making basket and wicker work; their baskets are of a thousand different patterns, many of them exceedingly neat; and the making them is an art that every one practises, both men and women: they make occasional baskets and panniers of the cocoa-nut leaf in a few minutes; and the women who visited us early in a morning used to send, as soon as the sun was high, for a few of the leaves, of which they made little bonnets to shade their faces, at so small an expense of time and trouble, that when the sun was again low in the evening, they used to throw them away. These bonnets, however, did not cover the head, but consisted only of a band that went round it, and a shade that projected from the forehead.



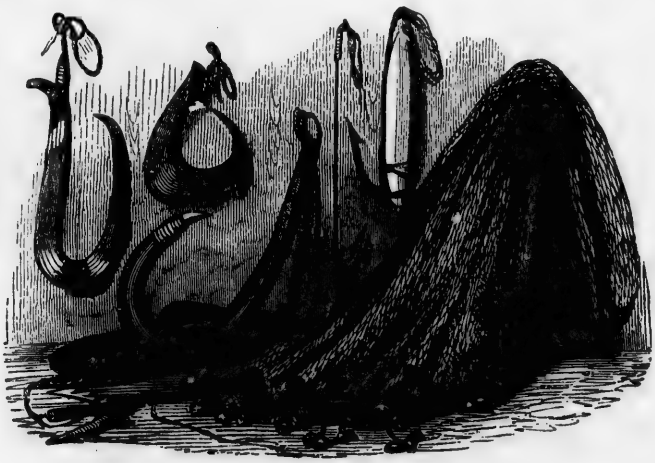
SPECIMENS OF BASKET-WORK.

Of the bark of the Poerou they make ropes and lines, from the thickness of an inch to the size of a small packthread: with these they make nets for fishing: of the fibres of the cocoa-nut they make thread for fastening together the several parts of their canoes, and belts, either round or flat, twisted or plaited; and of the bark of the *Erowa*, a kind of nettle which grows in the mountains, and is therefore rather scarce, they make the best fishing-lines in the world: with these they hold the strongest and most active fish, such as bonetas and albicores, which would snap our strongest silk lines in a minute, though they are twice as thick. They make also a kind of seine, of a coarse broad grass, the blades of which are like flags; these they twist and tie together in a loose manner, till the net, which is about as wide as a large sack, is from sixty to eighty fathoms long: this they haul in shoal smooth water, and its own weight keeps it so close to the ground, that scarcely a single fish can escape.

In every expedient, indeed, for taking fish, they are exceedingly ingenious; they make harpoons of cane, and point them with hard wood, which in their hands strike fish more effectually than those which are headed with iron can do in ours, setting aside the advantage of ours being fastened to a line, so that the fish is secured if the hook takes place, though it does not mortally wound him.

Of fish-hooks they have two sorts, admirably adapted in their construction as well to the purpose they are to answer as to the materials of which they are made. One of these, which they call *wittee-wittee*, is used for towing. The shank is made of mother-of-pearl, the most glossy that can be got: the inside, which is naturally the brightest, is put behind. To these hooks a tuft of white dog's or hog's hair is fixed, so as somewhat to resemble the tail of a fish; these implements, therefore, are both hook and bait, and are used with a rod of bamboo, and line of *erowa*. The fisher, to secure his success, watches the flight of the birds which constantly attend the bonetas when they swim in shoals, by which he directs his canoe, and when he has the advantage of these guides, he seldom returns without a prize.

The other kind of hook is also made of mother-of-pearl, or some other hard shell: they cannot make them bearded like our hooks; but to effect the same purpose, they make the point turn inwards. These are made of all sizes, and used to catch various kinds of fish with great success. The manner of making them is very simple, and every fisherman is his own artificer: the shell is first cut into square pieces by the edge of another shell, and wrought into a form corresponding with the outline of the hook by pieces of coral, which are sufficiently rough to perform the office of a file; a hole is then bored in the middle; the drill being no other than the first stone they pick up that has a sharp corner: this they fix into the end of a piece of bamboo, and turn it between the hands like a chocolate-mill; when the shell is perforated and the hole sufficiently wide, a small file of coral is introduced, by the application of which the hook is in a short time completed, few costing the artificer more time than a quarter of an hour.



FISHING-HOOKS, NET, AND HARPOONS.

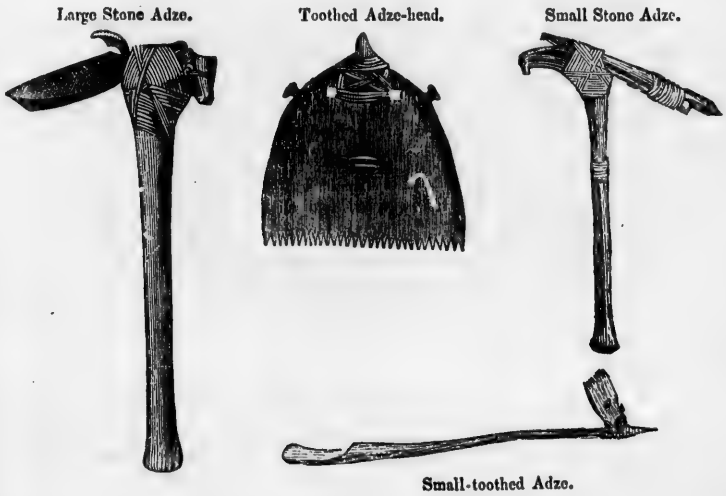
Of their masonry, carving, and architecture, the reader has already formed some idea from the account that has been given of the Morais, or repositories of the dead; the other most important article of building and carving is their boats; and, perhaps, to fabricate one of their principal vessels with their tools is as great a work as to build a British man-of-war with ours. They have an adze of stone; a chisel or gouge of bone, generally that of a man's arm between the wrist and elbow; a rasp of coral; and the skin of a sting-ray, with coral sand, as a file or polisher. This is a complete catalogue of their tools; and with these they build houses, construct canoes, hew stone, and fell, cleave, carve, and polish timber.

The stone which makes the blade of their adzes is a kind of basaltes, of a blackish or grey colour, not very hard, but of considerable toughness: they are formed of different

sizes: some, that are intended for felling, weigh from six to eight pounds; others, that are used for carving, not more than so many ounces; but it is necessary to sharpen both almost every minute; for which purpose a stone and a cocoa-nut shell full of water are always at hand.

TOOLS.

Their greatest exploit, to which these tools are less equal than to any other, is felling a tree: this requires many hands, and the constant labour of several days. When it is down, they split it with the grain into planks from three to four inches thick, the whole length and breadth of the tree, many of which are eight feet in the girth, and forty to the branches, nearly of the same thickness throughout. The tree generally used is, in their language, called *avie*, the stem of which is tall and straight; though some of the smaller boats are made of the bread-fruit tree, which is a light, spongy wood, and easily wrought. They smooth the plank very expeditiously and dexterously with their adzes, and can take off a thin coat from a whole plank without missing a stroke. As they have not the art of warping a plank, every part of the canoe, whether hollow or flat, is shaped by hand.



ADZES.

The canoes, or boats, which are used by the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring islands, may be divided into two general classes; one of which they call *irahahs*, the other *pahies*. The Ivahah is used for short excursions to sea, and is wall-sided and flat-bottomed; the Pahie, for longer voyages, and is bow-sided and sharp-bottomed. The Ivahas are all of the

same figure, but of different sizes, and used for different purposes: their length is from seventy-two feet to ten, but the breadth is by no means in proportion; for those of ten feet are about a foot wide, and those of more than seventy are scarcely two. There is the fighting Ivahah, the fishing Ivahah, and the travelling Ivahah—for some of these go from one island to another. The fighting Ivahah is by far the longest, and the head and stern are considerably raised above the body, in a semicircular form; particularly the stern, which is sometimes seventeen or eighteen feet high, though the boat itself is scarcely three. These never go to sea single, but are fastened together, side by side, at the distance of about three feet, by strong poles of wood, which are laid across them and lashed to the gunwales. Upon these, in the fore part, a stage or platform is raised, about ten or twelve feet long, and somewhat wider than the boats, which is supported by pillars about six feet high: upon this stage stand the fighting men, whose missile weapons are slings and spears; for, among other singularities in the manners of these people, their bows and arrows are used only for diversion, as we throw quoits. below these stages sit the rowers, who receive from them those that are wounded, and furnish fresh men to ascend in their room. Some of these have a platform of bamboos, or other light wood, through their whole length, and considerably broader, by means of which they will carry a great number of men; but we saw only one fitted in this manner.

The fishing Ivahahs vary in length from about forty feet to the smallest size, which is about ten; all that are of the length of twenty-five feet and upwards, of whatever sort, occasionally carry sail. The travelling Ivahah is always double, and furnished with a small neat house, about five or six feet broad, and six or seven feet long, which is fastened upon the fore-part for the convenience of the principal people, who sit in them by day, and sleep in them at night. The fishing Ivahahs are sometimes joined together, and have a house on board; but this is not common. Those which are shorter than five-and-twenty feet seldom or never carry sail; and though the stern rises about four or five feet, have a flat head and a board that projects forward about four feet.

The Pahie is also of different sizes, from sixty to thirty feet long; but, like the Ivahah, is very narrow. One that I measured was fifty-one feet long, and only one foot and a half wide at the top. In the widest part it was about three feet; and this is the general proportion. It does not, however, widen by a gradual swell; but the sides being straight and parallel for a little way below the gunwale, it swells abruptly, and draws to a ridge at the bottom; so that a transverse section of it has somewhat the appearance of the mark upon cards called a spade, the whole being much wider in proportion to its length. These, like the largest Ivahahs, are used for fighting, but principally for long voyages. The fighting Pahie, which is the largest, is fitted with the stage or platform, which is proportionably larger than those of the Ivahah, as their form enables them to sustain a much greater weight. Those that are used for sailing are generally double; and the middle size are said to be the best sea-boats. They are sometimes out a month together, going from island to island; and sometimes, as we were credibly informed, they are a fortnight or twenty days at sea, and could keep it longer if they had more stowage for provisions, and conveniences to hold fresh water.

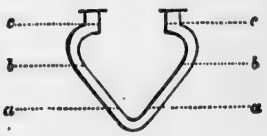
When any of these boats carry sail single, they make use of a log of wood, which is fastened to the end of two poles that lie across the vessel, and project from six to ten feet, according to the size of the vessel, beyond its side; somewhat like what is used by the flying proa of the Ladrone Islands, and called, in the account of Lord Anson's Voyage, an outrigger. To this outrigger the shrouds are fastened, and it is essentially necessary in trimming the boat when it blows fresh.

Some of them have one mast, and some two; they are made of a single stick, and when the length of a canoe is thirty feet, that of the mast is somewhat less than five-and-twenty; it is fixed to a frame that is above the canoe, and receives a sail of matting about one-third longer than itself: the sail is pointed at the top, square at the bottom, and curved at the side; somewhat resembling what we call a shoulder-of-mutton sail, and used for boat

belonging to men of war: it is placed in a frame of wood, which surrounds it on every side, and has no contrivance either for reefing or furling; so that, if either should become necessary, it must be cut away, which, however, in these equal climates, can seldom happen. At the top of the mast are fastened ornaments of feathers, which are placed inclining obliquely forwards. The oars or paddles that are used with these boats, have a long handle and a flat blade, not unlike a baker's peel. Of these every person in the boat has one, except those that sit under the awning; and they push her forward with them at a good rate These boats, however, admit so much water at the seams, that one person at least is continually employed in throwing it out. The only thing in which they excel is landing, and putting off from the shore in a surf; by their great length and high sterns they land dry, when our boats could scarcely land at all; and have the same advantages in putting off by the height of the head.

The Ivahahs are the only boats that are used by the inhabitants of Otaheite; but we saw several Pahies that came from other islands. Of one of these I shall give the exact dimensions from a careful admeasurement, and then particularly describe the manner in which they are built.

	Ft.	In.
Extreme length from stem to stern, not reckoning the bending up of either	51	0
Breadth in the clear of the top forward	1	2
Breadth in the midships	1	6
Breadth aft	1	3
In the bilge forward	2	8
In the midships	2	11
Aft	2	9
Depth in the midships	3	4
Height from the ground on which she stood	3	6
Height of her head from the ground, without the figure	4	4
Height of the figure	0	11
Height of the stern from the ground	8	9
Height of the figure	2	0



To illustrate my description of the manner in which these vessels are built, it will be necessary to refer to the figure; in which *a a* is the first seam, *b b* the second, and *c c* the third.

The first stage or keel, under *a a*, is made of a tree hollowed out like a trough; for which the longest trees are chosen that can be got, so that there are never more than three in the whole length: the next stage under *b b*, is formed of straight plank, about four feet long, fifteen inches broad, and two inches thick: the third stage under *c c*, is, like the bottom, made of trunks, hollowed into its bilging form; the last is also cut out of trunks, so that the moulding is of one piece with the upright. To form these parts separately, without saw, plane, chisel, or any other iron tool, may well be thought no easy task; but the great difficulty is to join them together. When all the parts are prepared the keel is laid upon blocks, and the planks, being supported by stanchions, are sewed or clamped together with strong thongs of plaiting, which are passed several times through holes that are bored with a gouge or auger of bone, that has been described already; and the nicety with which this is done may be inferred from their being sufficiently water-tight for use without caulking. As the plaiting soon rots in the water, it is renewed at least once a year; in order to which the vessel is taken entirely to pieces. The head and stern are rude with respect to the design; but very neatly finished, and polished to the highest degree.

These Pahies are kept with great care in a kind of house built on purpose for their reception; the houses are formed of poles set upright in the ground, the tops of which are drawn towards each other, and fastened together with their strongest cord, so as to form a kind of Gothic arch, which is completely thatched quite to the ground, being open only at the ends; they are sometimes fifty or sixty paces long.

As connected with the navigation of these people, I shall mention their wonderful sagacity in foretelling the weather, at least the quarter from which the wind shall blow at a future

time; they have several ways of doing this, of which however I know but one. They say that the Milky-way is always curved laterally, but sometimes in one direction and sometimes in another; and that this curvature is the effect of its being already acted upon by the wind, and its hollow part therefore towards it; so that if the same curvature continues a night, a corresponding wind certainly blows the next day. Of their rules I shall not pretend to judge; but I know that, by whatever means, they can predict the weather, at least the wind, with much greater certainty than we can. In their longer voyages they steer by the sun in the day, and in the night by the stars; all of which they distinguish separately by names, and know in what part of the heavens they will appear in any of the months during which they are visible in their horizon; they also know the time of their annual appearing and disappearing with more precision than will easily be believed by a European astronomer.

CHAPTER XIX.—OF THE DIVISION OF TIME IN OTAHEITE—NUMERATION, COMPUTATION OF DISTANCE, LANGUAGE, DISEASES, DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD, RELIGION, WAR, WEAPONS, AND GOVERNMENT—WITH SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS FOR THE USE OF FUTURE NAVIGATORS.

WE were not able to acquire a pefect idea of their method of dividing time; but observed, that in speaking of it, either past or to come, they never used any term but *Malama*, which signifies moon. Of these moons they count thirteen, and then begin again; which is a demonstration that they have a notion of the solar year: but how they compute their months so that thirteen of them shall be commensurate with the year, we could not discover; for they say that each month has twenty-nine days, including one in which the moon is not visible. They have names for them separately, and have frequently told us the fruits that would be in season, and the weather that would prevail, in each of them; and they have, indeed, a name for them collectively, though they use it only when they speak of the mysteries of their religion. Every day is subdivided into twelve parts, each of two hours, of which six belong to the day, and six to the night. At these divisions they guess pretty nearly by the height of the sun while he is above the horizon; but there are few of them that can guess at them, when he is below it, by the stars.

In numeration they proceed from one to ten, the number of fingers on both hands; and though they have for each number a different name, they generally take hold of their fingers one by one, shifting from one hand to the other till they come to the number they want to express. And in other instances, we observed that, when they were conversing with each other, they joined signs to their words, which were so expressive that a stranger might easily apprehend their meaning.

In counting from ten they repeat the name of that number, and add the word *more;* ten, and one more, is eleven; ten, and two more, twelve: and so of the rest, as we say one-and-twenty, two-and-twenty. When they come to ten and ten more, they have a new denomination, as we say a score; and by these scores they count till they get ten of them, when they have a denomination for two hundred; and we never could discover that they had any denomination to express a greater number: neither, indeed, do they seem to want any; for ten of these amount to two thousand, a greater number than they can ever apply.

In measuring distance they are much more deficient than in computing numbers, having but one term, which answers to fathom; when they speak of distances from place to place they express it, like the Asiatics, by the time that is required to pass it.

Their language is soft and melodious; it abounds with vowels, and we easily learnt to pronounce it: but found it exceedingly difficult to teach them to pronounce a single word of ours; probably not only from its abounding in consonants, but from some peculiarity in its structure; for Spanish and Italian words, if ending in a vowel, they pronounced with great facility. Whether it is copious, we were not sufficiently acquainted with it to know; but it is certainly very imperfect, for it is almost totally without inflexion, both of nouns and verbs. Few of the nouns have more than one case, and few of the verbs more than

one tense; yet we found no great difficulty in making ourselves mutually understood, however strange it may appear in speculation *.

They have, however, certain *affixa*, which, though but few in number, are very useful to them, and puzzled us extremely. One asks another, *Harro hea?* Where are you going?" The other answers, *Ivahinera*, "To my wives;" upon which the first, repeating the answer interrogatively, "To your wives?" is answered, *Ivahinereira;* "Yes, I am going to my wives." Here the suffixa *era* and *eira* save several words to both parties.

I have inserted a few of their words, from which, perhaps, some idea may be formed of the language.

Pupo	*the head.*	Touhe	*the buttocks.*
Ahewh	*the nose.*	Hoouhah	*the thighs.*
Roourou	*the hair.*	Avia	*the legs.*
Ontou	*the mouth.*	Tapoa	*the feet.*
Niheo	*the teeth.*	Booa	*a hog.*
Arrero	*the tongue.*	Moa	*a fowl.*
Meu-euml	*the beard.*	Euree	*a dog.*
Tiarrabon	*the throat.*	Eure-eure	*iron.*
Tuamo	*the shoulders.*	Ooroo	*bread-fruit.*
Tuah	*the back.*	Hearee	*cocoa-nuts.*
Oama	*the breast.*	Mia	*bananas.*
Eu	*the nipples.*	Poe	*beads.*
Oboo	*the belly.*	Poe matawewwo	*pearl.*
Rema	*the arm.*	Ahou	*a garment.*
Vaee	*wild plantains.*	Avee	*a fruit like apples.*
Oporema	*the hand.*	Ahee	*another like chesnuts.*
Manneow	*the fingers.*	Ewharro	*a house.*
Mieu	*the nails.*	Whennua	*a high island.*

* The numerous islands of the Pacific are inhabited by two distinct races of men; the one with bright and glossy hair, skin of a light copper colour, and the countenance resembling that of the Malays, with whom they are, by most modern inquirers, supposed to be allied:—the other of an herculean frame, black skin, and woolly or rather crisped hair, whose origin is supposed to be the same with that of the Papuan or Negro tribes who are found scattered in most of the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, whatever that may be, a point much in debate among the inquirers into the nature of the varieties of the human species.

The Negro and the Malay races are not, however, found dwelling together in the South-Sea Islands. Mr. Williams ("Missionary Enterprises in the South-Sea Islands," p. 501) says that the copper-coloured people "inhabit Eastern Polynesia, which includes the *Sandwich*, the *Marquesan*, the *Paumotu*, the *Tahitian*, the *Society*, the *Austral*, the *Hervey*, the *Navigator's*, the *Friendly Islands*, *New Zealand*, and all the smaller islands in their respective vicinities; while the Polynesian negro is found from the Fijis to the coast of New Holland, a space, which, for the sake of distinction, may be called Western Polynesia."

Missionary enterprise has hitherto been chiefly confined to the copper-coloured natives, and comparatively little is known of the character or language of the Polynesian negroes. Mr. Williams considers the language of all the islands of Eastern Polynesia to be the same, in which he distinguishes eight distinct dialects, of which he gives various specimens.

The language is much more complete than it appeared to Captain Cook and his companions. Mr. Williams remarks, "that a language spoken by savages should be supposed to be defective in many respects, could not create surprise; but the fact is, contrary to all we might have anticipated, that the Polynesian dialects are remarkably rich, admit of a great variety of phraseology, abound in terms of peculiar nicety, and are spoken with strict conformity to the most precise grammatical principles * * * The Polynesians employ three numbers, the singular, the dual, and the plural, with which the inflections of their verbs agree. Their pronouns are beautifully complete, having several remarkable and valuable distinctions unknown to us. An instance is found in what we may term the inclusive and exclusive pronouns: for example, in English we say, 'It is time for us to go;' and the expression may or may not include the person addressed. Now, in the Polynesian dialects, there are two pronouns which mark this difference, *maton* and *taton*. If the person spoken to is one of the party going, the *taton* would be used; if not, the *maton*. * * * There is likewise a causative verb, as *matau*, fear; *haa matau*, to make afraid; *matau hia*, to be feared; *haa matau hia*, to cause to be feared. The distinction of sounds, also, is very delicate, and has occasionally placed the missionary in rather awkward circumstances. On one occasion an excellent brother was preaching for me, and happening to aspirate a word which ought not to be aspirated, he addressed the people as beloved *savages*, instead of beloved *brethren*. Notwithstanding this, no person speaks incorrectly, and we never hear such violations of grammar and pronunciation as are common in England. There are but fourteen or fifteen letters in any of the dialects of this language; and as we spell the word precisely as it is pronounced, no difficulty is experienced in teaching the children spelling. All we have to do is to instruct them in the sound of the letters, and when these are acquired, they spell the longest words with ease."

The present is not the place, even did space permit, for an inquiry into the origin of the South-sea Islanders, or an examination of the evidence tending to confirm their Malay extraction. On these points we would refer our readers to Williams's "Missionary Enterprises," chap. 29; "Ellis's Polynesian Researches," vol. ii., chap. 2; and generally to the remarks on the same subject scattered throughout the "Surveying Voyages of the Adventure and the Beagle;" and particularly the 27th chapter of the second volume, where may be found Captain Fitzroy's remarks on the "migrations of the human race."—Ed.

Motu	*a low island.*	Whettu-eupho	*a comet.*
Toto	*blood.*	Eraï	*the sky.*
Aeve	*bone.*	Eatta	*a cloud.*
Aeo	*flesh.*	Miti	*good.*
Mae	*fat.*	Eno	*bad.*
Tuea	*lean.*	A	*yes.*
Huru-huru	*hair.*	Ima	*no.*
Ernow	*a tree.*	Paree	*ugly.*
Ama	*a branch.*	Paroree	*hungry.*
Tiale	*a flower.*	Pia	*full.*
Huero	*fruit.*	Timahah	*heavy.*
Etummoe	*the stem.*	Mama	*light.*
Aaa	*the root.*	Poto	*short.*
Eiherre	*herbaceous plants.*	Roa	*tall.*
Ooopa	*a pigeon.*	Nehenne	*sweet.*
Avigne	*a paroquet.*	Mala-mala	*bitter.*
A-a	*another species.*	Whanno	*to go far.*
Mannu	*a bird.*	Harre	*to go.*
Mora	*a duck.*	Arrea	*to stay.*
Mattow	*a fish-hook.*	Enoho	*to remain.*
Toura	*a rope.*	Rohe rohe	*to be tired.*
Mow	*a shark.*	Maa	*to eat.*
Mahi-mahi	*a dolphin.*	Inoo	*to drink.*
Mattera	*a fishing-rod.*	Ete	*to understand.*
Eupea	*a net.*	Warrido	*to steal.*
Mahanna	*the sun.*	Worridde	*to be angry.*
Malama	*the moon.*	Teparahi	*to beat.*
Whettu	*a star.*		

Among people whose food is so simple, and who in general are seldom drunk, it is scarcely necessary to say, that there are but few diseases; we saw no critical disease during our stay upon the island, and but few instances of sickness, which were accidental fits of the colic. The natives, however, are afflicted with erysipelas and cutaneous eruptions of the scaly kind, very nearly approaching to a leprosy. Those in whom this distemper was far advanced lived in a state of seclusion from all society, each in a small house built upon some unfrequented spot, where they were supplied with provisions: but whether they had any hope of relief, or languished out the remainder of their lives in solitude and despair, we could not learn. We observed also a few who had ulcers upon different parts of their bodies, some of which had a very virulent appearance; yet they seemed not much to be regarded by those who were afflicted with them, for they were left entirely without application even to keep off the flies.

Where intemperance produces no diseases, there will be no physicians by profession; yet where there is sufferance, there will always be attempts to relieve; and where the cause of the mischief and the remedy are alike unknown, these will naturally be directed by superstition; thus it happens, that in this country, and in all others which are not further injured by luxury, or improved by knowledge, the management of the sick falls to the lot of the priest. The method of cure that is practised by the priests of Otaheite consists chiefly of prayers and ceremonies. When he visits his patient he repeats certain sentences, which appear to be set forms contrived for the occasion, and at the same time plaits the leaves of the cocoa-nut into different figures very neatly; some of these he fastens to the fingers and toes of the sick, and often leaves behind him a few branches of the *Thespecia populnea*, which they call *E'midho:* these ceremonies are repeated till the patient recovers or dies. If he recovers, they say the remedies cured him; if he dies, they say the disease was incurable; in which perhaps they do not much differ from the custom of other countries.

If we had judged of their skill in surgery from the dreadful scars which we sometimes saw, we should have supposed it to be much superior to the art, not only of their physicians, but of ours. We saw one man whose face was almost entirely destroyed, his nose, including the bone, was perfectly flat, and one cheek and one eye were so beaten in, that the hollow would almost receive a man's fist, yet no ulcer remained; and our companion, Tupia, had been pierced quite through his body by a spear, headed with the bone of the sting-ray, the weapon having entered his back, and come out just under his breast; but except in reducing

dislocations and fractures, the best surgeon can contribute very little to the cure of a wound; the blood itself is the best vulnerary balsam, and when the juices of the body are pure, and the patient is temperate, nothing more is necessary as an aid to nature in the cure of the worst wound, than the keeping it clean.

Their commerce with the inhabitants of Europe has, however, already entailed upon them that dreadful curse which avenged the inhumanities committed by the Spaniards in America, the venereal disease. As it is certain that no European vessel besides our own, except the Dolphin, and the two that were under the command of Mons. Bougainville, ever visited this island, it must have been brought either by one of them or by us. That it was not brought by the Dolphin, Captain Wallis has demonstrated in the account of her voyage (vol. i., p. 323, 324), and nothing is more certain than that when we arrived, it had made most dreadful ravages in the island. One of our people contracted it within five days after we went on shore, and by the inquiries among the natives, which this occasioned, we learnt, when we came to understand a little of their language, that it had been brought by the vessels which had been there about fifteen months before us, and had lain on the east side of the island.

TAHITIAN NOSE FLUTE.

It is impossible but that, in relating incidents, many particulars with respect to the customs, opinions, and works of these people should be anticipated; to avoid repetition, therefore, I shall only supply deficiencies. Of the manner of disposing of their dead, much has been said already. I must more explicitly observe, that there are two places in which the dead are deposited; one a kind of shed, where the flesh is suffered to putrify: the other an enclosure, with erections of stone, where the bones are afterwards buried. The sheds are called TUPAPOW, and the enclosures, MORAI. The Morais are also places of worship.

As soon as a native of Otaheite is known to be dead, the house is filled with relations, who deplore their loss, some by loud lamentations, and some by less clamorous but more genuine expressions of grief. Those who are in the nearest degree of kindred, and are really affected by the event, are silent; the rest are one moment uttering passionate exclamations in a chorus, and the next laughing and talking without the least appearance of concern. In this manner the remainder of the day on which they assemble is spent, and all the succeeding night. On the next morning the body is shrouded in their cloth, and conveyed to the sea-side upon a bier, which the bearers support upon their shoulders, attended by the priest, who, having prayed over the body, repeats his sentences during the procession. When it arrives at the water's-edge, it is set down upon the beach; the priest renews his prayers, and taking up some of the water in his hands, sprinkles it towards the body, but not upon it. It is then carried back forty or fifty yards, and soon after brought again to the beach, where the prayers and sprinkling are repeated. It is thus removed backwards and forwards several times; and while these ceremonies have been performing, a house has been built, and a small space of ground railed in In the centre of this house, or Tupapow, posts are set up to support the bier, which is at length conveyed thither, and placed upon it; and here the body remains to putrify till the flesh is wholly wasted from the bones.

These houses of corruption are of a size proportioned to the rank of the person whose body they are to contain; those allotted to the lower class are just sufficient to cover the bier, and have no railing round them. The largest we ever saw was eleven yards long, and such as these are ornamented according to the abilities and inclination of the surviving kindred, who never fail to lay a profusion of good cloth about the body, and sometimes

OTAHEITE BIER.

almost cover the outside of the house. Garlands of the fruit of the palm-nut, or *pandanus*, and cocoa-leaves, twisted by the priests in mysterious knots, with a plant called by them *Ethee no Morai*, which is particularly consecrated to funeral solemnities, are deposited about the place; provision and water are also left at a little distance; of which, and of other decorations, a more particular description has been given already.

As soon as the body is deposited in the Tupapow, the mourning is renewed. The women assemble, and are led to the door by the nearest relation, who strikes a shark's tooth several times into the crown of her head: the blood copiously follows, and is carefully received upon pieces of linen, which are thrown under the bier. The rest of the women follow this example, and the ceremony is repeated at the interval of two or three days, as long as the zeal and sorrow of the parties hold out. The tears also which are shed upon these occasions are received upon pieces of cloth, and offered as oblations to the dead: some of the younger people cut off their hair, and that is thrown under the bier with the other offerings. This custom is founded upon a notion that the soul of the deceased, which they believe to exist in a separate state, is hovering about the place where the body is deposited; that it observes the actions of the survivors, and is gratified by such testimonies of their affection and grief. Two or three days after these ceremonies have been commenced by the women, during which the men seem to be wholly insensible of their loss, they also begin to perform their part.

FUNERAL-DRESS OF THE NEAREST RELATIVE OF THE DECEASED PERSON.

The nearest relations take it in turn to assume the dress, and perform the office, which have already been particularly described in the account of Tubourai Tamaide's having acted as chief mourner to an old woman, his relation, who died while we were in the island. One part of the ceremony, however, which accounts for the running away of the people as soon as this procession is in sight, has not been mentioned. The chief mourner carries in his hand a long flat stick, the edge of which is set with shark's teeth, and in a frenzy, which his grief is supposed to have inspired, he runs at all he sees; and if any of them happen to be overtaken, he strikes them most unmercifully with this indented cudgel, which cannot fail to wound them in a dangerous manner.

These processions continue at certain intervals for five moons; but are less and less frequent, by a gradual diminution, as the end of that time approaches. When it is expired, what remains of the body is taken down from the bier, and the bones, having been scraped and washed very clean, are buried, according to the rank of the person, either within or without a Morai. If the deceased was an Earee, or chief, his skull is not buried with the rest of the bones, but is wrapped up in fine cloth, and put in a kind of box made for that purpose, which is also placed in the Morai. This coffer is called *Ewharre no te Orometua*, the house of a teacher or master. After this the mourning ceases, except some of the women continue to be really afflicted for the loss; and, in that case, they will sometimes suddenly wound themselves with the shark's tooth wherever they happen to be. This, perhaps, will account for the passion of grief in which Terapo wounded herself at the fort: some accidental circumstance might forcibly revive the remembrance of a friend or relation whom she had lost, with a pungency of regret and tenderness which forced a vent by tears, and prompted her to a repetition of the funeral rite.

The ceremonies, however, do not cease with the mourning; prayers are still said by the priest, who is well paid by the surviving relations, and offerings made at the Morai. Some of the things which from time to time are deposited there are emblematical: a young plantain represents the deceased, and the bunch of feathers the deity who is invoked. The priest places himself over against the symbol of the god, accompanied by some of the relations, who are furnished with a small offering, and repeats his orison in a set form, consisting of separate sentences; at the same time weaving the leaves of the cocoa-nut into different forms, which he afterwards deposits upon the ground where the bones have been interred; the deity is then addressed by a shrill screech, which is used only upon that occasion. When the priest retires, the tuft of feathers is removed, and the provisions left to putrify or be devoured by the rats.

Of the religion of these people, we were not able to acquire any clear and consistent knowledge: we found it, like the religion of most other countries, involved in mystery, and perplexed with apparent inconsistencies. The religious language is also here, as it is in China, different from that which is used in common; so that Tupia, who took great pains to instruct us, having no words to express his meaning which we understood, gave us lectures to very little purpose. What we learnt, however, I will relate with as much perspicuity as I can.

Nothing is more obvious to a rational being, however ignorant and stupid, than that the universe and its various parts, as far as they fall under his notice, were produced by some agent inconceivably more powerful than himself; and nothing is more difficult to be conceived, even by the most sagacious and knowing, than the production of them from nothing, which among us is expressed by the word *Creation*. It is natural, therefore, as no Being apparently capable of producing the universe is to be seen, that he should be supposed to reside in some distant part of it, or to be in his nature invisible, and that he should have originally produced all that now exists in a manner similar to that in which nature is renovated by the succession of one generation to another; but the idea of procreation includes in it that of two persons; and from the conjunction of two persons these people imagine everything in the universe, either originally or derivatively, to proceed.

The Supreme Deity, one of these two first beings, they call TAROATAIHETOOMOO, and the other, whom they suppose to have been a rock, TEPAPA. A daughter of these was TETTOWMATATAYO, the year, or thirteen months collectively, which they never name but upon

this occasion, and she, by the common father, produced the months, and the months, by conjunction with each other, the days; the stars they suppose partly to be the immediate offspring of the first pair, and partly to have increased among themselves; and they have the same notion with respect to the different species of plants. Among other progeny of Taroataihetoomoo and Tepapa, they suppose an inferior race of deities, whom they call EATUAS. Two of these Eatuas, they say, at some remote period of time, inhabited the earth and were the parents of the first man. When this man, their common ancestor, was born, they say that he was round like a ball, but that his mother, with great care, drew out his limbs, and having at length moulded him into his present form, she called him EOTHE, which signifies *finished*. That being prompted by the universal instinct to propagate his kind, and being able to find no female but his mother, he begot upon her a daughter, and upon the daughter other daughters for several generations, before there was a son; a son, however, being at length born, he, by the assistance of his sisters, peopled the world.

Besides their daughter Tettowmatatayo, the first progenitors of nature had a son, whom they called TANE. Taroataihetoomoo, the supreme deity, they emphatically style the causer of earthquakes; but their prayers are more generally addressed to Tane, whom they suppose to take a greater part in the affairs of mankind.

Their subordinate deities, or Eatuas, which are numerous, are of both sexes: the male are worshipped by the men, and the female by the women; and each have Morais to which the other sex is not admitted, though they have also Morais common to both. Men perform the office of priest to both sexes, but each sex has its priests, for those who officiate for one sex do not officiate for the other. They believe the immortality of the soul, at least its existence in a separate state, and that there are two situations of different degrees of happiness, somewhat analogous to our heaven and hell: the superior situation they call *Tavirua Verai*, the other *Tiahoboo*. They do not, however, consider them as places of reward and punishment, but as receptacles for different classes; the first for their chiefs and principal people, the other for those of inferior rank, for they do not suppose that their actions here in the least influence their future state, or indeed that they come under the cognizance of their deities at all. Their religion, therefore, if it has no influence upon their morals, is at least disinterested; and their expressions of adoration and reverence, whether by words or actions, arise only from a humble sense of their own inferiority, and the ineffable excellence of divine perfection.

The character of the priest or Tahowa is hereditary; the class is numerous, and consists of all ranks of people; the chief, however, is generally the younger brother of a good family, and is respected in a degree next to their kings. Of the little knowledge that is possessed in this country, the priests have the greatest share; but it consists principally in an acquaintance with the names and ranks of the different Eatuas or subordinate divinities, and the opinions concerning the origin of things, which have been traditionally preserved among the order in detached sentences, of which some will repeat an incredible number, though but very few of the words that are used in their common dialect occur in them. The priests, however, are superior to the rest of the people in the knowledge of navigation and astronomy; and, indeed, the name of Tahowa signifies nothing more than a man of knowledge. As there are priests of every class, they officiate only among that class to which they belong: the priest of the inferior class is never called upon by those of superior rank, nor will the priest of the superior rank officiate for any of the inferior class.

Marriage in this island, as appeared to us, is nothing more than an agreement between the man and woman, with which the priest has no concern. Where it is contracted, it appears to be pretty well kept, though sometimes the parties separate by mutual consent, and in that case a divorce takes place with as little trouble as the marriage.

But though the priesthood has laid the people under no tax for a nuptial benediction, there are two operations which it has appropriated, and from which it derives considerable advantages. One is *tattowing*, and the other circumcision, though neither of them have any connexion with religion. The tattowing has been described already. As neither of these can be performed by any but a priest, and as to be without either is the greatest disgrace, they may be considered as a claim to surplice fees like our marriages and christenings, which

are cheerfully and liberally paid, not according to any settled stipend, but the rank and abilities of the parties or their friends.

KANGAROO.

The Morai, as has already been observed, is at once a burying-ground and a place of worship, and in this particular our churches too much resemble it. The Indian, however, approaches his Morai with a reverence and humility that disgrace the Christian, not because he holds anything sacred that is there, but because he there worships an invisible divinity, for whom, though he neither hopes for reward nor fears punishment at his hand, he always expresses the profoundest homage and most humble adoration. I have already given a very particular description both of the Morais and the altars that are placed near them. When an Indian is about to worship at the Morai, or brings his offering to the altar, he always uncovers his body to the waist, and his looks and attitude are such as sufficiently express a corresponding disposition of mind.

It did not appear to us that these people are, in any instance, guilty of idolatry; at least they do not worship anything that is the work of their hands, nor any visible part of the creation. This island, indeed, and the rest that lie near it, have a particular bird, some a heron, and others a kingfisher, to which they pay a peculiar regard, and concerning which they have some superstitious notions with respect to good and bad fortune, as we have of the swallow and robin-redbreast, giving them the name of EATUA, and by no means killing or molesting them; yet they never address a petition to them, or approach them with any act of adoration.

Though I dare not assert that these people, to whom the art of writing, and consequently the recording of laws, are utterly unknown, live under a regular form of government; yet a subordination is established among them, that greatly resembles the early state of every nation in Europe under the feudal system, which secured liberty in the most licentious excess to a few and entailed the most abject slavery upon the rest. Their orders are *Earee rahie*, which answers to king; *Earee*, baron; *Manahouni*, vassal; and *Toutou*, villain. The Earee rahie, of which there are two in this island, one being the sovereign of each of the peninsulas of which it consists, is treated with great respect by all ranks, but did not appear to us to be invested with so much power as was exercised by the Earees in their own districts; nor indeed

did we, as I have before observed, once see the sovereign of Obereonoo while we were in the island. The Earees are lords of one or more of the districts into which each of the peninsulas is divided, of which there may be about one hundred in the whole island; and they parcel out their territories to the Manahounies, who cultivate each his part which he holds under the baron. The lowest class, called Toutous, seem to be nearly under the same circumstances as the villains in feudal governments; these do all the laborious work; they cultivate the land under the Manahounies, who are only nominal cultivators for the lord, they fetch wood and water, and, under the direction of the mistress of the family, dress the victuals: they also catch the fish *.

Each of the Earees keeps a kind of court, and has a great number of attendants, chiefly the younger brothers of their own tribe; and among these some hold particular offices, but of what nature exactly we could not tell. One was called the *Eowa no l'Earee*, and another the *Whanno no l'Earee*, and these were frequently despatched to us with messages. Of all the courts of these Earees, that of Tootahah was the most splendid, as indeed might reasonably be expected, because he administered the government for Outou, his nephew, who was Earee rahie of Obereonoo, and lived upon his estate. The child of the baron or Earee, as well as of the sovereign or Earee rahie, succeeds to the title and honours of the father as soon as it is born; so that a baron who was yesterday called Earee, and was approached with the ceremony of lowering the garments, so as to uncover the upper part of the body, is to-day, if his wife was last night delivered of a child, reduced to the rank of a private man, all marks of respect being transferred to the child, if it is suffered to live, though the father still continues possessor and administrator of his estate: probably this custom has its share, among other inducements, in forming the societies called Arreoy.

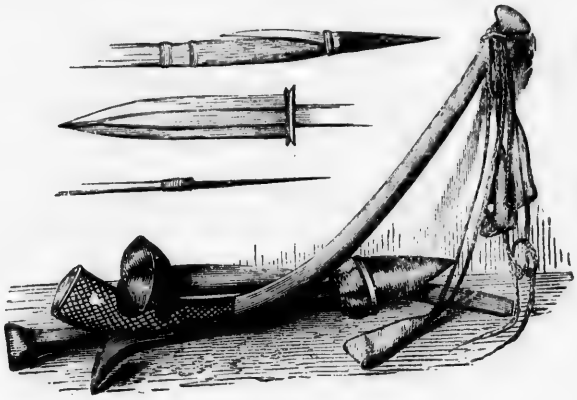
If a general attack happens to be made upon the island, every district under the command of an Earee is obliged to furnish its proportion of soldiers for the common defence. The number furnished by the principal districts, which Tupia recollected, when added together, amounted, as I have observed before, to six thousand six hundred and eighty. Upon such occasions the united force of the whole island is commanded in chief by the Earee rahie. Private differences between two Earees are decided by their own people, without at all disturbing the general tranquillity.

Their weapons are slings, which they use with great dexterity, pikes headed with the tings of sting-rays, and clubs, of about six or seven feet long, made of a very hard heavy ood. Thus armed, they are said to fight with great obstinacy, which is the more likely

* This account of the social condition of the inhabitants of Tahiti is in the main correct, but differs in some particulars from that given by Mr. Ellis, in his Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 340, et seq. He describes the various classes as consisting, first, of the *Hui arii*, or Royal family (including the Sovereign) and Nobility. "This class, though not numerous, was considered the most influential in the state. Being the highest in dignity and rank, its elevation in the estimation of the people was guarded with extreme care; and the individuals of whom it was composed were exceedingly pertinacious of their distinction, and jealous of the least degradation by the admission of inferiors to their dignity." This, however, might be effected, but appears to have seldom if ever taken place, except on occasion of a marriage between a member of the *Hui arii* and one of a lower class, when "by a variety of ceremonies performed at the temple, the inferiority was supposed to be removed;" but unless this was done, all the offspring of such a marriage were invariably destroyed. The second rank, the *Bue Raatira*, formed the middle class in society; being the most important body in times of peace, and furnishing the strength of their armies in periods of war. The Raatiras were all landed proprietors, their consequence depending much upon the extent of their possessions, which they held not from the king but from their ancestors. The petty raatiras "possessed from twenty to one hundred acres, and generally had more than their necessities required. They resided on their own lands, and inclosed so much as was necessary for their support. They were the most industrious class of the community, working their own plantations, building their own houses, manufacturing their own cloth and mats, besides furnishing their articles for the king. The higher class among the Raatiras were those who possessed large tracts of land in one place, or a number of smaller sections in different parts. Some of them owned perhaps many hundred acres, parts of which were cultivated by those who lived in a state of dependence upon them, or by those petty Raatiras who occupied their plantations on condition of rendering military service to the proprietors and a portion of the produce. These individuals were a valuable class in the community, and constituted the aristocracy of the country."

The next class was the *Manahune*, comprising all who possessed no land. This class included independent fishermen and artisans; but since the population has been so greatly diminished as it is at the present day, few of these find it difficult to procure at least the occupancy of a piece of land, and raise himself to the rank of a Raatira. The *Teu-teu*, or servants of the chiefs, men reduced from poverty or want of skill in mechanical arts, which are respected among them, formed a second rank of *Manahune*; and the lowest class of all, the *Ti-ti*, or slaves taken in battle, or seized as the spoil of the vanquished, were also included under the same denomination.—Ed.

to be true, as it is certain that they give no quarter to either man, woman, or child, who is so unfortunate as to fall into their hands during the battle, or for some hours afterwards, till their passion, which is always violent, though not lasting, has subsided.



WEAPONS, PIKE HEADS, &c.

The Earee rahie of Oberconoo, while we were here, was in perfect amity with the Earee rahie of Tiarreboo, the other peninsula, though he took himself the title of king of the whole island: this, however, produced no more jealousy in the other sovereign, than the title of king of France, assumed by our sovereign, does in his Most Christian Majesty.

In a government so rude, it cannot be expected that distributive justice should be regularly administered, and indeed, where there is so little opposition of interest, in consequence of the facility with which every appetite and passion is gratified, there can be but few crimes. There is nothing like money, the common medium by which every want and every wish is supposed to be gratified by those who do not possess it; there is no apparently permanent good which either fraud or force can unlawfully obtain; and when all the crimes that are committed by the inhabitants of civilized countries, to get money, are set out of the account, not many will remain: add to this, that where the commerce with women is restrained by no law, men will seldom be under any temptation to commit adultery, especially as one woman is always less preferred to another, where they are less distinguished by personal decorations, and the adventitious circumstances which are produced by the varieties of art, and the refinements of sentiment. That they are thieves is true; but as among these people no man can be much injured or benefited by theft, it is not necessary to restrain it by such punishments, as in other countries are absolutely necessary to the very existence of civil society. Tupia, however, tells us, that adultery is sometimes committed as well as theft. In all cases where an injury has been committed, the punishment of the offender lies with the sufferer: adultery, if the parties are caught in the fact, is sometimes punished with death in the first ardour of resentment; but without circumstances of immediate provocation, the female sinner seldom suffers more than a beating. As punishment, however, is enforced by no law, nor taken into the hand of any magistrate, it is not often inflicted, except the injured party is the strongest; though the chiefs do sometimes punish their immediate dependants, for faults committed against each other, and even the dependants of others, if they are accused of any offence committed in their district.

Having now given the best description that I can of the island in its present state, and of the people, with their customs and manners, language and arts, I shall only add a few general observations, which may be of use to future navigators, if any of the ships of Great Britain should receive orders to visit it. As it produces nothing that appears to be convertible into an article of trade, and can be used only by affording refreshments to shipping

in their passage through these seas, it might be made to answer this purpose in a much greater degree, by transporting thither sheep, goats, and horned cattle, with European garden-stuff, and other useful vegetables, which there is the greatest reason to suppose will flourish in so fine a climate, and so rich a soil.

Though this and the neighbouring islands lie within the tropic of Capricorn, yet the heat is not troublesome, nor did the winds blow constantly from the east. We had frequently a fresh gale from the S. W. for two or three days, and sometimes, though very seldom, from the N. W. Tupia reported, that south-westerly winds prevail in October, November, and December, and we have no doubt of the fact. When the winds are variable, they are always accompanied by a swell from the S. W. or W. S. W.; there is also a swell from the same points when it is calm, and the atmosphere loaded with clouds, which is a sure indication that the winds are variable, or westerly out at sea, for with the settled trade-wind the weather is clear. The meeting with westerly winds, within the general limits of the eastern trade, has induced some navigators to suppose that they were near some large tract of land, of which, however, I think they are no indication.

It has been found, both by us and the Dolphin, that the trade-wind, in these parts, does not extend farther to the south than twenty degrees, beyond which, we generally found a gale from the westward; and it is reasonable to suppose, that when these winds blow strong, they will drive back the easterly wind, and consequently encroach upon the limits within which they constantly blow, and thus necessarily produce variable winds, as either happens to prevail, and a south-westerly swell. This supposition is the more probable, as it is well known that the trade-winds blow but faintly for some distance within their limits, and therefore may be more easily stopped or repelled by a wind in the contrary direction: it is also well known, that the limits of the trade-winds vary not only at different seasons of the year, but sometimes at the same season, in different years. There is therefore no reason to suppose that south-westerly winds, within these limits, are caused by the vicinity of large tracts of land, especially as they are always accompanied with a large swell, in the same direction in which they blow; and we find a much greater surf beating upon the shores of the south-west side of the islands that are situated just within the limits of the trade-wind, than upon any other part of them.

The tides about these islands are perhaps as inconsiderable as in any part of the world. A south or S. by W. moon, makes high water in the bay of Matavai at Otaheite; but the water very seldom rises perpendicularly above ten or twelve inches. The variation of the compass I found to be 4° 46′ easterly, this being the result of a great number of trials made with four of Dr. Knight's needles, adapted to azimuth compasses. These compasses I thought the best that could be procured, yet when applied to the meridian line, I found them to differ, not only one from another, sometimes a degree and a half, but the same needle, half a degree from itself in different trials made on the same day; and I do not remember that I have ever found two needles which exactly agreed at the same time and place, though I have often found the same needle agree with itself, in several trials made one after the other. This imperfection of the needle, however, is of no consequence to navigation, as the variation can always be found to a degree of accuracy, more than sufficient for all nautical purposes.

CHAPTER XX.—A DESCRIPTION OF SEVERAL OTHER ISLANDS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF OTAHEITE, WITH VARIOUS INCIDENTS; A DRAMATIC ENTERTAINMENT; AND MANY PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO THE CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF THE INHABITANTS.

AFTER parting with our friends, we made an easy sail, with gentle breezes and clear weather, and were informed by Tupia, that four of the neighbouring islands, which he distinguished by the names of HUAHEINE, ULIETEA, OTAHA, and BOLABOLA,* lay at the

* Called Borabora by the missionaries. The *l* is substituted for the *r*, in several instances in the vocabularies given by Cook.—ED.

distance of between one and two days' sail from Otaheite; and that hogs, fowls, and other refreshments, with which we had of late been but sparingly supplied, were there to be procured in great plenty; but having discovered from the hills of Otaheite an island lying to the northward, which he called TETHUROA, I determined first to stand that way, to take a nearer view of it. It lies N. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. distant eight leagues from the northern extremity of Otaheite, upon which we had observed the transit, and to which we had, for that reason, given the name of POINT VENUS. We found it to be a small low island, and were told by Tupia that it had no settled inhabitants, but was occasionally visited by the inhabitants of Otaheite, who sometimes went thither for a few days to fish; we therefore determined to spend no more time in a further examination of it, but to go in search of Huaheine and Ulietea, which he described to be well peopled, and as large as Otaheite.

At six o'clock in the morning of the 14th, the westernmost part of EIMEO, or York Island, bore S.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. and the body of Otaheite E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. At noon, the body of York Island bore E. by S. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.; and Port Royal bay, at Otaheite, S. 70° 45′ E. distant 61 miles; and an island, which we took to be Saunders's Island, called by the natives TAPOAMANAO, bore S.S.W. We also saw land bearing N.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. which Tupia said was Huaheine.

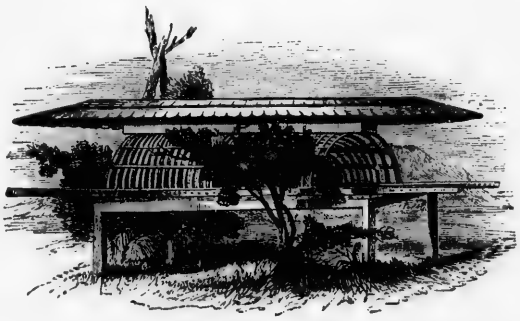
On the 15th, it was hazy, with light breezes and calms succeeding each other, so that we could see no land, and made but little way. Our Indian, Tupia, often prayed for a wind to his god Tane, and as often boasted of his success, which indeed he took a very effectual method to secure, for he never began his address to Tane, till he saw a breeze so near that he knew it must reach the ship before his orison was well over. On the 16th, we had a gentle breeze; and in the morning about eight o'clock, being close in with the north-west part of the island Huaheine, we sounded, but had no bottom with 80 fathom. Some canoes very soon came off, but the people seemed afraid, and kept at a distance till they discovered Tupia, and then they ventured nearer. In one of the canoes that came up to the ship's side, was the king of the island and his wife. Upon assurances of friendship, frequently and earnestly repeated, their majesties and some others came on board. At first they were struck with astonishment, and wondered at every thing that was shown them; yet they made no inquiries, and seeming to be satisfied with what was offered to their notice, they made no search after other objects of curiosity, with which it was natural to suppose a building of such novelty and magnitude as the ship must abound. After some time, they became more familiar. I was given to understand, that the name of the king was OREE, and he proposed, as a mark of amity, that we should exchange names. To this I readily consented; and he was Cookee, for so he pronounced my name, and I was Oree, for the rest of the time we were together. We found these people to be very nearly the same with those of Otaheite, in person, dress, language, and every other circumstance, except, if Tupia might be believed, that they would not steal.

Soon after dinner we came to an anchor in a small but excellent harbour on the west side of the island, which the natives call OWHARRE, in eighteen fathom water, clear ground, and secure from all winds. I went immediately ashore, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Mr. Monkhouse, Tupia, King Cookee, and some other of the natives who had been on board ever since the morning. The moment we landed, Tupia stripped himself as low as the waist, and desired Mr. Monkhouse to do the same: he then sat down before a great number of the natives, who were collected together in a large house or shed; for here, as well as at Otaheite, a house consists only of a roof supported upon poles; the rest of us, by his desire, standing behind. He then began a speech or prayer, which lasted about a quarter of an hour, the king, who stood over against him, every now and then answering in what appeared to be set responses. In the course of this harangue, he delivered, at different times, two handkerchiefs, a black silk neckcloth, some beads, two small bunches of feathers, and some plantains, as presents to their Eatua, or God. In return for these he received for our Eatua, a hog, some young plantains, and two small bunches of feathers, which he ordered to be carried on board the ship. After these ceremonies, which we supposed to be the ratification of a treaty between us, every one was dismissed to go whither he pleased; and Tupia immediately repaired to offer his oblations at one of the Morais.

The next morning we went on shore again, and walked up the hills, where the productions

were exactly the same as those of Otaheite, except that the rocks and clay appeared to be more burnt. The houses were neat, and the boat-houses remarkably large; one that we measured was fifty paces long, ten broad, and twenty-four feet high; the whole formed a pointed arch, like those of our old cathedrals, which was supported on one side by twenty-six, and on the other by thirty pillars, or rather posts, about two feet high and one thick, upon most of which were rudely carved the heads of men, and several fanciful devices, not altogether unlike those which we sometimes see printed from wooden blocks at the beginning and end of old books. The plains, or flat part of the country, abounded in bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees; in some places, however, there were salt swamps and lagoons, which would produce neither.

We went again ashore on the 18th, and would have taken the advantage of Tupia's company in our perambulation, but he was too much engaged with his friends; we took however, his boy, whose name was TAYETO, and Mr. Banks went to take a farther view of what had much engaged his attention before; it was a kind of chest or ark, the lid of which was nicely sewed on, and thatched very neatly with palm-nut leaves; it was fixed upon two poles, and supported on little arches of wood, very neatly carved; the use of the poles seemed to be to remove it from place to place, in the manner of our sedan-chairs; in one end of it was a square hole, in the middle of which was a ring touching the sides, and leaving the angles open, so as to form a round hole within a square one. The first time Mr. Banks saw this coffer, the aperture at the end was stopped with a piece of cloth, which lest he should give offence, he left untouched; probably there was then something within, but now the cloth was taken away, and, upon looking into it, it was found empty. The general resemblance between this repository and the Ark of the Lord among the Jews is remarkable; but it is still more remarkable, that upon inquiring of the boy what it was called, he said, *Ewharre no Eatau*, the *house of the God*: he could however give no account of its signification or use.



ARK OF HUAHEINE.

We had commenced a kind of trade with the natives, but it went on slowly; for when anything was offered, not one of them would take it upon his own judgment, but collected the opinions of twenty or thirty people, which could not be done without great loss of time. We got, however, eleven pigs, and determined to try for more the next day.

The next day, therefore, we brought out some hatchets, for which we hoped we should have had no occasion, upon an island which no European had ever visited before. These procured us three very large hogs; and as we proposed to sail in the afternoon, King Oree and several others came on board to take their leave. To the king I gave a small plate of pewter, on which was stamped this inscription, "His Britannic Majesty's ship Endeavour, Lieutenant Cook, Commander, 16th July, 1769, Huaheine." I gave him also some medals or counters, resembling the coin of England, struck in the year 1761, with some other presents; and he promised that with none of these, particularly the plate, he would ever part. I thought it as lasting a testimony of our having first discovered this island as any

we could leave behind; and having dismissed our visitors well satisfied and in great good-humour, we set sail, about half an hour after two in the afternoon.

The island of Huaheine, or Huahene, is situated in the latitude of 16° 43′ S. and longitude 152° 52′ W. from Greenwich; it is distant from Otaheite about thirty-one leagues, in the direction of N. 58 W. and is about seven leagues in compass. Its surface is hilly and uneven, and it has a safe and commodious harbour. The harbour, which is called by the natives OWALLE, or OWHARRE, lies on the west side, under the northernmost high land, and within the north end of the reef, which lies along that side of the island; there are two inlets or openings, by which it may be entered through the reef, about a mile and a half distant from each other; the southernmost is the widest, and on the south side of it lies a very small sandy island. Huaheine seems to be a month forwarder in its productions than Otaheite, as we found the cocoa-nuts full of kernel, and some of the new bread-fruit fit to eat. Of the cocoa-nuts the inhabitants make a food which they call *Poe*, by mixing them with yams; they scrape both fine, and having incorporated the powder, they put it into a wooden trough with a number of hot stones, by which an oily kind of hasty-pudding is made, that our people relished very well, especially when it was fried. Mr. Banks found not more than eleven or twelve new plants; but he observed some insects, and a species of scorpion which he had not seen before.

The inhabitants seem to be larger made and more stout than those of Otaheite. Mr. Banks measured one of the men, and found him to be six feet three inches and a half high; yet they are so lazy that he could not persuade any of them to go up the hills with him: they said, if they were to attempt it, the fatigue would kill them. The women were very fair, more so than those of Otaheite; and in general we thought them more handsome, though none that were equal to some individuals. Both sexes seemed to be less timid and less curious: it has been observed that they made no inquiries on board the ship, and when we fired a gun they were frighted indeed, but they did not fall down as our friends at Otaheite constantly did when we first came among them. For this difference, however, we can easily account upon other principles: the people at Huaheine had not seen the Dolphin, those at Otaheite had. In one, the report of a gun was connected with the idea of instant destruction; to the other, there was nothing dreadful in it but the appearance and the sound, as they had never experienced its power of dispensing death.

While we were on shore, we found that Tupia had commended them beyond their merit when he said that they would not steal, for one of them was detected in the fact. But when he was seized by the hair, the rest, instead of running away, as the people at Otaheite would have done, gathered round, and inquired what provocation had been given: but this also may be accounted for without giving them credit [illegible] superior courage; they had no experience of the consequences of European resentment, which the people at Otaheite had in many instances purchased with life. It must, however, be acknowledged to their honour, that when they understood what had happened they showed strong signs of disapprobation, and prescribed a good beating for the thief, which was immediately administered.

We now made sail for the island of ULIETEA, which lies S.W. by W., distant seven or eight leagues from Huaheine, and at half an hour after six in the evening we were within three leagues of the shore, on the eastern side. We stood off and on all night, and when the day broke the next morning we stood in for the shore: we soon after discovered an opening in the reef which lies before the island, within which Tupia told us there was a good harbour. I did not, however, implicitly take his word, but sent the master out in the pinnace to examine it; he soon made the signal for the ship to follow; we accordingly stood in and anchored in two-and-twenty fathom, with soft ground. The natives soon came off to us in two canoes, each of which brought a woman and a pig. The woman we supposed was a mark of confidence, and the pig was a present; we received both with proper acknowledgments, and complimented each of the ladies with a spike-nail and some beads, much to their satisfaction. We were told by Tupia, who had always expressed much fear of the men of Bolabola that they had made a conquest of this island; and that, if we remained here,

they would certainly come down to-morrow and fight us. We determined, therefore, to go on shore without delay, while the day was our own.

I landed in company with Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and the other gentlemen, Tupia being also of the party. He introduced us by repeating the ceremonies which he had performed at Huaheine, after which I hoisted an English jack, and took possession of this and the three neighbouring islands, Huaheine, Otaha, and Bolabola, which were all in sight, in the name of his Britannic Majesty. After this we took a walk to a great Morai, called Tapodeboatea. We found it very different from those of Otaheite, for it consisted only of four walls, about eight feet high, of coral stones, some of which were of an immense size, inclosing an area of about five-and-twenty yards square, which was filled up with smaller stones; upon the top of it many planks were set up on end, which were carved in their whole length: at a little distance we found an altar, or Ewhatta, upon which lay the last oblation or sacrifice, a hog of about eighty pounds weight, which had been offered whole, and very nicely roasted. Here were also four or five Ewharreno-Eatua, or hous s of God, to which carriage-poles were fitted like that which we had seen at Huaheine. One of these Mr. Banks examined by putting his hand into it, and found a parcel about five feet long and one thick, wrapped up in mats: he broke a way through several of these mats with his fingers, but at length came to one which was made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut, so firmly plaited together that he found it impossible to tear it, and therefore was forced to desist, especially as he perceived that what he had done already gave great offence to our new friends. From hence we went to a long house, not far distant, where, among rolls of cloth and several other things, we saw the model of a canoe, about three feet long, to which were tied eight human jaw-bones: we had already learnt that these, like scalps among the Indians of North America, were trophies of war. Tupia affirmed that they were the jaw-bones of the natives of this island; if so they might have been hung up, with the model of a canoe, as a symbol of invasion, by the warriors of Bolabola, as a memorial of their conquest. Night now came on apace, but Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander continued their walk along the shore, and at a little distance saw another Ewharre-no-Eatua, and a tree of the fig kind, the same as that which Mr. Green had seen at Otaheite, in great perfection, the trunk, or rather congeries of the roots, of which was forty-two paces in circumference.

On the 21st, having despatched the master in the long-boat to examine the coast of the south part of the island, and one of the mates in the yawl, to sound the harbour where the ship lay, I went myself in the pinnace to survey that part of the island which lies to the north. Mr. Banks and the gentlemen were again on shore, trading with the natives, and examining the products and curiosities of the country; they saw nothing, however, worthy notice, but some more jaw-bones, of which they made no doubt but that the account they had heard was true.

On the 22nd and 23rd, having strong gales and hazy weather, I did not think it safe to put to sea; but on the 24th, though the wind was still variable, I got under sail, and plied to the northward within the reef, with a view to go out at a wider opening than that by which I had entered; in doing this, however, I was unexpectedly in the most imminent danger of striking on the rock: the master, whom I had ordered to keep continually sounding in the chains, suddenly called out "two fathom." This alarmed me, for though I knew the ship drew at least fourteen feet, and that therefore it was impossible such a shoal should be under her keel; yet the master was either mistaken, or she went along the edge of a coral rock, many of which, in the neighbourhood of these islands are as steep as a wall.

This harbour, or bay, is called by the natives Oopoa, and taken in its greatest extent, it is capable of holding any number of shipping. It extends almost the whole length of the east side of the island, and is defended from the sea by a reef of coral rocks: the southernmost opening in this reef, or channel into the harbour, by which we entered, is little more than a cable's length wide; it lies off the easternmost part of the island, and may be known by another small woody island, which lies a little to the south-east of it, called by the people here Oatara. Between three and four miles north-west from this island, lie two other islets in the same direction as the reef of which

they are a part, called Opururu and Tamou; between these lies the other channel into the harbour, through which I went out, and which is a full quarter of a mile wide. Still farther to the north-west are some other small islands, near which I am told there is another small channel into the harbour; but this I know only by report. The principal refreshments that are to be procured at this part of the island are, plantains, cocoa-nuts, yams, hogs, and fowls; the hogs and fowls, however, are scarce; and the country, where we saw it, is neither so populous nor so rich in produce as Otaheite, or even Huaheine. Wood and water may also be procured here; but the water cannot conveniently be got at.

We were now again at sea, without having received any interruption from the hostile inhabitants of Bolabola, whom, notwithstanding the fears of Tupia, we intended to visit. At four o'clock in the afternoon of the 25th, we were within a league of Otaha, which bore N. 77 W. To the northward of the south end of that island, on the east side of it, and something more than a mile from the shore, lie two small islands, called Toahoutu and Whennuaia; between which, Tupia says, there is a channel into a very good harbour, which lies within the reef, and appearances confirmed his report. As I discovered a broad channel between Otaha and Bolabola, I determined rather to go through it, than run to the northward of all; but the wind being right ahead, I got no ground.

Between five and six in the evening of the 26th, as I was standing to the northward, discovered a small low island, lying N. by W. or N.N.W. distant four or five leagues from olabola. We were told by Tupia that the name of this island is Tubai; that it produces thing but cocoa-nuts, and is inhabited only by three families; though it is visited by the habitants of the neighbouring islands, who resort thither to catch fish, with which the st abounds.

On the 27th, about noon, the peak of Bolabola bore N. 25 W., and the north end of Otaha, 80 W., distant three leagues. The wind continued contrary all this day and the night lowing. On the 28th, at six in the morning, we were near the entrance of the harbour the east side of Otaha, which has been just mentioned; and finding that it might be mined without losing time, I sent away the master in the long-boat, with orders to sound and if the wind did not shift in our favour, to land upon the island, and traffic with the ives for such refreshments as were to be had. In this boat went Mr. Banks and Dr. nder, who landed upon the island, and before night purchased three hogs, twenty-one s, and as many yams and plantains as the boat would hold. Plantains we thought ore useful refreshment even than pork; for they were boiled and served to the ship's pany as bread, and were now the more acceptable as our bread was so full of vermin, notwithstanding all possible care, we had sometimes twenty of them in our mouths at ne, every one of which tasted as hot as mustard. The island seemed to be more barren Ulietea, but the produce was of the same kind. The people also exactly resembled that we had seen at the other islands; they were not numerous, but they flocked the boat wherever she went from all quarters, bringing with them whatever they had l. They paid the strangers, of whom they had received an account from Tupia, the compliment which they used towards their own kings, uncovering their shoulders, and ping their garments round their breasts; and were so solicitous to prevent its being cted by any of their people, that a man was sent with them, who called out to every hey met, telling him what they were, and what he was to do. In the mean time, t plying off and on, waiting for the boat's return; at half an hour after five, not seeing ing of her, I fired a gun, and after it was dark hoisted a light; at half an hour after , we heard the report of a musket, which we answered with a gun, and soon after the came on board. The master reported that the harbour was safe and commodious, with anchorage from twenty-five to sixteen fathom water, clear ground.

soon as the boat was hoisted in, I made sail to the northward, and at eight o'clock in orning of the 29th, we were close under the Peak of Bolabola, which was high, rude, raggy. As the island was altogether inaccessible in this part, and we found it impos- to weather it, we tacked and stood off, then tacked again, and after many trips did eather the south end of it till twelve o'clock at night. At eight o'clock the next ing, we discovered an island, which bore from us N. 63° W. distant about eight leagues;

at the same time the Peak of Bolabola bore N. ¼ E., distant three or four leagues. This island Tupia called MAURUA, and said that it was small, wholly surrounded by a reef, and without any harbour for shipping; but inhabited, and bearing the same produce as the neighbouring islands: the middle of it rises in a high round hill, that may be seen at the distance of ten leagues.

When we were off Bolabola, we saw but few people on the shore, and were told by Tupia that many of the inhabitants were gone to Ulietea. In the afternoon we found ourselves nearly the length of the south end of Ulietea, and to windward of some harbours that lay on the west side of this island. Into one of these harbours, though we had before been ashore on the other side of the island, I intended to put, in order to stop a leak which we had sprung in the powder-room, and to take in more ballast, as I found the ship too light to carry sail upon a wind. As the wind was right against us, we plied off one of the harbours, and about three o'clock in the afternoon, on the 1st of August, we came to an anchor in the entrance of the channel leading into it, in fourteen fathom water, being prevented from working in, by a tide which set very strong out. We then carried out the kedge-anchor, in order to warp into the harbour; but when this was done, we could not trip the bower-anchor with all the purchase we could make; we were therefore obliged to lie still all night, and in the morning, when the tide turned, the ship going over the anchor, it tripped of itself, and we warped the ship into a proper berth with ease, and moored in twenty-eight fathom, with a sandy bottom. While this was doing, many of the natives came off to us with hogs, fowls, and plantains, which they parted with at an easy rate. When the ship was secured, I went on shore to look for a proper place to get ballast and water, both which I found in a very convenient situation.

This day Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander spent on shore, very much to their satisfaction: every body seemed to fear and respect them, placing in them at the same time the utmost confidence, behaving as if conscious that they possessed the power of doing them mischief, without any propensity to make use of it. Men, women, and children, crowded round them, and followed them wherever they went; but none of them were guilty of the least incivility: on the contrary, whenever there happened to be dirt or water in the way, the men vied with each other to carry them over on their backs. They were conducted to the houses of the principal people, and were received in a manner altogether new: the people who followed them while they were in their way, rushed forward as soon as they came to a house, and went hastily in before them, leaving, however, a lane sufficiently wide for them to pass. When they entered, they found those who had preceded them ranged on each side of a long mat, which was spread upon the ground, and at the farther end of which sat the family: in the first house they entered, they found some very young women or children, dressed with the utmost neatness, who kept their station, expecting the strangers to come up to them and make them presents, which they did with the greatest pleasure; for prettier children, or better dressed, they had never seen. One of them was a girl about six years old; her gown or upper garment was red; a large quantity of plaited hair was wound round her head, the ornament to which they give the name of Tamou, and which they value more than anything they possess. She sat at the upper end of a mat thirty feet long, upon which none of the spectators presumed to set a foot, notwithstanding the crowd; and she leaned upon the arm of a well-looking woman about thirty, who was probably her nurse. Our gentlemen walked up to her, and as soon as they approached, she stretched out her hand to receive the beads which they offered her, and no princess in Europe could have done it with a better grace.

The people were so much gratified by the presents which were made to these girls, that when Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander returned, they seemed attentive to nothing but how to oblige them: and in one of the houses, they were, by order of the master, entertained with a dance different from any that they had seen. It was performed by one man, who put upon his head a large cylindrical piece of wicker-work, or basket, about four feet long and eight inches in diameter, which was faced with feathers, placed perpendicularly, with the tops bending forwards, and edged round with sharks' teeth, and the tail-feathers of tropic birds: when he had put on this head-dress, which is called a *Whow*, he began to dance,

moving slowly, and often turning his head as that the top of his high wicker-cap described a circle, and sometimes throwing it so near the faces of the spectators as to make them start back: this was held among them as a very good joke, and never failed to produce a peal of laughter, especially when it was played off upon one of the strangers.

On the 3rd, we went along the shore to the northward, which was in a direction opposite to that of the route Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander had taken the day before, with a design to purchase stock, which we always found the people more ready to part with, and at a more easy price, at their houses than at the market. In the course of our walk we met with a company of dancers, who detained us two hours, and during all that time afforded us great entertainment. The company consisted of two women dancers and six men, with three drums. We were informed by Tupia that they were some of the most considerable people of the island, and that, though they were continually going from place to place, they did not, like the little strolling companies of Otaheite, take any gratuity from the spectators. The women had upon their heads a considerable quantity of Tamou, or plaited hair, which was brought several times round the head, and adorned in many parts with the flowers of the cape-jessamine, which were stuck in with much taste, and made a head-dress truly elegant. Their necks, shoulders, and arms were naked; so were the breasts also, as low as the parting of the arm; below that they were covered with black cloth, which set close to the body. At the side of each breast, next the arm, was placed a small plume of black feathers, much in the same manner as our ladies now wear their nosegays or *bouquets*. Upon their hips rested a quantity of cloth plaited very full, which reached up to the breast, and fell down below into long petticoats, which quite concealed their feet, and which they managed with as much dexterity as our opera-dancers could have done. The plaits above the waist were brown and white alternately; the petticoats below were all white.

In this dress they advanced sideways in a measured step, keeping excellent time to the drums, which beat briskly and loud; soon after they began to shake their hips, giving the folds of cloth that lay upon them a very quick motion, which was in some degree continued through the whole dance, though the body was thrown into various postures, sometimes standing, sometimes sitting, and sometimes resting on their knees and elbows, the fingers also being moved at the same time with a quickness scarcely to be imagined. Much of the dexterity of the dancers, however, and the entertainment of the spectators, consisted in the wantonness of their attitudes and gestures, which was indeed such as exceeds all description.

One of these girls had in her ear three pearls; one of them was very large, but so foul that it was of little value; the other two were as big as a middling pea; these were clear, and of a good colour and shape, though spoiled by the drilling. Mr. Banks would fain have purchased them, and offered the owner anything she would ask for them, but she could not be persuaded to part with them at any price. He tempted her with the value of four hogs, and whatever else she should choose, but without success; and indeed they set a value upon their pearls very nearly equal to what they would fetch among us, except they could be procured before they are drilled.

Between the dances of the women, the men performed a kind of dramatic interlude, in which there was dialogue as well as dancing; but we were not sufficiently acquainted with their language to understand the subject. On the 4th, some of our gentlemen saw a much more regular entertainment of the dramatic kind, which was divided into four acts.

Tupia had often told us that he had large possessions in this island, which had been taken away from him by the inhabitants of Bolabola, and he now pointed them out in the very bay where the ship was at anchor. Upon our going on shore this was confirmed by the inhabitants, who showed us several districts, or Whennuas, which they acknowledged to be his right.

On the 5th, I received a present of three hogs, some fowls, several pieces of cloth,—the largest we had seen, being fifty yards long, which they unfolded and displayed so as to make the greatest show possible,—and a considerable quantity of plantains, cocoa-nuts, and other refreshments, from Opoony, the formidable king, or, in the language of the country, Earee rahie, of Bolabolo, with a message that he was at this time upon the island, and that the next day he intended to pay me a visit.

In the mean time Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went upon the hills, accompanied by

several of the Indians, who conducted them by excellent paths to such a height that they plainly saw the other side of the island, and the passage through which the ship had passed the reef between the little islands of Opururu and Tamou, when we landed upon it the first time. As they were returning, they saw the Indians exercising themselves at what they call *Erowhaw*, which is nothing more than pitching a kind of light lance, headed with hard wood, at a mark. In this amusement, though they seem very fond of it, they do not excel; for not above one in twelve struck the mark, which was the bole of a plantain-tree, at about twenty yards distance.

On the 6th, we all staid at home, expecting the visit of the great king, but we were disappointed; we had, however, much more agreeable company, for he sent three very pretty girls to demand something in return for his present: perhaps he was unwilling to trust himself on board the ship, or perhaps he thought his messengers would procure a more valuable return for his hogs and poultry than he could himself; be that as it may, we did not regret his absence, nor his messengers their visit. In the afternoon, as the great king would not come to us, we determined to go to the great king. As he was lord of the Bola-bola men, the conquerors of this, and the terror of all the other islands, we expected to see a chief young and vigorous, with an intelligent countenance, and an enterprising spirit. We found, however, a poor feeble wretch, withered and decrepit, half blind with age, and so sluggish and stupid, that he appeared scarcely to have understanding enough left to know that it was probable we should be gratified either by hogs or women. He did not receive us sitting, or with any state or formality as the other chiefs had done. We made him our present, which he accepted, and gave a hog in return. We had learnt that his principal residence was at Otaha; and upon our telling him that we intended to go thither in our boats the next morning, and that we should be glad to have him along with us, he promised to be of the party.

Early in the morning, therefore, I set out, both with the pinnace and long-boat, for Otaha, having some of the gentlemen with me; and in our way we called upon Opoony, who was in his canoe ready to join us. As soon as we landed at Otaha, I made him a present of an axe, which I thought might induce him to encourage his subjects to bring us such provisions as we wanted, but in this we found ourselves sadly disappointed; for after staying with him till noon, we left him without being able to procure a single article. I then proceeded to the north point of the island in the pinnace, having sent the long-boat another way. As I went along, I picked up half-a-dozen hogs, as many fowls, and some plantains and yams. Having viewed and sketched the harbour on this side of the island, I made the best of my way back with the long-boat, which joined me soon after it was dark; and about ten o'clock at night we got on board the ship.

In this excursion Mr. Banks was not with us: he spent the morning on board the ship, trading with the natives, who came off in their canoes, for provisions and curiosities; and, in the afternoon, he went on shore with his draughtsmen, to sketch the dresses of the dancers which he had seen a day or two before. He found the company exactly the same, except that another woman had been added to it: the dancing also of the women was the same, but the interludes of the men were somewhat varied; he saw five or six performed, which were different from each other, and very much resembled the drama of our stage dances. The next day, he went ashore again, with Dr. Solander, and they directed their course towards the dancing company, which, from the time of our second landing, had gradually moved about two leagues in their course round the island. They saw more dancing, and more interludes, the interludes still varying from each other: in one of them the performers, who were all men, were divided into two parties, which were distinguished from each other by the colour of their clothes, one being brown, and the other white. The brown party represented a master and servants, and the white party a company of thieves: the master gave a basket of meat to the rest of his party, with a charge to take care of it: the dance of the white party consisted of several expedients to steal it, and that of the brown party in preventing their success. After some time, those who had charge of the basket placed themselves round it upon the ground, and, leaning upon it, appeared to go to sleep; the others, improving this opportunity, came gently upon them, and lifting them up from the basket, carried off their

prize: the sleepers, soon after awaking, missed their basket, but presently fell a dancing, without any farther regarding their loss; so that the dramatic action of this dance was, according to the severest laws of criticism, one, and our lovers of simplicity would here have been gratified with an entertainment perfectly suited to the chastity of their taste.

On the 9th, having spent the morning in trading with the canoes, we took the opportunity of a breeze, which sprung up at east, and having stopped our leak, and got the fresh stock which we had purchased on board, we sailed out of the harbour. When we were sailing away, Tupia strongly urged me to fire a shot towards Bolabola, possibly as a mark of his resentment, and to show the power of his new allies: in this I thought proper to gratify him, though we were seven leagues distant.

While we were about these islands, we expended very little of the ship's provisions, and were very plentifully supplied with hogs, fowls, plantains and yams, which we hoped would have been of great use to us in our course to the southward; but the hogs would not eat European grain of any kind, pulse, or bread-dust, so that we could not preserve them alive; and the fowls were all very soon seized with a disease that affected the head so, that they continued to hold it down between their legs till they died: much dependence, therefore, must not be placed in live stock taken on board at these places, at least not till a discovery is made of some food that the hogs will eat, and some remedy for the disease of the poultry. Having been necessarily detained at Ulietea so long, by the carpenters, in stopping our leak, we determined to give up our design of going on shore at Bolabola, especially as it appeared to be difficult of access.

To these six islands, Ulietea, Otaha, Bolabola, Huaheine, Tubai, and Maurua, as they lie contiguous to each other, I gave the names of Society Islands, but did not think it proper to distinguish them separately by any other names than those by which they were known to the natives. They are situated between the latitude of 16° 10′ and 16° 55′ S., and between the longitude of 150° 57′ and 152° W. from the meridian of Greenwich. Ulietea and Otaha lie within about two miles of each other, and are both inclosed within one reef of coral rocks, so that there is no passage for shipping between them. This reef forms several excellent harbours; the entrances into them, indeed, are but narrow, yet when a ship is once in, nothing can hurt her. The harbours on the east side have been described already; and on the west side of Ulietea, which is the largest of the two, there are three. The northernmost, in which we lay, is called Ohamaneno: the channel leading into it is about a quarter of a mile wide, and lies between two low sandy islands, which are the northernmost on this side; between, or just within the two islands, there is good anchorage in twenty-eight fathom, soft ground. This harbour, though small, is preferable to the others, because it is situated in the most fertile part of the island, and where fresh water is easily to be got. The other two harbours lie to the southward of this, and not far from the south end of the island: in both of them there is good anchorage, with ten, twelve, and fourteen fathom. They are easily known by three small woody islands at their entrance. The southernmost of these two harbours lies within, and to the southward of the southernmost of these islands, and the other lies between the two northernmost. I was told that there were more harbours at the south end of this island, but I did not examine whether the report was true.

Otaha affords two very good harbours, one on the east side, and the other on the west. That on the east side is called Ohamene, and has been mentioned already; the other is called Oherurua, and lies about the middle of the south-west side of the island; it is pretty large, and affords good anchorage in twenty and twenty-five fathom, nor is there any want of fresh water. The breach in the reef, that forms a channel into this harbour, is about a quarter of a mile broad, and, like all the rest, is very steep on both sides: in general there is no danger here but what is visible.

The island of Bolabola lies N.W. and by W. from Otaha, distant about four leagues; it is surrounded by a reef of rocks, and several small islands, in compass together about eight leagues. I was told, that, on the south-west side of the island, there is a channel through the reef into a very good harbour, but I did not think it worth while to examine it, for the reasons that have been just assigned. This island is rendered very remarkable by a high craggy hill, which appears to be almost perpendicular, and terminates at the top in two

peaks, one higher than the other. The land of Ulietea and Otaha is hilly, broken, and irregular, except on the sea-coast, yet the hills look green and pleasant, and are, in many places, clothed with wood. The several particulars in which these islands, and their inhabitants, differ from what we had observed, at Otaheite, have been mentioned in the course of the narrative.

We pursued our course without any event worthy of note till the 13th, about noon, when we saw land bearing S.E., which Tupia told us was an island called OHETEROA. About six in the evening, we were within two or three leagues of it, upon which I shortened sail, and stood off and on all night; the next morning stood in for the land. We ran to leeward of the island, keeping close in shore, and saw several of the natives, though in no great numbers, upon the beach. At nine o'clock I sent Mr. Gore, one of my lieutenants, in the pinnace, to endeavour to land upon the island, and learn from the natives whether there was anchorage in a bay then in sight, and what land lay farther to the southward. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander accompanied Mr. Gore in this expedition, and as they thought Tupia might be useful, they took him with them. As the boat approached the shore, those on board perceived the natives to be armed with long lances: as they did not intend to land till they got round a point which runs out at a little distance, they stood along the coast, and the natives, therefore, very probably thought they were afraid of them. They had now got together to the number of about sixty, and all of them sat down upon the shore, except two, who were despatched forward to observe the motions of those in the boat. These men, after walking abreast of her some time, at length leaped into the water, and swam towards her, but were soon left behind; two more then appeared, and attempted to board her in the same manner, but they also were soon left behind; a fifth man then ran forward alone, and having got a good way a-head of the boat before he took to the water, easily reached her. Mr. Banks urged the officer to take him in, thinking it a good opportunity to get the confidence and good-will of a people, who then certainly looked upon them as enemies, but he obstinately refused; this man, therefore, was left behind like the others, and so was a sixth, who followed him.

When the boat had got round the point, she perceived that all her followers had desisted from the pursuit: she now opened a large bay, at the bottom of which appeared another body of men, armed with long lances like the first. Here our people prepared to land, and pushed towards the shore, a canoe at the same time putting off to meet them. As soon as it came near them, they lay upon their oars, and calling out to them, told them that they were friends, and, that if th would come up, they would give them nails, which were held up for them to see: after some hesitation they came up to the boat's stern, and took some nails that were offered them with great seeming satisfaction; but in less than a minute they appeared to have formed a design of boarding the boat, and making her their prize: three of them suddenly leaped into it, and the others brought up the canoe, which the motion in quitting her had thrown off a little, manifestly with a design to follow their associates, and support them in their attempt. The first that boarded the boat, entered close to Mr. Banks, and instantly snatched his powder-horn out of his pocket: Mr. Banks seized it, and with some difficulty wrenched it out of his hand, at the same time pressing against his breast in order to force him overboard, but he was too strong for him, and kept his place: the officer then snapped his piece, but it missed fire, upon which he ordered some of the people to fire over their heads; two pieces were accordingly discharged, upon which they all instantly leaped into the water: one of the people, either from cowardice or cruelty, or both, levelled a third piece at one of them as he was swimming away, and the ball grazed his forehead; happily, however, the wound was very slight, for he recovered the canoe, and stood up in her as active and vigorous as the rest. The canoe immediately stood in for the shore, where a great number of people, not less than two hundred, were now assembled. The boat also pushed in, but found the land guarded all round with a shoal, upon which the sea broke with a considerable surf; it was, therefore, thought advisable by the officer to proceed along shore in search of a more convenient landing-place: in the mean time, the people on board saw the canoe go on shore, and the natives gather eagerly round her to inquire the particulars of what had happened. Soon after, a single man ran along the shore, armed with his

lance, and when he came abreast of the boat, he began to dance, brandish his weapon, and call out in a very shrill tone, which Tupia said was a defiance from the people. The boat continued to row along the shore, and the champion followed it, repeating his defiance by his voice and his gestures; but no better landing-place being found than that where the canoe had put the natives on shore, the officer turned back with a view to attempt it there, hoping, that if it should not be practicable, the people would come to a conference either on the shoals or in their canoes, and that a treaty of peace might be concluded with them.

As the boat rowed slowly along the shore back again, another champion came down, shouting defiance, and brandishing his lance. His appearance was more formidable than that of the other, for he wore a large cap made of the tail feathers of the tropic bird, and his body was covered with stripes of different coloured cloth, yellow, red, and brown. This gentleman also danced, but with much more nimbleness and dexterity than the first; our people, therefore, considering his agility and his dress, distinguished him by the name of HARLEQUIN. Soon after, a more grave and elderly man came down to the beach, and, hailing the people in the boat, inquired who they were, and from whence they came. Tupia answered in their own language, from Otaheite; the three natives then walked peaceably along the shore till they came to a shoal, upon which a few people were collected. Here they stopped, and, after a short conference, they all began to pray very loud: Tupia made his responses, but continued to tell us that they were not our friends. When their prayer, or, as they call it, their *Poorah*, was over, our people entered into a parley with them, telling them, that if they would lay by their lances and clubs,—for some had one, and some the other,—they would come on shore, and trade with them for whatever they would bring: they agreed, but it was only upon condition that we would leave behind us our muskets. This was a condition which, however equitable it might appear, could not be complied with, nor, indeed, would it have put the two parties upon an equality, except their numbers had been equal. Here, then, the negotiation seemed to be at an end; but in a little time they ventured to come nearer to the boat, and at last came near enough to trade, which they did very fairly, for a small quantity of their cloth and some of their weapons. But as they gave our people no hope of provisions, nor indeed anything else, except they would venture through a narrow channel to the shore, which, all circumstances considered, they did not think it prudent to do, they put off the boat and left them.

With the ship and the boat we had now made the circuit of the island; and finding that there was neither harbour nor anchorage about it, and that the hostile disposition of the people would render landing impracticable without bloodshed, I determined not to attempt it, having no motive that could justify the risk of life. The bay, which the boat entered, lies on the west side of the island; the bottom was foul and rocky, but the water so clear that it could plainly be seen at the depth of five-and-twenty fathom, which is one hundred and fifty feet.

This island is situated in the latitude of 22° 27′ S., and in the longitude of 150° 47′ W. from the meridian of Greenwich. It is thirteen miles in circuit, and rather high than low, but neither populous nor fertile in proportion to the other islands that we had seen in these seas. The chief produce seems to be the tree of which they make their weapons, called, in their language, *Etoa;* many plantations of it were seen along the shore, which is not surrounded, like the neighbouring islands, by a reef.

The people seemed to be lusty and well made, rather browner than those we had left: under their armpits they had black marks about as broad as the hand, the edges of which formed not a straight but an indented line: they had also circles of the same colour, but not so broad, round their arms and legs, but were not marked on any other part of the body. Their dress was very different from any that we had seen before, as well as the cloth of which it was made. The cloth was of the same materials as that which is worn in the other islands, and most of that which was seen by our people was dyed of a bright but deep yellow, and covered on the outside with a composition like varnish, which was either red, or of a dark lead-colour; over this ground it was again painted in stripes of many different patterns, with wonderful regularity, in the manner of our striped silks in England: the cloth that was painted red was striped with black, and that which was painted lead-colour with

white. Their habit was a short jacket of this cloth, which reached about as low as their knees; it was of one piece, and had no other making than a hole in the middle of it, stitched round with long stitches, in which it differed from all that we had seen before: through this hole the head was put, and what hung down was confined to their bodies by a piece of yellow cloth or sash, which, passing round the neck behind, was crossed upon the breast, and then collected round the waist like a belt, which passed over another belt of red cloth, so that they made a very gay and warlike appearance; some had caps of the feathers of the tropic bird, which have been before described, and some had a piece of white or lead-coloured cloth wound about the head like a small turban, which our people thought more becoming.

Their arms were long lances, made of the Etoa, the wood of which is very hard; they

NATIVE OF OHETEROA WITH HIS ETOA LANCE.

were well polished and sharpened at one end: some were near twenty feet long, though not more than three fingers thick: they had also a weapon, which was both club and pike, made of the same wood, about seven feet long; this also was well polished and sharpened at one end into a broad point. As a guard against these weapons, when they attack each other, they have mats folded up many times, which they place under their clothes from the neck to the waist: the weapons themselves, indeed, are capable of much less mischief than those of the same kind which we saw at the other islands, for the lances were there pointed with the sharp bone of the sting-ray that is called the sting, and the pikes were of much greater weight. The other things that we saw here were all superior in their kind to any we had seen before; the cloth was of a better colour in the dye, and painted with greater neatness and taste; the clubs were better cut and polished, and the canoe, though a small one, was very rich in ornament, and the carving was executed in a better manner: among other decorations peculiar to this canoe, was a line of small white feathers, which hung from the head and stern on the outside, and which, when, we saw them, were thoroughly wetted by the spray.

Tupia told us, that there were several islands lying at different distances, and in different directions from this, between the south and the north-west; and that, at the distance of three days' sail to the north-east, there was an island called MANUA, Bird Island: he seemed, however, most desirous that we should sail to the westward, and described several islands in that direction which he said he had visited: he told us that he had been ten or twelve days in going thither, and thirty in coming back, and that the *Pahie* in which he had made the voyage sailed much faster than the ship: reckoning his Pahie therefore to go at the rate of forty leagues a day, which, from my own observation, I have great reason to think these boats will do, it would make four hundred leagues in ten days, which I compute to be the distance of Boscawen and Keppel's Islands, discovered by Captain Wallis, westward of Ulietea, and therefore think it very probable that they were the islands he had visited. The farthest island that he knew anything of to the southward, he said, lay at the distance of about two days' sail from Oteroah, and was called MOUTOU; but he said that his father had told him there were islands to the southward of that: upon the whole, I was determined to stand southward in search of a continent, but to spend no time in search for islands, if we did not happen to fall in with them during our course.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.—THE PASSAGE FROM OTEROAH TO NEW ZEALAND—INCIDENTS WHICH HAPPENED ON GOING ASHORE THERE, AND WHILE THE SHIP LAY IN POVERTY BAY.

We sailed from Oteroah on the 15th of August, and on Friday the 25th we celebrated the anniversary of our leaving England, by taking a Cheshire cheese from a locker, where it had been carefully treasured up for this occasion, and tapping a cask of porter, which proved to be very good, and in excellent order. On the 29th, one of the sailors got so drunk, that the next morning he died: we thought at first that he could not have come honestly by the liquor, but we afterwards learned that the boatswain, whose mate he was, had, in mere good-nature, given him part of a bottle of rum.

On the 30th, we saw the comet; at one o'clock in the morning, it was a little above the horizon in the eastern part of the heavens; at about half an hour after four it passed the meridian, and its tail subtended an angle of forty-two degrees. Our latitude was 38° 20′ S., our longitude, by log, 147° 6′ W., and the variation of the needle, by the azimuth, 7° 9′ E. Among others that observed the comet, was Tupia, who instantly cried out, that as soon as it should be seen by the people of Bolabola, they would kill the inhabitants of Ulietea, who would, with the utmost precipitation, fly to the mountains.

On the 1st of September, being in the latitude of 40° 22′ S., and longitude 147° 29′ W., and there not being any signs of land, with a heavy sea from the westward, and strong gales, I wore, and stood back to the northward, fearing that we might receive such damage in our sails and rigging, as would hinder the prosecution of the voyage. On the next day, there being strong gales to the westward, I brought to, with the ship's head to the northward; but in the morning of the 3rd, the wind being more moderate, we loosened the reef of the main-sail, set the top-sails, and plied to the westward.

We continued our course till the 19th, when our latitude being 29°, and our longitude 159° 29′, we observed the variation to be 8° 32′ E. On the 24th, being in latitude 33° 15′, longitude 162° 51′ we observed a small piece of sea-weed, and a piece of wood covered with barnacles: the variation here was 10° 48′ E. On the 27th, being in latitude 28° 59′, longitude 169° 5′, we saw a seal asleep upon the water, and several bunches of sea-weed. The next day we saw more sea-weed in bunches, and on the 29th, a bird, which we thought a land-bird; it somewhat resembled a snipe, but had a short bill. On the 1st of October, we saw birds innumerable, and another seal asleep upon the water; it is a general opinion, that seals never go out of soundings, or far from land, but those that we saw in these seas prove the contrary. Rock-weed is, however, a certain indication that land is not far distant. The next day, it being calm, we hoisted out the boat, to try whether there was a current, but found none. Our latitude was 37° 10′, longitude 172° 54′ W. On the 3rd, being in latitude 36° 56′, longitude 173° 27′, we took up more sea-weed, and another piece of wood covered with barnacles. The next day, we saw two more seals, and a brown bird, about as big as a raven, with some white feathers under the wing. Mr. Gore told us, that birds of this kind were seen in great numbers about Falkland's Islands, and our people gave them the name of Port Egmont hens.

On the 5th, we thought the water changed colour, but, upon casting the lead, had no ground with 180 fathom. In the evening of this day, the variation was 12° 50′ E., and, while we were going nine leagues, it increased to 14° 2′. On the next day, Friday, October the 6th, we saw land from the mast-head, bearing W. by N., and stood directly for it; in the evening, it could just be discerned from the deck, and appeared large. The variation

this day was, by azimuth and amplitude, 15° 4½′ E., and by observation made of the sun and moon, the longitude of the ship appeared to be 180° 55′ W., and by the medium of this and subsequent observations, there appeared to be an error in the ship's account of longitude during her run from Otaheite of 3° 16′, she being so much to the westward of the longitude resulting from the log. At midnight, I brought to and sounded, but had no ground with one hundred and seventy fathom.

On the 7th, it fell calm, we therefore approached the land slowly, and in the afternoon, when a breeze sprung up, we were still distant seven or eight leagues. It appeared still larger as it was more distinctly seen, with four or five ranges of hills, rising one over the other, and a chain of mountains above all, which appeared to be of an enormous height. This land became the subject of much eager conversation; but the general opinion seemed to be that we had found the *Terra australis incognita*. About five o'clock, we saw the opening of a bay, which seemed to run pretty far inland, upon which we hauled our wind and stood in for it; we also saw smoke ascending from different places on shore. When night came on, however, we kept plying off and on till day-light, when we found ourselves to the leeward of the bay, the wind being at north: we could now perceive that the hills were clothed with wood, and that some of the trees in the valleys were very large. By noon we fetched in with the south-west point; but not being able to weather it, tacked and stood off: at this time we saw several canoes standing across the bay, which, in a little time, made to shore, without seeming to take the least notice of the ship; we also saw some houses, which appeared to be small, but neat; and near one of them a considerable number of the people collected together, who were sitting upon the beach, and who, we thought, were the same that we had seen in the canoes. Upon a small peninsula, at the north-east head, we could plainly perceive a pretty high and regular paling, which inclosed the whole top of a hill; this was also the subject of much speculation, some supposing it to be a park of deer, others an inclosure for oxen and sheep. About four o'clock in the afternoon, we anchored on the north-west side of the bay, before the entrance of a small river, in ten fathom water, with a fine sandy bottom, and at about half a league from the shore. The sides of the bay are white cliffs of a great height; the middle is low land, with hills gradually rising behind, one towering above another, and terminating in the chain of mountains, which appeared to be far inland.

In the evening I went on shore, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, with the pinnace and yawl, and a party of men. We landed abreast of the ship, on the east side of the river, which was here about forty yards broad; but seeing some natives on the west side whom I wished to speak with, and finding the river not fordable, I ordered the yawl in to carry us over, and left the pinnace at the entrance. When we came near the place where the people were assembled, they all ran away; however, we landed, and leaving four boys to take care of the yawl, we walked up to some huts which were about two or three hundred yards from the water-side. When we had got some distance from the boat, four men, armed with long lances, rushed out of the woods, and running up to attack the boat, would certainly have cut her off, if the people in the pinnace had not discovered them, and called to the boys to drop down the stream: the boys instantly obeyed; but being closely pursued by the Indians, the cockswain of the pinnace, who had the charge of the boats, fired a musket over their heads; at this they stopped and looked round them, but in a few minutes renewed the pursuit, brandishing their lances in a threatening manner: the cockswain then fired a second musket over their heads, but of this they took no notice; and one of them lifting up his spear to dart it at the boat, another piece was fired, which shot him dead. When he fell, the other three stood motionless for some minutes, as if petrified with astonishment; as soon as they recovered, they went back, dragging after them the dead body, which, however, they soon left, that it might not encumber their flight. At the report of the first musket, we drew together, having straggled to a little distance from each other, and made the best of our way back to the boat; and crossing the river, we soon saw the Indian lying dead upon the ground. Upon examining the body, we found that he had been shot through the heart: he was a man of the middle size and stature; his complexion was brown, but not very dark; and one side of his face was tattooed in spiral

lines of a very regular figure: he was covered with a fine cloth, of a manufacture altogether new to us, and it was tied on exactly according to the representation in Valentyn's Account of Abel Tasman's Voyage, vol. iii., part 2, page 50: his hair also was tied in a knot on the top of his head, but had no feather in it. We returned immediately to the ship, where we could hear the people on shore talking with great earnestness, and in a very loud tone, probably about what had happened, and what should be done*.

In the morning, we saw several of the natives where they had been seen the night before, and some walking with a quick pace towards the place where we had landed, most of them unarmed; but three or four with long pikes in their hands. As I was desirous to establish an intercourse with them, I ordered three boats to be manned with seamen and marines, and proceeded towards the shore, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, the other gentlemen, and Tupia; about fifty of them seemed to wait for our landing, on the opposite side of the river, which we thought a sign of fear, and seated themselves upon the ground: at first, therefore, myself, with only Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia, landed from the little boat, and advanced towards them; but we had not proceeded many paces before they all started up, and every man produced either a long pike, or a small weapon of green talc, extremely well polished, about a foot long, and thick enough to weigh four or five pounds: Tupia called to them in the language of Otaheite; but they answered only by flourishing their weapons, and making signs to us to depart; a musket was then fired wide of them, and the ball struck the water, the river being still between us; they saw the effect, and desisted from their threats: but we thought it prudent to retreat till the marines could be landed. This was soon done; and they marched, with a jack carried before them, to a little bank, about fifty yards from the water-side; here they were drawn up, and I again advanced, with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander; Tupia, Mr. Green, and Mr. Monkhouse, being with us. Tupia was again directed to speak to them, and it was with great pleasure that we perceived he was perfectly understood, he and the natives speaking only different dialects of the same language. He told them that we wanted provision and water, and would give them iron in exchange, the properties of which he explained as well as he was able. They were willing to trade, and desired that we would come over to them for that purpose: to this we consented, provided they would lay by their arms; which, however, they could by no means be persuaded to do. During this conversation, Tupia warned us to be upon our guard, for that they were not our friends: we then pressed them in our turn to come over to us; and at last one of them stripped himself, and swam over without his arms: he was almost immediately followed by two more, and soon after by most of the rest, to the number of twenty or thirty; but these brought their arms with them. We made

*Mr. Polack, in his "Narrative of Travels and Adventures during a residence in New Zealand between the years 1831 and 1837," gives the following particulars respecting this affair:—"In relating Cook's transactions in this bay, I must also mention the account given me by Manutai, grandson of Te Ratu, a principal chief, who headed the attack on the Englishmen, and was the first native killed by Europeans, which was done in self-defence. It appears that the tribes who now assaulted Cook had not been long in possession of the land, as they were originally a party of strangers from the southward, who had made war on the inhabitants of the place, and had defeated and destroyed them. This decisive battle had taken place but a very few years previously to the arrival of Cook, and Te Ratu had been one of the principal warriors. Another chief was shot in the shoulder; this man recovered, and had died within a few years previously to my visiting those localities in 1836. I saw the son of this wounded warrior, an elderly man, who pointed out to me, on his body, the spot where the ball had passed through the shoulders of his father. Cook's ship was at first taken for a bird by the natives; and many remarks passed among them as to the beauty and size of its wings, as the sails of this novel specimen in ornithology were supposed to be. But on seeing a smaller bird, unfledged (without sails) descending into the water, and a number of party-coloured beings, but apparently in the human shape, also descending, the bird was regarded as a house-ful of divinities. Nothing could exceed the astonishment of the natives."

When their leader was killed, "the manner of his unseen death was ascribed to a thunderbolt from these new gods; and the noise made by the discharges of the muskets was represented as the watitiri, or thunder, which accompanies that sublime phenomenon. To revenge themselves was the dearest wish of the tribe; but how to accomplish it with divinities who could kill them at a distance without even approaching to them, was difficult to determine. Many of these natives observed that they felt themselves taken ill by only being particularly looked upon by these Atuas. It was therefore agreed, that, as these new comers could bewitch with a single look, the sooner their society was dismissed, the better it would be for the general welfare."

This accounts for the determined hostility of the men in the boat, mentioned a little further on, one of whom must have been the person mentioned by Mr. Polack, as shot through the shoulders; as, by Cook's account, the two men shot on the first and second encounter with the natives, were undoubtedly killed outright.—Ed.

them all presents of iron and beads; but they seemed to set little value upon either, particularly the iron, not having the least idea of its use; so that we got nothing in return but a few feathers: they offered indeed to exchange their arms for ours, and when we refused, made many attempts to snatch them out of our hands. As soon as they came over, Tupia repeated his declaration, that they were not our friends, and again warned us to be upon our guard; their attempts to snatch our weapons, therefore, did not succeed; and we gave them to understand by Tupia, that we should be obliged to kill them if they offered any farther violence. In a few minutes, however, Mr. Green happening to turn about, one of them snatched away his hanger, and retiring to a little distance, waved it round his head, with a shout of exultation: the rest now began to be extremely insolent, and we saw more coming to join them from the opposite side of the river. It was therefore become necessary to repress them, and Mr. Banks fired at the man who had taken the hanger, with small shot, at the distance of about fifteen yards: when the shot struck him, he ceased his cry; but instead of returning the hanger, continued to flourish it over his head, at the same time slowly retreating to a greater distance. Mr. Monkhouse seeing this, fired at him with ball, and he instantly dropped. Upon this the main body, who had retired to a rock in the middle of the river upon the first discharge, began to return; two that were near to the man who had been killed, ran up to the body, one seized his weapon of green talc, and the other endeavoured to secur the hanger, which Mr. Monkhouse had but just time to prevent. As all that had retired to the rock were now advancing, three of us discharged our pieces, loaded only with small shot, upon which they swam back for the shore; and we perceived, upon their landing, that two or three of them were wounded. They retired slowly up the country, and we reimbarked in our boats.

As we had unhappily experienced, that nothing was to be done with these people at this place; and finding the water in the river to be salt, I proceeded in the boats round the head of the bay in search of fresh water, and with a design, if possible, to surprise some of the natives, and take them on board, where, by kind treatment and presents, I might obtain their friendship, and by their means establish an amicable correspondence with their countrymen.

To my great regret, I found no place where I could land, a dangerous surf every where beating upon the shore; but I saw two canoes coming in from the sea, one under sail, and the other worked with paddles. I thought this a favourable opportunity to get some of the people into my possession without mischief, as those in the canoe were probably fishermen, and without arms, and I had three boats full of men. I therefore disposed the boats so as most effectually to intercept them in their way to the shore; the people in the canoe that was paddled perceived us so soon, that, by making to the nearest land with their utmost strength, they escaped us; the other sailed on till she was in the midst of us without discerning what we were; but the moment she discovered us, the people on board struck their sail, and took to their paddles, which they plied so briskly that she out-ran the boat. They were, however, within hearing, and Tupia called out to them to come along-side, and promised for us that they should come to no hurt: they chose, however, rather to trust to their paddles than our promises, and continued to make from us with all their power. I then ordered a musket to be fired over their heads, as the least exceptionable expedient to accomplish my design, hoping it would either make them surrender, or leap into the water. Upon the discharge of the piece, they ceased paddling; and all of them, being seven in number, began to strip, as we imagined, to jump overboard: but it happened otherwise. They immediately formed a resolution not to fly, but to fight; and when the boat came up, they began the attack with their paddles, and with stones and other offensive weapons that were in the boat, so vigorously, that we were obliged to fire upon them in our own defence; four were unhappily killed, and the other three, who were boys, the eldest about nineteen, and the youngest about eleven, instantly leaped into the water; the eldest swam with great vigour, and resisted the attempts of our people to take him into the boat by every effort that he could make: he was however, at last overpowered, and the other two were taken up with less difficulty. I am conscious that the feeling of every reader of humanity will censure me for having fired upon these unhappy people, and it is impossible that, upon a calm

review, I should approve it myself. They certainly did not deserve death for not choosing to confide in my promises; or not consenting to come on board my boat, even if they had apprehended no danger; but the nature of my service required me to obtain a knowledge of their country, which I could no otherwise effect than by forcing my way into it in a hostile manner, or gaining admission through the confidence and good-will of the people. I had already tried the power of presents without effect; and I was now prompted, by my desire to avoid further hostilities, to get some of them on board, as the only method left of convincing them that we intended them no harm, and had it in our power to contribute to their gratification and convenience. Thus far my intentions certainly were not criminal; and though in the contest, which I had not the least reason to expect, our victory might have been complete without so great an expense of life; yet in such situations, when the command to fire has been given, no man can restrain its excess, or prescribe its effect.

As soon as the poor wretches whom we had taken out of the water were in the boat, they squatted down, expecting no doubt instantly to be put to death: we made haste to convince them of the contrary, by every method in our power; we furnished them with clothes, and gave them every other testimony of kindness that could remove their fears and engage their good-will. Those who are acquainted with human nature will not wonder, that the sudden joy of these young savages at being unexpectedly delivered from the fear of death, and kindly treated by those whom they supposed would have been their instant executioners, surmounted their concern for the friends they had lost, and was strongly expressed in their countenances and behaviour. Before we reached the ship, their suspicions and fears being wholly removed, they appeared to be not only reconciled to their situation, but in high spirits, and upon being offered some bread when they came on board, they devoured it with a voracious appetite. They answered and asked many questions, with great appearance of pleasure and curiosity; and when our dinner came, they expressed an inclination to taste every thing that they saw: they seemed best pleased with the salt pork, though we had other provisions upon the table. At sun-set, they ate another meal with great eagerness, each devouring a large quantity of bread, and drinking above a quart of water. We then made them beds upon the lockers, and they went to sleep with great seeming content. In the night, however, the tumult of their minds having subsided, and given way to reflection, they sighed often and loud. Tupia, who was always upon the watch to comfort them, got up, and by soothing and encouragement, made them not only easy but cheerful; their cheerfulness was encouraged so that they sung a song with a degree of taste that surprised us: the tune was solemn and slow, like those of our Psalms, containing many notes and semi-tones. Their countenances were intelligent and expressive, and the middlemost, who seemed to be about fifteen, had an openness in his aspect, and an ease in his deportment, which were very striking: we found that the two eldest were brothers, and that their names were Taahourange and Koikerange; the name of the youngest was Maragovete. As we were returning to the ship, after having taken these boys into the boat, we picked up a large piece of pumice-stone floating upon the water; a sure sign that there either is, or has been, a volcano in this neighbourhood.

In the morning they all seemed to be cheerful, and ate another enormous meal; after this we dressed them, and adorned them with bracelets, anklets, and necklaces, after their own fashion, and the boat being hoisted out, they were told that we were going to set them ashore; this produced a transport of joy; but upon perceiving that we made towards our first landing-place near the river, their countenances changed, and they entreated with great earnestness that they might not be set ashore at that place, because they said it was inhabited by their enemies, who would kill them and eat them. This was a great disappointment to me, because I hoped the report and appearance of the boys would procure a favourable reception for ourselves. I had already sent an officer on shore with the marines and a party of men to cut wood, and I was determined to land near the place; not, however, to abandon the boys, if, when we got on shore, they should be unwilling to leave us; but to send a boat with them in the evening to that part of the bay to which they pointed, and which they call their home. Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia, were with me, and upon our landing with the boys, and crossing the river, they seemed at first to be unwilling to leave

us; but at length they suddenly changed their mind, and, though not without a manifest struggle and some tears, they took their leave; when they were gone we proceeded along a swamp, with a design to shoot some ducks, of which we saw great plenty, and four of the marines attended us, walking abreast of us upon a bank that overlooked the country. After we had advanced about a mile, these men called out to us and told us, that a large body of the Indians was in sight and advancing at a great rate. Upon receiving this intelligence we drew together, and resolved to make the best of our way to the boats; we had scarcely begun to put this into execution, when the three Indian boys started suddenly from some bushes, where they had concealed themselves, and again claimed our protection; we readily received them, and repairing to the beach as the clearest place, we walked briskly towards the boats. The Indians were in two bodies; one ran along the bank which had been quitted by the marines, the other fetched a compass by the swamp, so that we could not see them: when they perceived that we had formed into one body they slackened their pace, but still followed us in a gentle walk; that they slackened their pace, was for us as well as for them, a fortunate circumstance; for when we came to the side of the river, where we expected to find the boats that were to carry us over to the wooders, we found the pinnace at least a mile from her station, having been sent to pick up a bird which had been shot by the officer on shore, and the little boat was obliged to make three trips before we could all get over to the rest of the party. As soon as we were drawn up on the other side, the Indians came down, not in a body as we expected, but by two or three at a time, all armed, and in a short time their number increased to about two hundred: as we now despaired of making peace with them, seeing that the dread of our small arms did not keep them at a distance, and that the ship was too far off to reach the place with a shot, we resolved to re-embark, lest our stay should embroil us in another quarrel, and cost more of the Indians their lives. We therefore advanced towards the pinnace, which was now returning, when one of the boys suddenly cried out that his uncle was among the people who had marched down to us, and desired us to stay and talk with them; we complied, and a parley immediately commenced between them and Tupia; during which the boys held up everything we had given them as tokens of our kindness and liberality; but neither would either of the boys swim over to them, or any of them to the boys. The body of the man who had been killed the day before still lay exposed upon the beach; the boys seeing it lie very near us, went up to it, and covered it with some of the clothes that we had given them; and soon after a single man, unarmed, who proved to be the uncle of Maragovete, the youngest of the boys, swam over to us, bringing in his hand a green branch, which we supposed, as well here as at Otaheite, to be an emblem of peace. We received his branch by the hands of Tupia, to whom he gave it, and made him many presents; we also invited him to go on board the ship, but he declined it; we therefore left him, and expected that his nephew and the two other young Indians would have staid with him, but to our great surprise, they chose rather to go with us. As soon as we had retired he went and gathered another green branch, and with this in his hand, he approached the dead body which the youth had covered with part of his clothes, walking sideways, with many ceremonies, and then throwing it towards him. When this was done, he returned to his companions, who had sat down upon the sand to observe the issue of his negotiation: they immediately gathered round him, and continued in a body above an hour, without seeming to take any farther notice of us. We were more curious than they, and observing them with our glasses from on board the ship, we saw some of them cross the river upon a kind of raft, or catamarine, and four of them carry off the dead body which had been covered by the boy, and over which his uncle had performed the ceremony of the branch, upon a kind of bier, between four men; the other body was still suffered to remain where it had been first left.

After dinner I directed Tupia to ask the boys if they had now any objection to going ashore, where we had left their uncle, the body having been carried off, which we understood was a ratification of peace; they said, they had not; and the boat being ordered, they went into it with great alacrity: when the boat, in which I had sent two midshipmen, came to land, they went willingly ashore; but soon after she put off they returned to the rocks, and wading into the water, earnestly entreated to be taken on board again; but the people in

the boat having positive orders to leave them, could not comply. We were very attentive to what happened on shore, and keeping a constant watch with our glasses, we saw a man pass the river upon another raft, and fetch them to a place where forty or fifty of the natives were assembled, who closed round them, and continued in the same place till sun-set: upon looking again, when we saw them in motion, we could plainly distinguish our three prisoners, who separated themselves from the rest, came down to the beach, and having waved their hands three times towards the ship, ran nimbly back and joined their companions, who walked leisurely away towards that part which the boys had pointed to as their dwelling-place; we had therefore the greatest reason to believe that no mischief would happen to them, especially as we perceived that they went off in the clothes we had given them.

After it was dark loud voices were heard on shore in the bottom of the bay as usual, of which we could never learn the meaning.

CHAPTER II.—A DESCRIPTION OF POVERTY BAY, AND THE FACE OF THE ADJACENT COUNTRY. THE RANGE FROM THENCE TO CAPE TURNAGAIN, AND BACK TO TOLAGO; WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PEOPLE AND THE COUNTRY, AND SEVERAL INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED ON THAT PART OF THE COAST.

The next morning, at six o'clock, we weighed, and stood away from this unfortunate and inhospitable place, to which I gave the name of Poverty Bay, and which by the natives is called Ta-one-roa, or the Long Sand, as it did not afford us a single article that we wanted, except a little wood *. It lies in latitude 38° 42′ S., and longitude 181° 36′ W.; it is in the form of an horse-shoe, and is known by an island lying close under the north-east point. The two points which form the entrance are high, with steep white cliffs, and lie a league and a half or two leagues from each other, N. E. by E., and S. W. by W.; the depth of water in the bay is from twelve to five fathom, with a sandy bottom and good anchorage; but the situation is open to the wind between the south and east. Boats can go in and out of the river at any time of the tide in fine weather; but as there is a bar at the entrance, no boat can go either in or out when the sea runs high: the best place to attempt it is on the north-east side, and it is there practicable when it is not so in any other part. The shore of the bay, a little within its entrance, is a low flat sand; behind which, at a small distance, the face of the country is finely diversified by hills and valleys, all clothed with wood, and covered with verdure. The country also appears to be well inhabited, especially in the valleys leading up from the bay, where we daily saw smoke rising in clouds one behind another to a great distance, till the view terminated in mountains of a stupendous height.

The south-west point of the bay I named Young Nick's Head, after Nicholas Young, the boy who first saw the land. At noon it bore N. W. by W., distant about three or four leagues, and we were then about three miles from the shore. The main land extended from N. E. by N. to south, and I proposed to follow the direction of the coast to the southward as far as the latitude of 40 or 41; and then, if I met with no encouragement to proceed farther, to return to the northward.

In the afternoon we lay becalmed, which the people on shore perceiving, several canoes put off, and came within less than a quarter of a mile of the vessel, but could not be persuaded to come nearer, though Tupia exerted all the powers of his lungs and his eloquence upon the occasion, shouting and promising that they should not be hurt. Another canoe was now seen coming from Poverty Bay, with only four people on board, one of whom we well remembered to have seen in our first interview upon the rock. This canoe, without stopping, or taking the least notice of the others, came directly alongside of the ship, and with very little persuasion we got the Indians on board. Their example was soon followed by the rest, and we had about us seven canoes, and about fifty men. We made them all presents with a liberal hand; notwithstanding which, they were so desirous to have more of our

* The true name of this place is *Turunga*; any sandy spot having the appellation of *Oné* or *Oni*, Sand attached to it. "From the valuable agricultural nature of the country in its vicinity, it merits," says Mr. Polack, "any other name than Poverty."—Ed

commodities, that they sold us everything they had, even the clothes from their backs and the paddles from their boats. There were but two weapons among them; these were the instruments of green talc, which were shaped somewhat like a pointed battledore, with a short handle and sharp edges; they were called *Patoo-patoo*, and were well contrived for close fighting, as they would certainly split the thickest skull at a single blow.

When these people had recovered from the first impressions of fear, which, notwithstanding their resolution in coming on board, had manifestly thrown them into some confusion, we inquired after our poor boys. The man who first came on board immediately answered, that they were unhurt, and at home; adding, that he had been induced to venture on board by the account which they had given him of the kindness with which they had been treated, and the wonders which were contained in the ship. While they were on board they showed every sign of friendship, and invited us very cordially to go back to our old bay, or to a small cove which they pointed out, that was not quite so far off; but I chose rather to prosecute my discoveries than go back, having reason to hope that I should find a better harbour than any I had yet seen.

About an hour before sun-set, the canoes put off from the ship with the few paddles they had reserved, which were scarcely sufficient to set them on shore; but, by some means or other, three of their people were left behind. As soon as we discovered it, we hailed them, but not one of them would return to take them on board. This greatly surprised us; but we were surprised still more to observe that the deserted Indians did not seem at all uneasy at their situation, but entertained us with dancing and singing after their manner, ate their suppers, and went quietly to bed.

A light breeze springing up soon after it was dark, we steered along the shore under an easy sail till midnight, and then brought to; soon after which it fell calm. We were now some leagues distant from the place where the canoes had left us; and at day-break, when the Indians perceived it, they were seized with consternation and terror, and lamented their situation in loud complaints, with gestures of despair, and many tears. Tupia, with great difficulty, pacified them; and about seven o'clock in the morning, a light breeze springing up, we continued to stand south-west along the shore. Fortunately for our poor Indians, two canoes came off about this time, and made towards the ship; they stopped, however, at a little distance, and seemed unwilling to trust themselves nearer. Our Indians were greatly agitated in this state of uncertainty, and urged their fellows to come alongside of the ship, both by their voice and gestures, with the utmost eagerness and impatience. Tupia interpreted what they said, and we were much surprised to find that, among other arguments, they assured the people in the canoes we did not eat men. We now began seriously to believe that this horrid custom prevailed among them; for what the boys had said we considered as a mere hyperbolical expression of their fear. One of the canoes, at length, ventured to come under the ship's side, and an old man came on board, who seemed to be a chief, from the finery of his garment and the superiority of his weapon, which was a Patoo-patoo made of bone that, as he said, had belonged to a whale. He staid on board but a short time; and when he went away, he took with him our guests, very much to the satisfaction both of them and us.

At the time when we sailed, we were abreast of a point from which the land trends S.S.W., and which, on account of its figure, I called Cape Table. This point lies seven leagues to the southward of Poverty Bay, in latitude 39° 7′ S., and longitude 181° 36′ W.; it is of a considerable height, makes a sharp angle, and appears to be quite flat at the top. In steering along the shore to the southward of the Cape, at the distance of two or three miles, our soundings were from twenty to thirty fathom, having a chain of rocks between us and the shore, which appeared at different heights above the water.

At noon, Cape Table bore N. 20 E., distant about four leagues; and a small island, which was the southernmost land in sight, bore S. 70 W., at the distance of about three miles. This island, which the natives call Teahowray, I named the Island of Portland, from its very great resemblance to Portland, in the English Channel. It lies about a mile from a point on the main; but there appears to be a ridge of rocks, extending nearly, if not quite, from one to the other. N. 57 E., two miles from the south point of Portland, lies a sunken rock,

upon which the sea breaks with great violence. We passed between this rock and the land, having from seventeen to twenty fathom. In sailing along the shore, we saw the natives assembled in great numbers as well upon Portland island as the main. We could also distinguish several spots of ground that were cultivated; some seemed to be fresh turned up, and lay in furrows like ploughed land; and some had plants upon them in different stages of their growth. We saw also, in two places, high rails upon the ridges of hills, like what we had seen upon the peninsula at the north-east head of Poverty Bay. As they were ranged in lines only, and not so as to inclose an area, we could not guess at their use, and therefore supposed they might be the work of superstition.

About noon another canoe appeared, in which were four men; she came within about a quarter of a mile of us, where the people on board seemed to perform divers ceremonies: one of them, who was in the bow, sometimes seemed to ask and to offer peace, and sometimes to threaten war, by brandishing a weapon that he held in his hand: sometimes also he danced, and sometimes he sung. Tupia talked much to him, but could not persuade him to come to the ship.

Between one and two o'clock we discovered land to the westward of Portland, extending to the southward as far as we could see; and as the ship was hauling round the south end of the island, she suddenly fell into shoal water and broken ground: we had indeed always seven fathom or more, but the soundings were never twice the same, jumping at once from seven fathom to eleven; in a short time, however, we got clear of all danger, and had again deep water under us.

At this time the island lay within a mile of us, making in white cliffs, and a long spit of low land running from it towards the main. On the sides of these cliffs sat vast numbers of people, looking at us with a fixed attention; and it is probable that they perceived some appearance of hurry and confusion on board, and some irregularity in the working of the ship, while we were getting clear of the shallow water and broken ground, from which they might infer that we were alarmed or in distress: we thought that they wished to take advantage of our situation, for five canoes were put off with the utmost expedition, full of men, and well armed: they came so near, and showed so hostile a disposition by shouting, brandishing their lances, and using threatening gestures, that we were in some pain for our small boat, which was still employed in sounding: a musket was therefore fired over them, but finding it did them no harm, they seemed rather to be provoked than intimidated, and I therefore fired a four-pounder, charged with grape-shot, wide of them: this had a better effect; upon the report of the piece they all rose up and shouted, but instead of continuing the chase, drew all together, and after a short consultation, went quietly away.

Having got round Portland, we hauled in for the land N. W. having a gentle breeze at N. E. which about five o'clock died away, and obliged us to anchor; we had one-and-twenty fathom, with a fine sandy bottom: the south point of Portland bore S. E. ½ S. distant about two leagues, and a low point on the main bore N. ¼ E. In the same direction with this low point, there runs a deep bay, behind the land of which Cape Table is the extremity, so as to make this land a peninsula, leaving only a low narrow neck between that and the main. Of this peninsula, which the natives call Terakako*, Cape Table is the north point, and Portland the south. While we lay at anchor, two more canoes came off to us, one armed, and the other a small fishing-boat, with only four men in her; they came so near that they entered into conversation with Tupia; they answered all the questions that he asked them with great civility, but could not be persuaded to come on board; they came near enough, however, to receive several presents that were thrown to them from the ship, with which they seemed much pleased, and went away. During the night many fires were kept upon shore, probably to show us that the inhabitants were too much upon their guard to be surprised.

About five o'clock in the morning of the 13th, a breeze springing up northerly, we weighed, and steered in for the land. The shore here forms a large bay, of which Portland is the north-east point, and the bay, that runs behind Cape Table, an arm. This arm I had

* A mistake for Nukukourua.—Ed.

a great inclination to examine, because there appeared to be safe anchorage in it, but not being sure of that, and the wind being right on end, I was unwilling to spare the time. Four-and-twenty fathom was the greatest depth within Portland, but the ground was everywhere clear. The land near the shore is of a moderate height, with white cliffs and sandy beaches; within, it rises into mountains, and upon the whole the surface is hilly, for the most part covered with wood, and to appearance pleasant and fertile. In the morning nine canoes came after the ship, but whether with peaceable or hostile intentions we could not tell, for we soon left them behind us.

In the evening we stood in for a place that had the appearance of an opening, but found no harbour; we therefore stood out again, and were soon followed by a large canoe, with eighteen or twenty men, all armed, who, though they could not reach us, shouted defiance, and brandished their weapons, with many gestures of menace and insult.

In the morning we had a view of the mountains inland, upon which the snow was still lying: the country near the shore was low and unfit for culture, but in one place we perceived a patch of somewhat yellow, which had greatly the appearance of a corn-field, yet was probably nothing more than some dead flags, which are not uncommon in swampy places: at some distance we saw groves of trees, which appeared high and tapering, and being not above two leagues from the south-west end of the great bay, in which we had been coasting for the two last days, I hoisted out the pinnace and long-boat to search for fresh water; but just as they were about to put off, we saw several boats full of people coming from the shore, and, therefore, I did not think it safe for them to leave the ship. About ten o'clock, five of these boats having drawn together, as if to hold a consultation, made towards the ship, having on board between eighty and ninety men, and four more followed at some distance, as if to sustain the attack: when the first five came within about a hundred yards of the ship, they began to sing their war-song, and brandishing their pikes, prepared for an engagement. We had now no time to lose, for if we could not prevent the attack, we should come under the unhappy necessity of using our fire-arms against them, which we were very desirous to avoid. Tupia was, therefore, ordered to acquaint them that we had weapons which, like thunder, would destroy them in a moment; that we would immediately convince them of their power by directing their effect so that they should not be hurt; but that if they persisted in any hostile attempt, we should be obliged to use them for our defence; a four-pounder, loaded with grape-shot, was then discharged wide of them, which produced the desired effect; the report, the flash, and above all, the shot, which spread very far in the water, so intimidated them, that they began to paddle away with all their might: Tupia, however, calling after them, and assuring them that if they would come unarmed, they should be kindly received; the people in one of the boats put their arms on board of another, and came under the ship's stern; we made them several presents, and should certainly have prevailed upon them to come on board, if the other canoes had not come up, and again threatened us, by shouting and brandishing their weapons: at this the people who had come to the ship unarmed expressed great displeasure, and soon after they all went away.

In the afternoon we stood over to the south point of the bay, but not reaching it before it was dark, we stood off and on all night. At eight the next morning, being abreast of the point, several fishing boats came off to us, and sold us some stinking fish: it was the best they had, and we were willing to trade with them upon any terms: these people behaved very well, and we should have parted good friends if it had not been for a large canoe, with two-and-twenty armed men on board, which came boldly up along-side of the ship. We soon saw that this boat had nothing for traffic, yet we gave them two or three pieces of cloth, an article which they seemed very fond of. I observed that one man had a black skin thrown over him, somewhat resembling that of a bear, and being desirous to know what animal was its first owner, I offered him for it a piece of red baize, and he seemed greatly pleased with the bargain, immediately pulling off the skin, and holding it up in the boat; he would not, however, part with it till he had the cloth in his possession, and as there could be no transfer of property, if with equal caution I had insisted upon the same condition, I ordered the cloth to be handed down to him, upon which, with amazing cool-

ness, instead of sending up the skin, he began to pack up both that and the baize, which he had received as the purchase of it, in a basket, without paying the least regard to my demand or remonstrances, and soon after, with the fishing-boats, put off from the ship; when they were at some distance, they drew together, and after a short consultation returned; the fishermen offered more fish, which, though good for nothing, was purchased, and trade was again renewed. Among others who were placed over the ship's side to hand up what we bought, was little Tayeto, Tupia's boy; and one of the Indians, watching his opportunity, suddenly seized him, and dragged him down into the canoe; two of them held him down in the forepart of it, and the others, with great activity, paddled her off, the rest of the canoes following as fast as they could; upon this the marines, who were under arms upon deck, were ordered to fire. The shot was directed to that part of the canoe which was farthest from the boy, and rather wide of her, being willing rather to miss the rowers than to hurt him: it happened, however, that one man dropped, upon which the others quitted their hold of the boy, who instantly leaped into the water, and swam towards the ship; the large canoe immediately pulled round and followed him, but some muskets and a great gun being fired at her, she desisted from the pursuit. The ship being brought to, a boat was lowered, and the poor boy taken up unhurt, though so terrified, that for a time he seemed to be deprived of his senses. Some of the gentlemen who traced the canoes to shore with their glasses, said, that they saw three men carried up the beach, who appeared to be either dead, or wholly disabled by their wounds.

To the cape off which this unhappy transaction happened, I gave the name of Cape Kidnappers. It lies in latitude 39° 43′, and longitude 182° 24′ W., and is rendered remarkable by two white rocks like haystacks, and the high white cliffs on each side. It lies S. W. by W. distant thirteen leagues from the isle of Portland; and between them is the bay of which it is the south point, and which, in honour of Sir Edward Hawke, then First Lord of the Admiralty, I called Hawke's Bay. We found in it from twenty-four to seven fathom, and good anchorage. From Cape Kidnappers the land trends S.S.W., and in this direction we made our run along the shore, keeping at about a league distance, with a steady breeze and clear weather.

As soon as Tayeto recovered from his fright, he brought a fish to Tupia, and told him that he intended it as an offering to his Eatua, or god, in gratitude for his escape; Tupia commended his piety, and ordered him to throw the fish into the sea, which was accordingly done.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, we passed a small but high white island lying close to the shore, upon which we saw many houses, boats, and people. The people we concluded to be fishers, because the island was totally barren; we saw several people also on shore, in a small bay upon the main, within the island. At eleven, we brought to till day-light, and then made sail to the southward, along the shore. About seven o'clock we passed a high point of land, which lies S.S.W. twelve leagues from Cape Kidnappers: from this point the land trends three-fourths of a point more to the westward; at ten, we saw more land open to the southward, and at noon, the southernmost land that was in sight bore S. 39 W. distant eight or ten leagues, and a high bluff head, with yellowish cliffs, bore W. distant about two miles: the depth of water was thirty-two fathom. In the afternoon we had a fresh breeze at west, and during the night variable light airs and calms: in the morning a gentle breeze sprung up between the N.W. and N.E., and having till now stood to the southward, without seeing any probability of meeting with a harbour, and the country manifestly altering for the worse, I thought that standing farther in that direction would be attended with no advantage, but on the contrary would be a loss of time that might be employed with a better prospect of success in examining the coast to the northward; about one, therefore, in the afternoon, I tacked, and stood north, with a fresh breeze at west. The high bluff head, with yellowish cliffs, which we were abreast of at noon, I called Cape Turnagain, because here we turned back. It lies in latitude 40° 34′ S. longitude 182° 55′ W., distant eighteen leagues S.S.W. and S.S.W. ½ W. from Cape Kidnappers. The land between them is of a very unequal height; in some places it is lofty next the sea with white cliffs, in others low, with sandy beaches: the face of the country is not so well clothed with

wood as it is about Hawke's bay, but looks more like our high downs in England: it is, however, to all appearance, well inhabited; for as we stood along the shore, we saw several villages, not only in the valleys, but on the tops and sides of the hills, and smoke in many other places. The ridge of mountains which has been mentioned before extends to the southward farther than we could see, and was then everywhere chequered with snow. At night we saw two fires, inland, so very large, that we concluded they must have been made to clear the land for tillage; but however that be, they are a demonstration that the part of the country where they appeared is inhabited.

On the 18th, at four o'clock in the morning, Cape Kidnappers bore N. 32 W. distant two leagues: in this situation we had sixty-two fathom, and when the cape bore W. by N. distant three or four leagues, we had forty-five fathom: in the mid-way between the isle of Portland and the cape we had sixty-five fathom. In the evening, being abreast of the peninsula, within Portland island, called Terakako, a canoe came off from that shore, and with much difficulty overtook the ship; there were on board five people, two of whom appeared to be chiefs, and the other three servants: the chiefs, with very little invitation, came on board, and ordered the rest to remain in their canoe. We treated them with great kindness, and they were not backward in expressing their satisfaction; they went down into the cabin, and after a short time told us that they had determined not to go on shore till the next morning. As the sleeping on board was an honour which we neither expected nor desired, I remonstrated strongly against it, and told them, that on their account it would not be proper, as the ship would probably be at a great distance from where she was then, the next morning: they persisted, however, in their resolution, and as I found it impossible to get rid of them without turning them by force out of the ship, I complied: as a proper precaution, however, I proposed to take their servants also on board, and hoist their canoe into the ship; they made no objection, and this was accordingly done. The countenance of one of these chiefs was the most open and ingenuous of all I have ever seen, and I very soon gave up every suspicion of his having any sinister design: they both examined every thing they saw with great curiosity and attention, and received very thankfully such little presents as we made them; neither of them, however, could be persuaded either to eat or drink, but their servants devoured every thing they could get with great voracity. We found that these men had heard of our kindness and liberality to the natives who had been on board before, yet we thought the confidence they placed in us, an extraordinary instance of their fortitude. At night I brought to till day-light, and then made sail; at seven in the morning, I brought to again under Cape Table, and sent away our guests with their canoe, who expressed some surprise at seeing themselves so far from home, but landed abreast of the ship. At this time I saw other canoes putting of from the shore, but I stood away to the northward without waiting for their coming up.

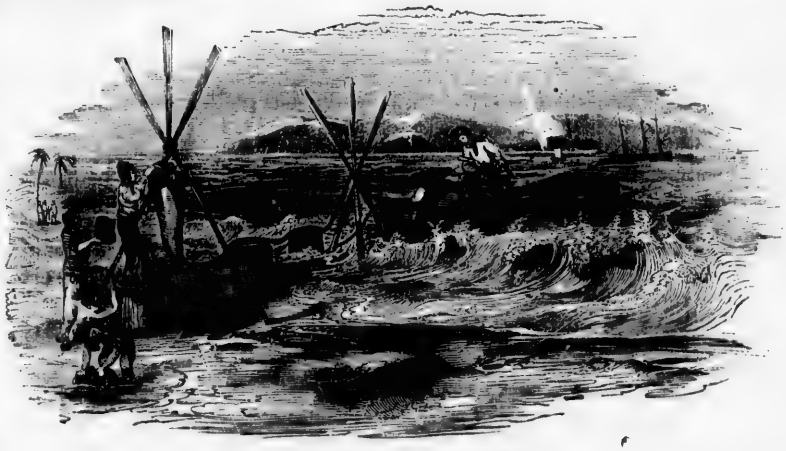
About three, I passed a remarkable head-land, which I called Gable-End-Foreland, from the very great likeness of the white cliff at the point to the gable-end of a house: it is not more remarkable for its figure, than for a rock which rises like a spire at a little distance. It lies from Cape Table N. 24 E. distant about twelve leagues. The shore between them forms a bay, within which lies Poverty Bay, at the distance of four leagues from the head-land, and eight from the Cape. At this place three canoes came off to us, and one man came on board; we gave him some trifles, and he soon returned to his boat, which, with all the rest, dropped astern.

In the morning I made sail in shore, in order to look into two bays, which appeared about two leagues to the northward of the Foreland; the southernmost I could not fetch, but I anchored in the other about eleven o'clock. Into this bay we were invited by the people on board many canoes, who pointed to a place where they said there was plenty of fresh water: I did not find so good a shelter from the sea as I expected; but the natives who came about us, appearing to be of a friendly disposition, I was determined to try whether I could not get some knowledge of the country here before I proceeded farther to the northward.

In one of the canoes that came about us as soon as we anchored, we saw two men, who by their habits appeared to be chiefs: one of them was dressed in a jacket, which was ornamented, after their manner, with dog's-skin; the jacket of the other was almost covered

with small tufts of red feathers. These men I invited on board, and they entered the ship with very little hesitation: I gave each of them about four yards of linen, and a spike-nail; with the linen they were much pleased, but seemed to set no value upon the nail. We perceived that they knew what had happened in Poverty Bay, and we had therefore no reason to doubt but that they would behave peaceably; however, for further security, Tupia was ordered to tell them for what purpose we came thither, and to assure them that we would offer them no injury, if they offered none to us. In the mean time those who remained in the canoes traded with our people very fairly for what they happened to have with them: the chiefs, who were old men, staid with us till we had dined, and about two o'clock I put off with the boats, manned and armed, in order to go on shore in search of water, and the two chiefs went into the boat with me. The afternoon was tempestuous, with much rain, and the surf everywhere ran so high, that although we rowed almost round the bay, we found no place where we could land: I determined therefore to return to the ship, which being intimated to the chiefs, they called to the people on shore, and ordered a canoe to be sent off for themselves; this was accordingly done, and they left us, promising to come on board again in the morning, and bring us some fish and sweet potatoes.

In the evening, the weather having become fair and moderate, the boats were again ordered out, and I landed, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander. We were received with great expressions of friendship by the natives, who behaved with a scrupulous attention not to give offence. In particular, they took care not to appear in great bodies: one family, or the inhabitants of two or three houses only, were generally placed together, to the number of fifteen or twenty, consisting of men, women, and children. These little companies sat upon the ground, not advancing towards us, but inviting us to them, by a kind of beckon, moving one hand towards the breast. We made them several little presents; and in our walk round the bay found two small streams of fresh water. This convenience, and the friendly behaviour of the people, determined me to stay at least a day, that I might fill some of my empty casks, and give Mr. Banks an opportunity of examining the natural produce of the country.



TAKING IN WATER ON A LOW BEACH.

In the morning of the 21st, I sent Lieutenant Gore on shore, to superintend the watering, with a strong party of men; and they were soon followed by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, with Tupia, Tayeto, and four others. The natives sat by our people, and seemed pleased to observe them; but did not intermix with them: they traded, however, chiefly for cloth, and after a short time applied to their ordinary occupations, as if no stranger had been among them. In the forenoon, several of their boats went out a-fishing, and at dinner time every one repaired to his respective dwelling; from which, after a certain time, he returned.

These fair appearances encouraged Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander to range the bay with very little precaution, where they found many plants, and shot some birds of exquisite beauty. In their walk, they visited several houses of the natives, and saw something of their manner of life; for they showed, without any reserve, everything which the gentlemen desired to see. They were sometimes found at their meals, which the approach of the strangers never interrupted. Their food at this season consisted of fish, with which, instead of bread, they eat the root of a kind of fern, very like that which grows upon our commons in England. These roots they scorch over the fire, and then beat with a stick, till the bark and dry outside fall off; what remains is a soft substance, somewhat clammy and sweet, not unpleasing to the taste, but mixed with three or four times its quantity of strings and fibres, which are very disagreeable; these were swallowed by some, but spit out by the far greater number, who had baskets under them to receive the rejected part of what had been chewed, which had an appearance very like that of tobacco in the same state. In other seasons they have certainly plenty of excellent vegetables; but no tame animals were seen among them except dogs, which were very small and ugly. Mr. Banks saw some of their plantations, where the ground was as well broken down and tilled as even in the gardens of the most curious people among us: in these spots were sweet potatoes, coccos or eddas, which are well known and much esteemed both in the East and West Indies, and some gourds: the sweet potatoes were planted in small hills, some ranged in rows, and others in quincunx, all laid by a line with the greatest regularity: the coccos were planted upon flat land, but none of them yet appeared above ground; and the gourds were set in small hollows, or dishes, much as in England. These plantations were of different extent, from one or two acres to ten: taken together, there appeared to be from 150 to 200 acres in cultivation in the whole bay, though we never saw an hundred people. Each district was fenced in, generally with reeds, which were placed so close together that there was scarcely room for a mouse to creep between.

The women were plain, and made themselves more so by painting their faces with red ochre and oil, which, being generally fresh and wet upon their cheeks and foreheads, was easily transferred to the noses of those who thought fit to salute them; and that they were not wholly averse to such familiarity, the noses of several of our people strongly testified: they were, however, as great coquettes as any of the most fashionable ladies in Europe, and the young ones as skittish as an unbroken filly: each of them wore a petticoat, under which there was a girdle, made of the blades of grass highly perfumed, and to the girdle was fastened a small bunch of the leaves of some fragrant plant, which served their modesty as its innermost veil. The faces of the men were not so generally painted, yet we saw one whose whole body, and even his garments, were rubbed over with dry ochre, of which he kept a piece constantly in his hand, and was every minute renewing the decoration in one part or another, where he supposed it was become deficient. In personal delicacy they were not equal to our friends at Otaheite, for the coldness of the climate did not invite them so often to bathe; but we saw among them one instance of cleanliness in which they exceeded them, and of which, perhaps, there is no example in any other Indian nation. Every house, or every little cluster of three or four houses, was furnished with a privy, so that the ground was everywhere clean. The offals of their food, and other litter, were also piled up in regular dunghills, which probably they made use of at a proper time for manure.

In this decent article of civil economy they were beforehand with one of the most considerable nations of Europe; for I am credibly informed, that, till the year 1760, there was no such thing as a privy in Madrid, the metropolis of Spain, though it is plentifully supplied with water. Before that time it was the universal practice to throw the ordure out of the windows, during the night, into the street, where numbers of men were employed to remove it, with shovels, from the upper parts of the city to the lower, where it lay till it was dry, and was then carried away in carts, and deposited without the gates. His present Catholic Majesty, having determined to free his capital from so gross a nuisance, ordered by proclamation, that the proprietors of every house should build a privy, and that sinks, drains, and common sewers should be made at the public expense. The Spaniards, though long accustomed to an arbitrary government, resented this proclamation with great spirit, as an infringement of the common rights of mankind, and made a vigorous struggle against

its being carried into execution. Every class devised some objection against it, but the physicians bid the fairest to interest the king in the preservation of the ancient privileges of his people; for they remonstrated, that if the filth was not, as usual, thrown into the streets, a fatal sickness would probably ensue, because the putrescent particles of the air, which such filth attracted, would then be imbibed by the human body. But this expedient, with every other that could be thought of, proved unsuccessful; and the popular discontent then ran so high, that it was very near producing an insurrection; his majesty, however, at length prevailed, and Madrid is now as clear as most of the considerable cities in Europe. But many of the citizens, probably upon the principles advanced by their physicians, that heaps of filth prevent deleterious particles of air from fixing upon neighbouring substances, have, to keep their food wholesome, constructed their privies by the kitchen fire.

In the evening, all our boats being employed in carrying the water on board, and Mr. Banks and his company finding it probable that they should be left on shore after it was dark, by which much time would be lost, which they were impatient to employ in putting the plants they had gathered in order, they applied to the Indians for a passage in one of their canoes: they immediately consented, and a canoe was launched for their use. They went all on board, being eight in number; but not being used to a vessel that required so even a balance, they unfortunately overset her in the surf: no life, however, was lost; but it was thought advisable that half of them should wait for another turn. Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Tupia, and Tayeto embarked again, and without any further accident arrived safely at the ship, well pleased with the good nature of their Indian friends, who cheerfully undertook to carry them a second time, after having experienced how unfit a freight they were for such a vessel.

While these gentlemen were on shore, several of the natives went off to the ship, and trafficked, by exchanging their cloth for that of Otaheite: of this barter they were for some time very fond, preferring the Indian cloth to that of Europe: but before night it decreased in its value five hundred per cent. Many of these Indians I took on board, and showed them the ship and her apparatus, at which they expressed equal satisfaction and astonishment.

As I found it exceedingly difficult to get water on board on account of the surf, I determined to stay no longer at this place; on the next morning, therefore, about five o'clock, I weighed anchor, and put to sea. This bay, which is called by the natives Tegadoo, lies in the latitude of 38° 10′ S.; but as it has nothing to recommend it, a description of it is unnecessary.

From this bay I intended to stand on to the northward, but the wind being right against me, I could make no way. While I was beating about to windward, some of the natives came on board, and told me that in a bay which lay a little to the southward, being the same that I could not fetch the day I put into Tegadoo, there was excellent water, where the boats might land without a surf. I thought it better therefore to put into this bay, where I might complete my water, and form farther connexions with the Indians, than to keep the sea. With this view I bore up for it, and sent in two boats, manned and armed, to examine the watering-place, who confirming the report of the Indians at their return, I came to an anchor about one o'clock, in eleven fathom water, with a fine sandy bottom, the north point of the bay N. by E., and the south point S.E. The watering-place, which was in a small cove a little within the south point of the bay, bore S. by E., distant about a mile. Many canoes came immediately off from the shore, and all traded very honestly for Otaheite cloth and glass-bottles, of which they were immoderately fond.

In the afternoon of the 23rd, as soon as the ship was moored, I went on shore to examine the watering-place, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander: the boat landed in the cove, without the least surf; the water was excellent, and conveniently situated; there was plenty of wood close to high-water mark, and the disposition of the people was in every respect such as we could wish.

Having, with Mr. Green, taken several observations of the sun and moon, the mean result of them gave 180° 47′ W. longitude; but as all the observations made before exceeded these, I have laid down the coast from the mean of the whole. At noon I took

the sun's meridian altitude with an astronomical quadrant, which was set up at the watering-place, and found the latitude to be 38° 22′ 24″.

On the 24th, early in the morning, I sent Lieutenant Gore on shore, to superintend the cutting of wood and filling of water, with a sufficient number of men for both purposes, and all the marines as a guard. After breakfast I went on shore myself, and continued there the whole day. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander also went on shore to gather plants, and in their walks saw several things worthy of notice. They met with many houses in the valleys that seemed to be wholly deserted, the people living on the ridges of the hills in a kind of sheds very slightly built. As they were advancing in one of these valleys, the hills on each side of which were very steep, they were suddenly struck with the sight of a very extraordinary natural curiosity. It was a rock, perforated through its whole substance, so as to form a rude but stupendous arch or cavern, opening directly to the sea: this aperture was seventy-five feet long, twenty-seven broad, and five-and-forty high, commanding a view of the bay and the hills on the other side, which were seen through it, and, opening at once upon the view, produced an effect far superior to any of the contrivances of art.

As they were returning to the watering-place in the evening, they met an old man, who detained them some time by showing them the military exercises of the country with the lance and patoo-patoo, which are all the weapons in use. The lance is from ten to fourteen feet long, made of a very hard wood, and sharp at both ends: the patoo-patoo has been described already: it is about a foot long, made of talc or bone, with sharp edges, and used as a battle-axe. A post or stake was set up as his enemy, to which he advanced with a most furious aspect, brandishing his lance, which he grasped with great firmness; when it was supposed to have been pierced by his lance, he ran at it with his patoo-patoo, and falling upon the upper end of it, which was to represent his adversary's head, he laid on with great vehemence, striking many blows, any one of which would probably have split the skull of an ox. From our champion's falling upon his mock enemy with the patoo-patoo, after he was supposed to have been pierced with the lance, our gentlemen inferred, that in the battles of this country there is no quarter.

This afternoon we set up the armourer's forge, to repair the braces of the tiller, which had been broken, and went on getting our wood and water, without suffering the least molestation from the natives, who came down with different sorts of fish, which we purchased with cloth, beads, and glass-bottles, as usual.

On the 25th, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went again on shore; and while they were searching for plants, Tupia staid with the waterers; among other Indians who came down to them was a priest, with whom Tupia entered into a very learned conversation. In their notions of religion they seemed to agree very well, which is not often the case between learned divines on our side of the ocean: Tupia, however, seemed to have the most knowledge, and he was listened to with great deference and attention by the other. In the course of this conversation, after the important points of divinity had been settled, Tupia inquired if it was their practice to eat men, to which they answered in the affirmative; but said, that they ate only their enemies who were slain in battle. On the 26th it rained all day, so that none of us could go ashore; and very few of the Indians came either to the watering-place or the ship.

On the 27th I went with Dr. Solander to examine the bottom of the bay, but though we went ashore at two places we met with little worth notice. The people behaved very civilly, showing us everything that we expressed a desire to see. Among other trifling curiosities which Dr. Solander purchased of them, was a boy's top, shaped exactly like those which children play with in England; and they made signs that to make it spin it was to be whipped. Mr. Banks in the mean time went ashore at the watering-place, and climbed a hill which stood at a little distance to see a fence of poles, which we had observed from the ship, and which had been much the subject of speculation. The hill was extremely steep, and rendered almost inaccessible by wood, yet he reached the place, near which he found many houses that for some reason had been deserted by their inhabitants. The poles appeared to be about sixteen feet high; they were placed in two rows, with a space of about six feet between them, and the poles in each row were about ten feet distant from each other. The

lane between them was covered by sticks, that were set up sloping towards each other from the top of the poles on each side, like the roof of a house. This rail-work, with a ditch that was parallel to it, was carried about a hundred yards down the hill in a kind of curve, but for what purpose we could not guess. The Indians at the watering-place, at our request, entertained us with their war-song, in which the women joined, with the most horrid distortions of countenance, rolling their eyes, thrusting out their tongues, and often heaving loud and deep sighs; though all was done in very good time.

On the 28th we went ashore upon an island that lies to the left hand of the entrance of the bay, where we saw the largest canoe that we had yet met with; she was sixty-eight feet and a half long, five broad, and three feet six high; she had a sharp bottom, consisting of three trunks of trees hollowed, of which that in the middle was the longest; the side planks were sixty-two feet long, in one piece, and were not despicably carved in bas-relief; the head also was adorned with carving still more richly. Upon this island there was a larger house than any we had yet seen, but it seemed unfinished and was full of chips. The wood-work was squared so even and smooth, that we made no doubt of their having among them very sharp tools. The sides of the posts were carved in a masterly style, though after their whimsical taste, which seems to prefer spiral lines and distorted faces: as these carved posts appear to have been brought from some other place, such work is probably of great value among them. At four o'clock in the morning of the 29th, having got on board our wood and water, and a large supply of excellent celery, with which the country abounds, and which proved a powerful antiscorbutic, I unmoored and put to sea.

This bay is called by the natives Tolaga; it is moderately large, and has from seven to thirteen fathom, with a clean sandy bottom and good anchorage; and is sheltered from all winds except the north-east. It lies in latitude 38° 22′ S. and four leagues and a half to the north of Gable-end Foreland. On the south point lies a small but high island, so near the main as not to be distinguished from it. Close to the north end of the island, at the entrance into the bay, are two high rocks; one is round, like a corn-stack, but the other is long, and perforated in several places, so that the openings appear like the arches of a bridge. Within these rocks is the cove where we cut wood, and filled our water-casks. Off the north point of the bay is a pretty high rocky island, and about a mile without it are some rocks and breakers. The variation of the compass here is 14° 31′ E., and the tide flows at the full and change of the moon, about six o'clock, and rises and falls perpendicularly from five to six feet; whether the flood comes from the southward or the northward I have not been able to determine.

We got nothing here by traffic but a few fish and some sweet potatoes, except a few trifles, which we considered merely as curiosities. We saw no four-footed animals, nor the appearance of any, either tame or wild, except dogs and rats, and these were very scarce: the people eat the dogs, like our friends at Otaheite, and adorn their garments with the skins, as we do ours with fur and ermine. I climbed many of the hills, hoping to get a view of the country, but I could see nothing from the top except higher hills, in a boundless succession. The ridges of these hills produce little besides fern; but the sides are most luxuriantly clothed with wood and verdure of various kinds, with little plantations intermixed. In the woods we found trees of above twenty different sorts, and carried specimens of each on board; but there was nobody among us to whom they were not altogether unknown. The tree which we cut for firing was somewhat like our maple, and yielded a whitish gum. We found another sort of it of a deep yellow, which we thought might be useful in dyeing. We found also one cabbage-tree, which we cut down for the cabbages. The country abounds with plants and the woods with birds, in an endless variety, exquisitely beautiful, and of which none of us had the least knowledge. The soil both of the hills and valleys is light and sandy, and very fit for the production of all kinds of roots, though we saw none except sweet potatoes and yams.

CHAPTER III.—THE RANGE FROM TOLAGA TO MERCURY BAY, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF MANY INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED BOTH ON BOARD AND ASHORE: A DESCRIPTION OF SEVERAL VIEWS EXHIBITED BY THE COUNTRY, AND OF THE HEPPAHS, OR FORTIFIED VILLAGES OF THE INHABITANTS.

On Monday, the 30th, about half an hour after one o'clock, having made sail again to the northward for about ten hours, with a light breeze, I hauled round a small island which lay east one mile from the north-east point of the land; from this place I found the land trend away N.W. by W. and W.N.W. as far as I could see, this point being the easternmost land on the whole coast. I gave it the name of East Cape, and I called the island that lies off it East Island; it is of a small circuit, high and round, and appears white and barren: the cape is high, with white cliffs, and lies in latitude 37° [illegible] 30′ S. and longitude 181° W. The land from Tolaga Bay to East Cape is of a n[illegible] but unequal height, forming several small bays, in which are sandy beaches: of the i[illegible]ry we could not see much, the weather being cloudy and hazy. The soundings w[illegible] twenty to thirty fathom, at the distance of about a league from the shore. After we had round[illegible] the Cape, we saw in our run along the shore a great number of villages and much cultivated land; the country in general appeared more fertile than before, and was low near the sea, but hilly within. At six in the evening, being four leagues to the westward of East Cape, we passed a bay which was first discovered by Lieutenant Hicks, and which, therefore, I called Hicks's Bay. At eight in the evening, being eight leagues to the westward of the Cape, and three or four miles from the shore, I shortened sail and brought to for the night, having at this time a fresh gale at S.S.E. and squally; but it soon became moderate, and at two in the morning we made sail again to the S.W. as the land now trended; and at eight o'clock in the morning saw land, which made like an island, bearing west, the south-westernmost part of the main bearing south-west; and about nine no less than five canoes came off, in which were more than forty men, all armed with their country pikes and battle-axes, shouting, and threatening an attack; this gave us great uneasiness, and was, indeed, what we did not expect, for we hoped that the report both of our power and clemency had spread to a greater extent. When one of these canoes had almost reached the ship, another of an immense size, the largest

GREAT CANOE OF HICKS'S BAY.

we had yet seen, crowded with people who were also armed, put off from the shore, and came up at a great rate; as it approached it received signals from the canoe that was nearest to the ship, and we could see that it had sixteen paddles on a side, beside people that sat, and others that stood in a row from stem to stern, being in all about sixty men: as they made directly to the ship, we were desirous of preventing an attack, by showing what we could do, and, therefore, fired a gun, loaded with grape-shot, ahead of them: this made them stop, but not retreat; a round-shot was then fired over them, and upon seeing it fall they seized their paddles and made towards the shore with such precipitation that they seemed scarcely to allow themselves time to breathe. In the evening three or four mor

canoes came off unarmed, but they would not venture within a musket-shot of the vessel. The Cape off which we had been threatened with hostilities I called, from the hasty retreat of the enemy, CAPE RUNAWAY. It lies in latitude 37° 32′; longitude 181° 48′. In this day's run we found that the land, which made like an island in the morning, bearing west, was so: and we gave it the name of WHITE ISLAND

At day-break, on the 1st of November, we counted no less than five-and-forty canoes that were coming from the shore towards the ship: seven of them came up with us, and after some conversation with Tupia, sold us some lobsters and muscles, and two conger eels. These people traded pretty fairly, but when they were gone some others came off from another place, who began also to trade fairly; but after some time they took what was handed down to them, without making any return; one of them who had done so, upon being threatened, began to laugh, and with many marks of derision set us at defiance, at the same time putting off the canoe from the ship; a musket was then fired over his head, which brought him back in a more serious mood, and trade went on with great regularity. At length, when the cabin and gun-room had got as much as they wanted, the men were allowed to come to the gangway and trade for themselves. Unhappily the same care was not taken to prevent frauds as had been taken before, so that the Indians, finding that they could cheat with impunity, grew insolent again, and proceeded to take greater liberties. One of the canoes, having sold everything on board, pulled forward, and the people that were in her seeing some linen hang over the ship's side to dry, one of them, without any ceremony, untied it, and put it up in his bundle: he was immediately called to, and required to return it; instead of which he let his canoe drop astern, and laughed at us; a musket was fired over his head, which did not put a stop to his mirth, another was then fired at him with small shot, which struck him upon the back; he shrunk a little when the shot hit him, but did not regard it more than one of our men would have done the stroke of a rattan: he continued with great composure to pack up the linen that he had stolen. All the canoes now dropped astern about a hundred yards, and all set up their song of defiance, which they continued till the ship was distant from them about four hundred yards. As they seemed to have no design to attack us, I was not willing to do them any hurt, yet I thought their going off in a bravado might have a bad effect when it should be reported ashore. To show them, therefore, that they were still in our power, though very much beyond the reach of any missile weapon with which they were acquainted, I gave the ship a yaw, and fired a four-pounder so as to pass near them. The shot happened to strike the water and rise several times at a great distance beyond the canoes; this struck them with terror, and they paddled away without once looking behind them.

About two in the afternoon, we saw a pretty high island bearing west from us; and at five, saw more islands and rocks to the westward of that. We hauled our wind in order to go without them, but could not weather them before it was dark. I, therefore, bore up, and ran between them and the main. At seven, I was close under the first, from which a large double canoe, or rather two canoes lashed together at the distance of about a foot, and covered with boards so as to make a deck, put off, and made sail for the ship: this was the first vessel of the kind that we had seen since we left the South Sea Islands. When she came near, the people on board entered very freely into conversation with Tupia, and we thought showed a friendly disposition; but when it was just dark, they ran their canoe close to the ship's side, and threw in a volley of stones, after which they paddled away.

We learned from Tupia, that the people in the canoe called the island which we were under MOWTOHORA; it is but of a small circuit, though high, and lies six miles from the main; on the south side is anchorage in fourteen fathom water. Upon the main land S.W. by W. of this island, and apparently at no great distance from the sea, is a high round mountain, which I called MOUNT EDGECUMBE: it stands in the middle of a large plain, and is, therefore, the more conspicuous; latitude 37° 59′, longitude 183° 7′.

In standing westward, we suddenly shoaled our water from seventeen to ten fathom; and knowing that we were not far from the small islands and rocks which we had seen before dark, and which I intended to have passed before I brought to for the night, I thought it more prudent to tack, and spend the night under Mowtohora, where I knew

there was no danger. It was, indeed, happy for us that we did so; for in the morning, after we had made sail to the westward, we discovered ahead of us several rocks, some of which were level with the surface of the water, and some below it: they lay N.N.E. from Mount Edgecumbe, one league and a half distant from the island Mowtohora, and about nine miles from the main. We passed between these rocks and the main, having from ten to seven fathom water.

This morning, many canoes and much people were seen along the shore: several of the canoes followed us, but none of them could reach us, except one with a sail, which proved to be the same that had pelted us the night before. The people on board again entered into conversation with Tupia; but we expected another volley of their ammunition, which was not, indeed, dangerous to anything but the cabin windows. They continued abreast of the ship about an hour, and behaved very peaceably; but at last the salute which we expected was given: we returned it by firing a musket over them, and they immediately dropped astern and left us, perhaps rather satisfied with having given a test of their courage by twice insulting a vessel so much superior to their own, than intimidated by the shot.

At half an hour after ten, we passed between a low flat island and the main: the distance from one to the other was about four miles, and the depth of water from ten to twelve fathom. The main land between this flat island and Mowtohora is of a moderate height, but level, pretty clear of wood, and full of plantations and villages. The villages, which were larger than any we had yet seen, were built upon eminences near the sea, and fortified on the land side by a bank and ditch, with a high paling within it, which was carried all round: beside a bank, ditch, and palisadoes, some of them appeared to have outworks. Tupia had a notion that the small inclosure of palisadoes, and a ditch that we had seen before, were morais or places of worship; but we were of opinion that they were forts, and concluded that these people had neighbouring enemies, and were always exposed to hostile attacks. At two o'clock we passed a small high island, lying four miles from a high round head upon the main. From this head the land trends N.W. as far as can be seen, and has a rugged and hilly appearance. As the weather was hazy, and the wind blew fresh on the shore, we hauled off for the weathermost island in sight, which bore from us N.N.E., distant about six or seven leagues.

Under this island, which I have called the Mayor, we spent the night. At seven in the morning it bore S. 47 E., distant six leagues, and a cluster of small islands and rocks bore N. ½ E., distant one league, to which I gave the name of the Court of Aldermen. They lie in the compass of about half a league every way, and five leagues from the main, between which and them lie other islands, most of them barren rocks, of which there is great variety: some of them are as small in compass as the Monument of London, but rise to a much greater height, and some of them are inhabited. They lie in latitude 36° 57′, and at noon bore S. 60 E., distant three or four leagues; and a rock like a castle, lying not far from the main, bore N. 40 W., at the distance of one league. The country that we passed the night before appeared to be well inhabited, many towns were in sight, and some hundreds of large canoes lay under them upon the beach; but this day, after having sailed about fifteen leagues, it appeared to be barren and desolate. As far as we had yet coasted this country from Cape Turnagain, the people acknowledged one chief, whom they called Teratu, and to whose residence they pointed, in a direction that we thought to be very far inland, but afterwards found to be otherwise.

About one o'clock, three canoes came off to us from the main, with one-and-twenty men on board. The construction of these vessels appeared to be more simple than that of any we had seen, they being nothing more than trunks of a single tree hollowed by fire, without any convenience or ornament. The people on board were almost naked, and appeared to be of a browner complexion; yet naked and despicable as they were, they sung their song of defiance, and seemed to denounce against us inevitable destruction: they remained, however, some time out of stone's-throw, and then venturing nearer, with less appearance of hostility, one of our men went to the ship's side, and was about to hand them a rope; this courtesy, however, they thought fit to return by throwing a lance at him, which having missed him, they immediately threw another into the ship: upon this a musket was fired

over them, which at once sent them away. About two, we saw a large opening, or inlet, for which we bore up; we had now forty-one fathom water, which gradually decreased to nine, at which time we were one mile and a half distant from a high towered rock which lay near the south point of the inlet: this rock, and the northernmost of the Court of Aldermen being in one, bearing S. 61 E.

About seven in the evening we anchored in seven fathom, a little within the south entrance of the bay: to this place we were accompanied by several canoes and people like those we had seen last, and for some time they behaved very civilly. While they were hovering about us, a bird was shot from the ship, as it was swimming upon the water: at this they showed less surprise than we expected, and taking up the bird, they tied it to a fishing-line that was towing astern; as an acknowledgment for this favour, we gave them a piece of cloth: but notwithstanding this effect of our fire-arms, and this interchange of civilities, as soon as it grew dark, they sung their war-song, and attempted to tow away the buoy of the anchor. Two or three muskets were then fired over them, but this seemed rather to make them angry than afraid, and they went away, threatening that to-morrow they would return with more force, and be the death of us all; at the same time sending off a boat, which they told us was going to another part of the bay for assistance.

There was some appearance of generosity, as well as courage, in acquainting us with the time when they intended to make their attack, but they forfeited all credit which this procured them, by coming secretly upon us in the night, when they certainly hoped to find us asleep: upon approaching the ship, they found themselves mistaken, and therefore retired without speaking a word, supposing that they were too early; after some time, they came a second time, and being again disappointed, they retired as silently as before.

In the morning, at day-break, they prepared to effect by force what they had in vain attempted by stealth and artifice: no less than twelve canoes came against us with about a hundred and fifty men, all armed with pikes, lances, and stones. As they could do nothing till they came very near the ship, Tupia was ordered to expostulate with them, and if possible divert them from their purpose: during the conversation, they appeared to be sometimes friendly and sometimes otherwise; at length, however, they began to trade, and we offered to purchase their weapons, which some of them consented to sell: they sold two very fairly, but having received what had been agreed upon for the purchase of a third, they refused to send it up, but offered it for a second price; a second was sent down, but the weapon was still detained, and a demand made of a third; this being refused with some expressions of displeasure and resentment, the offender, with many ludicrous tokens of contempt and defiance, paddled his canoe off a few yards from the ship. As I intended to continue in this place five or six days, in order to make an observation of the transit of Mercury, it was absolutely necessary, in order to prevent future mischief, to show these people that we were not to be treated ill with impunity; some small shot were therefore fired at the thief, and a musket-ball through the bottom of his boat: upon this it was paddled to about a hundred yards' distance, and to our great surprise the people in the other canoes took not the least notice of their wounded companion, though he bled very much, but returned to the ship, and continued to trade with the most perfect indifference and unconcern. They sold us many more of their weapons, without making any other attempt to defraud us for a considerable time; at last, however, one of them thought fit to paddle away with two different pieces of cloth which had been given for the same weapon: when he had got about a hundred yards' distance, and thought himself secure of his prize, a musket was fired after him, which fortunately struck the boat just at the water's edge, and made two holes in her side; this only incited them to ply their paddles with greater activity, and the rest of the canoes also made off with the utmost expedition. As the last proof of our superiority, therefore, we fired a round shot over them, and not a boat stopped till they got on shore.

About ten o'clock, I went with two boats to sound the bay, and look out for a more convenient anchoring-place, the master being in one boat and myself in the other. We pulled first over to the north shore, from which some canoes came out to meet us; as we advanced, however, they retired, inviting us to follow them but seeing them all armed, I did not

think it proper to comply, but went towards the head of the bay, where I observed a village upon a very high point, fortified in the manner that has been already described, and having fixed upon an anchoring-place not far from where the ship lay, I returned on board. At three o'clock in the afternoon, I weighed, ran in nearer to the shore, and anchored in four fathom and a half water, with a soft sandy bottom, the south point of the bay bearing E., distant one mile, and a river which the boats can enter at low water S.S.E., distant a mile and a half

In the morning, the natives came off again to the ship, and we had the satisfaction to observe that their behaviour was very different from what it had been yesterday: among them was an old man, whom we had before remarked for his prudence and honesty: his name was Toiava, and he seemed to be a person of a superior rank; in the transactions of yesterday morning he had behaved with great propriety and good sense, lying in a small canoe, always near the ship, and treating those on board as if he neither intended a fraud, nor suspected an injury: with some persuasion this man and another came on board, and ventured into the cabin, where I presented each of them with a piece of English cloth and some spike-nails. They told us that the Indians were now very much afraid of us; and on our part we promised friendship, if they would behave peaceably, desiring only to purchase what they had to sell upon their own terms.

After the natives had left us, I went with the pinnace and long-boat into the river with a design to haul the seine, and sent the master in the yawl to sound the bay and dredge for fish. The Indians, who were on one side of the river, expressed their friendship by all the signs they could devise, beckoning us to land among them; but we chose to go ashore on the other side, as the situation was more convenient for hauling the seine and shooting birds, of which we saw great numbers of various kinds: the Indians, with much persuasion, about noon, ventured over to us. With the seine we had very little success, catching only a few mullets, neither did we get any thing by the trawl or the dredge, except a few shells; but we shot several birds, most of them resembling sea-pies, except that they had black plumage, and red bills and feet. While we were absent with our guns, the people who staid by the boats saw two of the Indians quarrel and fight: they began the battle with their lances, but some old men interposed and took them away, leaving them to decide the difference, like Englishmen, with their fists; they boxed with great vigour and obstinacy for some time, but by degrees all retired behind a little hill, so that our people could not see the event of the combat.

In the morning the long-boat was sent again to trawl in the bay, and an officer, with the marines, and a party of men, to cut wood and haul the seine. The Indians on shore appeared very peaceable and submissive, and we had reason to believe that their habitations were at a considerable distance, for we saw no houses, and found that they slept under the bushes: the bay is probably a place to which they frequently resort in parties to gather shell-fish, of which it affords incredible plenty; for wherever we went, whether upon the hills or in the valleys, the woods or the plains, we saw vast heaps of shells, often many wagon-loads together, some appearing to be very old, and others recent. We saw no cultivation in this place, which had a desolate and barren appearance; the tops of the hills were green, but nothing grew there, except a large kind of fern, the roots of which the natives had got together in large quantities, in order to carry away with them. In the evening Mr. Banks walked up the river, which, at the mouth, looked fine and broad, but at the distance of about two miles was not deep enough to cover the foot; and the country inland was still more barren than at the sea-side. The seine and dredge were not more successful to-day than yesterday, but the Indians in some measure compensated for the disappointment by bringing us several baskets of fish, some dry, and some fresh dressed; it was not indeed of the best, but I ordered it all to be bought for the encouragement of trade.

On the 7th, the weather was so bad that none of us left the ship, nor did any of the Indians come on board. On the 8th, I sent a party of men on shore to wood and water; and in the mean time many canoes came off, in one of which was our friend Toiava; soon after he was alongside of the ship, he saw two canoes coming from the opposite side of the

bay, upon which he hasted back again to the shore with all his canoes, telling us that he was afraid of the people who were coming: this was a farther proof that the people of this country were perpetually committing hostilities against each other. In a short time, however, he returned, having discovered that the people who had alarmed him were not the same that he had supposed. The natives that came to the ship this morning sold us, for a few pieces of cloth, as much fish of the mackerel kind as served the whole ship's company, and they were as good as ever were eaten. At noon, this day, I observed the sun's meridional zenith distance by an astronomical quadrant, which gave the latitude 36° 47′ 43″ within the south entrance of the bay.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went on shore and collected a great variety of plants, altogether unknown, and not returning till the evening, had an opportunity of observing in what manner the Indians disposed themselves to pass the night. They had no shelter but a few shrubs; the women and the children were ranged innermost, or farthest from the sea; the men lay in a kind of half circle round them, and their arms were set up against the trees close by them, in a manner which showed that they were afraid of an attack by some enemy not far distant. It was also discovered that they acknowledged neither Teratu, nor any other person as their king: as in this particular they differed from all the people that we had seen upon other parts of the coast, we thought it possible that they might be a set of outlaws, in a state of rebellion against Teratu, and in that case they might have no settled habitations, or cultivated land in any part of the country.

On the 9th, at day-break, a great number of canoes came on board, loaded with mackerel of two sorts, one exactly the same with those caught in England, and the other somewhat different: we imagined the people had taken a large shoal, and brought us an overplus which they could not consume; for they sold them at a very low rate. They were, however, very welcome to us; at eight o'clock, the ship had more fish on board than all her people could eat in three days; and before night, the quantity was so much increased, that every man who could get salt cured as many as would last him a month. After an early breakfast, I went ashore, with Mr. Green and proper instruments, to observe the transit of Mercury, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander being of the party; the weather had for some time been very thick, with much rain, but this day was so favourable that not a cloud intervened during the whole transit. The observation of the ingress was made by Mr. Green alone, while I was employed in taking the sun's altitude to ascertain the time. It came on at 7^h 20′ 58″ apparent time: according to Mr. Green's observation, the internal contact was at 12^h 8′ 58″, the external at 12^h 9′ 55″ P. M. And according to mine, the internal contact was at 12^h 8′ 54″, and the external 12^h 9′ 48″; the latitude of the place of observation was 36° 48′ 5½″. The latitude observed at noon was 36° 48′ 28″. The mean of this and yesterday's observation gives 36° 48′ 51″ S. the latitude of the place of observation; the variation of the compass was 11° 9′ E.

About noon we were alarmed by the firing of a great gun from the ship; Mr. Gore, my second lieutenant, was at this time commanding officer on board, and the account that he gave was this:—While some small canoes were trading with the people, two very large ones came up, full of men, one of them having on board forty-seven, all armed with pikes, darts, and stones, and apparently with a hostile intention. They appeared to be strangers, and to be rather conscious of superiority over us by their numbers, than afraid of any weapons which could give us the superiority over them. No attack, however, was made; probably because they learned from the people in the other canoes, with whom they immediately entered into conference, what kind of an enemy they had to deal with. After a little time, they began to trade, some of them offering their arms, and one of them a square piece of cloth, which makes a part of their dress, called a *Haahow*. Several of the weapons were purchased; and Mr. Gore having agreed for a Haahow, sent down the price, which was a piece of British cloth, and expected his purchase; but the Indian, as soon as he had got Mr. Gore's cloth in his possession, refused to part with his own, and put off the canoe. Upon being threatened for this fraud, he and his companions began to sing their war-song in defiance, and shook their paddles: still, however, they began no attack, only defying Mr. Gore to take any remedy in his power, which so provoked him that he levelled a musket loaded

with ball at the offender while he was holding the cloth in his hand, and shot him dead. It would have been happy if the effect of a few small-shot had been tried upon this occasion, which, upon some others, had been successful.

When the Indian dropped, all the canoes put off to some distance; but as they did not go away, it was thought they might still meditate an attack. To secure, therefore, a safe passage for the boat, which it was necessary to send on shore, a round shot was fired over their heads, which effectually answered the purpose, and put them all to flight. When an account of what had happened was brought ashore, our Indians were alarmed, and, drawing all together, retreated in a body. After a short time, however, they returned, having heard a more particular account of the affair, and intimated that they thought the man who had been killed deserved his fate.

A little before sunset the Indians retired to eat their supper, and we went with them to be spectators of the repast. It consisted of fish of different kinds, among which were lobsters, and some birds, of a species unknown to us: these were either roasted or baked. To roast them they fastened them upon a small stick, which was stuck up in the ground inclining towards their fire; and to bake them they put them into a hole in the ground, with hot stones, in the same manner as the people of Otaheite.

Among the natives that were assembled upon this occasion, we saw a woman who, after their manner, was mourning for the death of her relation. She sat upon the ground near the rest, who, one only excepted, seemed not at all to regard her; the tears constantly trickled down her cheeks, and she repeated, in a low, but very mournful voice, words which even Tupia did not at all understand. At the end of every sentence she cut her arms, her face, or her breast, with a shell that she held in her hand, so that she was almost covered with blood, and was indeed one of the most affecting spectacles that can be conceived. The cuts, however, did not appear to be so deep as are sometimes made upon similar occasions, if we may judge by the scars which we saw upon the arms, thighs, breasts, and cheeks of many of them, which we were told were the remains of wounds which they had inflicted upon themselves as testimonies of their affection and sorrow.

The next day, I went with two boats, accompanied by Mr. Banks and the other gentlemen, to examine a large river that empties itself into the head of the bay. We rowed about four or five miles up, and could have gone much farther if the weather had been favourable. It was here wider than at the mouth, and divided into many streams by small flat islands, which are covered with mangroves, and overflowed at high-water. From these trees exudes a viscous substance which very much resembles resin; we found it first in small lumps upon the sea-beach, and now saw it sticking to the trees, by which we knew whence it came. We landed on the east side of the river, where we saw a tree upon which several shags had built their nests, and here, therefore, we determined to dine. Twenty of the shags were soon killed, and, being boiled upon the spot, afforded us an excellent meal. We then went upon the hills, from whence I thought I saw the head of the river. The shore on each side, as well as the islands in the middle, were covered with mangroves; and the sand-banks abounded in cockles and clams. In many places there were rock-oysters, and everywhere plenty of wild-fowl, principally shags, ducks, curlews, and the sea-pie, that has been described before. We also saw fish in the river, but of what kind we could not discover. The country on the east side of this river is, for the most part, barren and destitute of wood; but on the west it has a better aspect, and in some places is adorned with trees, but has in no part the appearance of cultivation. In the entrance of the river, and for two or three miles up, there is good anchoring in four and five fathom water, and places very convenient for laying a vessel on shore, where the tide rises and falls seven feet at the full and change of the moon. We could not determine whether any considerable stream of fresh water came into this river out of the country, but we saw a number of small rivulets issue from the adjacent hills. Near the mouth of this river, on the east side, we found a little Indian village, consisting of small temporary sheds, where we landed, and were received by the people with the utmost kindness and hospitality. They treated us with a flat shell-fish of a most delicious taste, somewhat like a cockle, which we ate hot from the coals. Near this place is a high point, or peninsula, projecting into the river, and upon it are the remains of

a fort, which they call *Eppah*, or *Heppah*. The best engineer in Europe could not have chosen a situation better adapted to enable a small number to defend themselves against a greater. The steepness of the cliffs renders it wholly inaccessible from the water, which encloses it on three sides; and, to the land, it is fortified by a ditch, and a bank raised on the inside. From the top of the bank to the bottom of the ditch is two-and-twenty feet; the ditch on the outside is fourteen feet deep, and its breadth is in proportion. The whole seemed to have been executed with great judgment; and there had been a row of pickets or

VIEW OF A HIPPAH, OR FORTIFIED VILLAGE.

palisadoes, both on the top of the bank, and along the brink of the ditch on the outside: those on the outside had been driven very deep into the ground, and were inclined towards the ditch, so as to project over it; but of these the thickest posts only were left, and upon them there were evident marks of fire, so that the place had probably been taken and destroyed by an enemy. If any occasion should make it necessary for a ship to winter here, or stay any time, tents might be built in this place, which is sufficiently spacious, with great convenience, and might easily be made impregnable to the whole country.

On the eleventh, there was so much wind and rain that no canoe came off; but the long-boat was sent to fetch oysters from one of the beds which had been discovered the day before: the boat soon returned, deeply laden, and the oysters, which were as good as ever came from Colchester, and about the same size, were laid down under the booms, and the ship's company did nothing but eat them from the time they came on board till night, when, as may reasonably be supposed, great part of them were expended; this, however, gave us no concern, as we knew that not the boat only, but the ship, might have been loaded, almost in one tide, as the beds are dry at half ebb.

In the morning of Sunday the 12th, two canoes came off full of people whom we had never seen before, but who appeared to have heard of us by the caution which they used in approaching us. As we invited them to come alongside with all the tokens of friendship that we could show, they ventured up, and two of them came on board; the rest traded very fairly for what they had: a small canoe also came from the other side of the bay, and sold us some very large fish, which they gave us to understand they would have brought yesterday, having caught them the day before, but that the wind was so high they could not venture to sea.

After breakfast I went with the pinnace and yawl, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, over to the north side of the bay, to take a view of the country, and two

fortified villages which we had discovered at a distance. We landed near the smallest of them, the situation of which was the most beautifully-romantic that can be imagined; it was built upon a small rock, detached from the main, and surrounded at high water. The whole body of this rock was perforated by a hollow or arch, which possessed much the largest part of it; the top of the arch was above sixty feet perpendicular above the sea, which at high water flowed through the bottom of it: the whole summit of the rock above the arch was fenced round after their manner; but the area was not large enough to contain more than five or six houses: it was accessible only by one very narrow and steep path, by which the inhabitants, at our approach, came down, and invited us into the place; but we refused, intending to visit a much more considerable fort of the same kind at about a mile's distance. We made some presents, however, to the women; and in the mean time we saw the inhabitants of the town which we were going to coming towards us in a body, men, women, and children, to the number of about one hundred: when they came near enough to be heard, they waved their hands, and called out *Horomai;* after which they sat down among the bushes near the beach; these ceremonies, we were told, were certain signs of their friendly disposition. We advanced to the place where they were sitting, and when we came up, made them a few presents, and asked leave to visit their Heppah; they consented with joy in their countenances, and immediately led the way. It is called WHARRETOUWA, and is situated upon a high promontory or point, which projects into the sea on the north side, and near the head of the bay: two sides of it are washed by the sea, and these are altogether inaccessible; two other sides are to the land: up one of them, which is very steep, lies the avenue from the beach; the other is flat and open to the country upon the hill, which is a narrow ridge: the whole is enclosed by a palisade about ten feet high, consisting of strong pales bound together with withes. The weak side next the land is also defended by a double ditch, the innermost of which has a bank and an additional palisade: the inner palisades are upon the bank next the town, but at such a distance from the top of the bank as to leave room for men to walk and use their arms, between them and the inner ditch; the outermost palisades are between the two ditches, and driven obliquely into the ground, so that their upper ends incline over the inner ditch: the depth of this ditch, from the bottom to the top or crown of the bank, is four-and-twenty feet. Close within the innermost palisade is a stage, twenty feet high, forty feet long, and six broad; it is supported by strong posts, and is intended as a station for those who defend the place, from which they may annoy the assailants by darts and stones, heaps of which lay ready for use. Another stage of the same kind commands the steep avenue from the beach, and stands also within the palisade; on this side of the hill there are some little outworks and huts, not intended as advanced posts, but as the habitations of people who, for want of room, could not be accommodated within the works, but who were, notwithstanding, desirous of placing themselves under their protection. The palisades, as has been observed already, run round the whole brow of the hill, as well towards the sea as towards the land; but the ground within having originally been a mount, they have reduced it not to one level, but to several, rising in stages one above the other, like an amphitheatre, each of which is enclosed within its separate palisade; they communicate with each other by narrow lanes, which might easily be stopped up, so that if an enemy should force the outward palisade, he would have others to carry before the place could be wholly reduced, supposing these places to be obstinately defended one after the other. The only entrance is by a narrow passage, about twelve feet long, communicating with the steep ascent from the beach: it passes under one of the fighting stages, and, though we saw nothing like a door or gateway, it may be easily barricaded in a manner that will make the forcing it a very dangerous and difficult undertaking. Upon the whole, this must be considered as a place of great strength, in which a small number of resolute men may defend themselves against all the force which a people with no other arms than those that are in use here could bring against it. It seemed to be well furnished for a siege with everything but water; we saw great quantities of fern-root, which they eat as bread, and dried fish piled up in heaps; but we could not perceive that they had any fresh water nearer than a brook which runs close under the foot of the hill: whether they have any means of getting it from this place during a siege, or whether they have any method of

storing it within the works in gourds or other vessels, we could not learn; some resource they certainly have with respect to this article, an indispensable necessary of life, for otherwise the laying up dry provisions could answer no purpose. Upon our expressing a desire to see their method of attack and defence, one of the young men mounted a fighting stage, which they call *Porava*, and another went into the ditch: both he that was to defend the place, and he that was to assault it, sung the war-song, and danced with the same frightful gesticulations that we had seen used in more serious circumstances, to work themselves up into a degree of that mechanical fury, which, among all uncivilized nations is the necessary prelude to a battle; for dispassionate courage, a strength of mind that can surmount the sense of danger, without a flow of animal spirits by which it is extinguished, seems to be the prerogative of those who have projects of more lasting importance, and a keener sense of honour and disgrace than can be formed or felt by men who have few pains or pleasures besides those of mere animal life, and scarcely any purpose but to provide for the day that is passing over them, to obtain plunder, or revenge an insult: they will march against each other indeed in cool blood, though they find it necessary to work themselves into passion before they engage; as among us there have been many instances of people who have deliberately made themselves drunk, that they might execute a project which they formed when they were sober, but which, while they continued so, they did not dare to undertake.

On the side of the hill, near this inclosure, we saw about half an acre planted with gourds and sweet potatoes, which was the only cultivation in the bay: under the foot of the point upon which this fortification stands, are two rocks, one just broken off from the main, and the other not perfectly detached from it: they are both small, and seem more proper for the habitations of birds than men; yet there are houses and places of defence upon each of them. And we saw many other works of the same kind upon small islands, rocks, and ridges of hills, on different parts of the coast, besides many fortified towns, which appeared to be much superior to this.

The perpetual hostility in which these poor savages, who have made every village a fort, must necessarily live, will account for there being so little of their land in a state of cultivation; and, as mischiefs very often reciprocally produce each other, it may perhaps appear, that there being so little land in a state of cultivation, will account for their living in perpetual hostility. But it is very strange, that the same invention and diligence which have been used in the construction of places so admirably adapted to defence, almost without tools, should not, when urged by the same necessity, have furnished them with a single missile weapon except the lance, which is thrown by hand; they have no contrivance like a bow to discharge a dart, nor anything like a sling to assist them in throwing a stone; which is the more surprising, as the invention of slings, and bows and arrows, is much more obvious than of the works which these people construct, and both these weapons are found among much ruder nations, and in almost every other part of the world. Besides the long lance and Patoo-patoo, which have been mentioned already, they have a staff about five feet long, sometimes pointed like a serjeant's halbert, sometimes only tapering to a point at one end, and having the other end broad, and shaped somewhat like the blade of an oar. They have also another weapon, about a foot shorter than these, pointed at one end, and at the other shaped like an axe. The points of their long lances are barbed, and they handle them with such strength and agility, that we can match them with no weapon but a loaded musquet.

After taking a slight view of the country, and loading both the boats with celery, which we found in great plenty near the beach, we returned from our excursion, and about five o'clock in the evening, got on board the ship. On the 15th, I sailed out of the bay, and at the same time had several canoes on board, in one of which was our friend Toiava, who said, that as soon as we were gone he must repair to his Heppah or fort, because the friends of the man who had been shot by Mr. Gore on the 9th had threatened to revenge his death upon him, whom they had reproached as being our friend. Off the north point of the bay, I saw a great number of islands, of various extent, which lay scattered to the north-west, in a direction parallel with the main as far as I could see. I steered north-east for the northeasternmost of these islands, but the wind coming to the north-west, I was obliged to stand out to sea.

To the bay which we had now left I gave the name of MERCURY BAY, on account of the observation which we had made there of the transit of that planet over the sun. It lies in latitude 36° 47′ S.; and in the longitude of 184° 4′ W.: there are several islands lying both to the southward and northward of it, and a small island or rock in the middle of the entrance: within this island the depth of water nowhere exceeds nine fathom; the best anchoring is in a sandy bay, which lies just within the south head, in five and four fathom, bringing a high tower or rock, which lies without the head, in one with the head, or just shut in behind it. This place is very convenient both for wooding and watering, and in the river there is an immense quantity of oysters and other shell-fish: I have for this reason given it the name of OYSTER RIVER. But for a ship that wants to stay here any time, the best and safest place is in the river at the head of the bay; which, from the number of mangrove trees about it, I have called MANGROVE RIVER. To sail into this river, the south shore must be kept all the way on board. The country on the east side of the river and bay, is very barren, its only produce being fern, and a few other plants that will grow in a poor soil. The land on the north-west side is covered with wood, and the soil being much more fertile would doubtless produce all the necessaries of life with proper cultivation: it is not, however, so fertile as the lands that we have seen to the southward, nor do the inhabitants, though numerous, make so good an appearance: they have no plantations; their canoes are mean, and without ornament; they sleep in the open air; and say, that Teratu, whose sovereignty they do not acknowledge, if he was to come among them, would kill them. This favoured our opinion of their being outlaws: yet they told us, that they had Heppahs, or strongholds, to which they retired in time of imminent danger.

We found, thrown upon the shore, in several parts of this bay, great quantities of iron-sand, which is brought down by every little rivulet of fresh water that finds its way from the country; which is a demonstration that there is ore of that metal not far inland: yet neither the inhabitants of this place, or any other part of the coast that we have seen, know the use of iron, or set the least value upon it; all of them preferring the most worthless and useless trifle, not only to a nail, but to any tool of that metal.

Before we left the bay, we cut upon one of the trees near the watering-place the ship's name, and that of the commander, with the date of the year and month when we were there; and after displaying the English colours, I took a formal possession of it in the name of his Britannic Majesty King George the Third.

CHAPTER IV.—THE RANGE FROM MERCURY BAY TO THE BAY OF ISLANDS: AN EXPEDITION UP THE RIVER THAMES: SOME ACCOUNT OF THE INDIANS WHO INHABIT ITS BANKS, AND THE FINE TIMBER THAT GROWS THERE: SEVERAL INTERVIEWS WITH THE NATIVES ON DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE COAST, AND A SKIRMISH WITH THEM UPON AN ISLAND.

I CONTINUED plying to windward two days to get under the land, and on the 18th, about seven in the morning, we were abreast of a very conspicuous promontory, being then in latitude 36° 26′, and in the direction of N. 48 W. from the north head of Mercury Bay, or Point Mercury, which was distant nine leagues: upon this point stood many people, who seemed to take little notice of us, but talked together with great earnestness. In about half an hour, several canoes put off from different places, and came towards the ship; upon which the people on the point also launched a canoe, and about twenty of them came in her up with the others. When two of these canoes, in which there might be about sixty men, came near enough to make themselves heard, they sung their war-song; but seeing that we took little notice of it, they threw a few stones at us, and then rowed off towards the shore. We hoped that we had now done with them, but in a short time they returned, as if with a fixed resolution to provoke us into a battle, animating themselves by their song as they had done before. Tupia, with many directions from us, went to the poop, and began to expostulate: he told them, that we had weapons which would destroy them in a moment; and that, if they ventured to attack us, we should be obliged to use them. Upon this, they

flourished their weapons, and cried out in their language, "Come on shore, and we will kill you all!" Well, said Tupia, but why should you molest us while we are at sea? as we do not wish to fight, we shall not accept your challenge to come on shore; and here there is no pretence for quarrel, the sea being no more your property than the ship. This eloquence of Tupia, though it greatly surprised us, having given him no hints for the arguments he used, had no effect upon our enemies, who very soon renewed their battery: a musket was then fired through one of their boats, and this was an argument of sufficient weight, for they immediately fell astern and left us.

CANOE PUTTING OFF.

From the point, of which we were now abreast, the land trends W. ½ S. near a league, and then S.S.E. as far as we could see; and, besides the islands that lay without us, we could see land round by the S.W. as far as N.W.; but whether this was the main or islands, we could not then determine: the fear of losing the main, however, made me resolve to follow its direction. With this view, I hauled round the point, and steered to the southward, but there being light airs all round the compass, we made but little progress. About one o'clock, a breeze sprung up at east, which afterwards came to N.E. and we steered along the shore S. by E. and S.S.E. having from twenty-five to eighteen fathom. At about half an hour after seven in the evening, having run seven or eight leagues since noon, I anchored in twenty-three fathom, not choosing to run any farther in the dark, as I had now land on both sides, forming the entrance of a strait, bay, or river, lying S. by E. for on that point we could see no land.

At day-break, on the 19th, the wind being still favourable, we weighed and stood with an easy sail up the inlet, keeping nearest to the east side. In a short time, two large canoes came off to us from the shore; the people on board said, that they knew Toiava very well, and called Tupia by his name. I invited some of them on board; and as they knew they had nothing to fear from us, while they behaved honestly and peaceably, they immediately complied: I made each of them some presents, and dismissed them much gratified. Other canoes afterwards came up to us from a different side of the bay; and the people on board of these also mentioned the name of Toiava, and sent a young man into the ship, who told us he was his grandson, and he also was dismissed with a present. After having run about five leagues from the place where we had anchored the night before, our depth of water gradually decreased to six fathom; and not choosing to go into less, as it was tide of flood, and the wind blew right up the inlet, I came to an anchor about the middle of the channel, which is near eleven miles over; after which I sent two boats out to sound, one on one side, and the other on the other.

The boats not having found above three feet more water than we were now in, I determined to go no farther with the ship, but to examine the head of the bay in the boats; for, as it appeared to run a good way inland, I thought this a favourable opportunity to examine the interior part of the country, and its produce. At day-break, therefore, I set out in the pinnace and long-boat, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia; and we found the inlet end in a river, about nine miles above the ship: into this river we entered with the

first of the flood, and within three miles found the water perfectly fresh. Before we had proceeded more than one-third of that distance, we found an Indian town, which was built upon a small bank of dry sand, but entirely surrounded by a deep mud, which possibly the inhabitants might consider as a defence. These people, as soon as they saw us, thronged to the banks, and invited us on shore. We accepted the invitation, and made them a visit, notwithstanding the mud. They received us with open arms, having heard of us from our good old friend Toiava; but our stay could not be long, as we had other objects of curiosity in view. We proceeded up the river till near noon, when we were fourteen miles within its entrance; and then, finding the face of the country to continue nearly the same, without any alteration in the course of the stream, which we had no hope of tracing to its source, we landed on the west side, to take a view of the lofty trees which everywhere adorned its banks. They were of a kind that we had seen before, though only at a distance, both in Poverty Bay and Hawke's Bay. Before we had walked a hundred yards into the wood, we met with one of them which was nineteen feet eight inches in the girt, at the height of six feet above the ground: having a quadrant with me, I measured its height from the root to the first branch, and found it to be eighty-nine feet: it was as straight as an arrow, and tapered but very little in proportion to its height; so that I judged there were three hundred and fifty-six feet of solid timber in it, exclusive of the branches. As we advanced we saw many others that were still larger; we cut down a young one, and the wood proved heavy and solid, not fit for masts, but such as would make the finest plank in the world. Our carpenter, who was with us, said that the timber resembled that of the pitch-pine, which is lightened by tapping; and possibly some such method might be found to lighten these, and they would then be such masts as no country in Europe can produce. As the wood was swampy, we could not range far; but we found many stout trees of other kinds, all of them utterly unknown to us, specimens of which we brought away.

The river at this height is as broad as the Thames at Greenwich, and the tide of flood as strong; it is not indeed quite so deep, but has water enough for vessels of more than a middle size, and a bottom of mud so soft that nothing could take damage by running ashore.

About three o'clock we re-embarked, in order to return with the first of the ebb, and named the river the Thames, it having some resemblance to our own river of that name. In our return, the inhabitants of the village where we had been ashore, seeing us take another channel, came off to us in their canoes, and trafficked with us in the most friendly manner, till they had disposed of the few trifles they had. The tide of ebb just carried us out of the narrow part of the river into the channel that run up from the sea before it was dark; and we pulled hard to reach the ship, but meeting the flood, and a strong breeze at N.N.W., with showers of rain, we were obliged to desist; and about midnight we run under the land and came to a grappling, where we took such rest as our situation would admit. At break of day we set forward again, and it was past seven o'clock before we reached the ship. We were all extremely tired, but thought ourselves happy to be on board, for before nine it blew so hard that the boat could not have rowed ahead, and must therefore either have gone ashore or taken shelter under it. About three o'clock, having the tide of ebb, we took up our anchor, made sail, and plied down the river till eight in the evening, when we came to an anchor again: early in the morning we made sail with the first ebb, and kept plying till the flood obliged us once more to come to an anchor. As we had now only a light breeze, I went in the pinnace, accompanied by Dr. Solander, to the western shore; but I saw nothing worthy of notice.

When I left the ship, many canoes were about it; Mr. Banks therefore chose to stay on board and traffic with the natives; they bartered their clothes and arms, chiefly for paper, and behaved with great friendship and honesty. But while some of them were below with Mr. Banks, a young man who was upon the deck stole a half-minute glass which was in the binnacle, and was detected just as he was carrying it off. Mr. Hicks, who was commanding-officer on board, took it into his head to punish him, by giving him twelve lashes with a cat-o'nine-tails; and accordingly ordered him to be taken to the gangway, and tied up to the shrouds. When the other Indians who were on board saw him seized, they attempted to rescue him; and being resisted, called for their arms, which were handed up

from the canoes, and the people of one of them attempted to come up the ship's side. The tumult was heard by Mr. Banks, who, with Tupia, came hastily upon the deck to see what had happened. The Indians immediately ran to Tupia, who, finding Mr. Hicks inexorable, could only assure them, that nothing was intended against the life of their companion; but that it was necessary he should suffer some punishment for his offence; which being explained to them, they seemed to be satisfied. The punishment was then inflicted, and as soon as the criminal was unbound, an old man among the spectators, who was supposed to be his father, gave him a hearty beating and sent him down into his canoe. All the canoes then dropped a-stern, and the people said that they were afraid to come any more near the ship: after much persuasion, however, they ventured back again, but their cheerful confidence was at an end, and their stay was short; they promised, indeed, at their departure, to return with some fish, but we saw no more of them.

On the 23d, the wind being contrary, we kept plying down the river, and at seven in the evening, got without the N.W. point of the islands lying on the west side of it. The weather being bad, night coming on, and having land on every side of us, I thought it most advisable to tack, and stretch in under the point, where we anchored in nineteen fathom. At five in the morning of the 24th, we weighed, and made sail to the N.W. under our courses and double-reefed topsails, the wind being at S.W. by W. and W. S.W., a strong gale and squally. As the gale would not permit us to come near the land, we had but a slight and distant view of it from the time when we got under sail till noon, during a run of twelve leagues, but we never once lost sight of it. At this time, our latitude by observation was 36° 15′ 20″, we were not above two miles from a point of land on the main, and three leagues and a half from a very high island, which bore N. E. by E. In this situation we had twenty-six fathom water; the farthest point on the main that we could see bore N. W.; but we could perceive several small islands lying to the north of that direction. The point of land of which we were now abreast, and which I called Point Rodney, is the N. W. extremity of the river Thames; for under that name I comprehend the deep bay which terminates in the fresh-water stream; and the N. E. extremity is the promontory which we passed when we entered it, and which I called Cape Colville, in honour of the Right Honourable Lord Colville.

Cape Colville lies in latitude 36° 26′, longitude 184° 27′; it rises directly from the sea to a considerable height, and is remarkable for a lofty rock which stands to the pitch of the point, and may be distinguished at a very great distance. From the south point of this cape the river runs in a direct line S. by E., and is nowhere less than three leagues broad for the distance of fourteen leagues above the cape, and there it is contracted to a narrow stream, but continues the same course through a low flat country, or broad valley, which lies parallel with the sea-coast, and the end of which we could not see. On the east side of the broad part of this river the land is tolerably high and hilly; on the west side it is rather low, but the whole is covered with verdure and wood, and has the appearance of great fertility, though there were but a few small spots which had been cultivated. At the entrance of the narrow part of the river the land is covered with mangroves and other shrubs; but farther, there are immense woods of perhaps the finest timber in the world, of which some account has already been given. In several places the wood extends to the very edge of the water, and where it is at a little distance, the intermediate space is marshy, like some parts of the banks of the Thames in England. It is probable that the river contains plenty of fish, for we saw poles stuck up in many places to set nets for catching them; but of what kinds I do not know. The greatest depth of water that we found in this river was six-and-twenty fathom, which gradually decreased to one fathom and a half. In the mouth of the fresh-water stream it is from four to three fathom, but there are large flats and sand-banks lying before it. A ship of moderate draught may, notwithstanding, go a long way up this river with a flowing tide; for it rises perpendicularly near ten feet, and at the full and change of the moon it is high-water about nine o'clock.

Six leagues within Cape Colville, under the eastern shore, are several small islands, which, together with the main, seem to form good harbours; and opposite to these islands, under the western shore, lie other islands, by which it is also probable that good harbours may be

formed. But if there are no harbours about this river, there is good anchoring in every part of it where the depth of water is sufficient; for it is defended from the sea by a chain of islands of different extent, which lie cross the mouth of it, and which I have, for that reason, called BARRIER ISLANDS: they stretch N.W. and S.E. ten leagues. The south end of the chain lies N.E., between two and three leagues from Cape Colville; and the north end lies N.E., four leagues and a half from Point Rodney. Point Rodney lies W.N.W., nine leagues from Cape Colville, in latitude 36° 15′ S., longitude 184° 53′ W.

The natives residing about this river do not appear to be numerous, considering the great extent of the country. But they are strong, well-made, and active people, and all of them paint their bodies with red ochre and oil from head to foot, which we had not seen before. Their canoes were large and well built, and adorned with carving, in as good a taste as any that we had seen upon the coast.

We continued to stand along the shore till night, with the mainland on one side, and islands on the other, and then anchored in a bay, with fourteen fathom, and a sandy bottom. We had no sooner come to an anchor, than we tried our lines, and in a short time caught near one hundred fish, which the people called sea-bream; they weighed from six to eight pounds a-piece, and consequently would supply the whole ship's company with food for two days. From the success of our lines here, we called the place BREAM BAY: the two points that form it lie north and south, five leagues from each other; it is everywhere of a good breadth, and between three and four leagues deep: at the bottom of it there appears to be a river of fresh water. The north head of the bay, called BREAM HEAD, is high land, and remarkable for several pointed rocks, which stand in a range upon the top of it: it may also be known by some small islands which lie before it, called the HEN AND CHICKENS, one of which is high, and terminates in two peaks. It lies in latitude 35° 46′ S., and at the distance of seventeen leagues and a half from Cape Colville, in the direction of N. 41 W.

The land between Point Rodney and Bream Head, an extent of ten leagues, is low, and wooded in tufts, with white sand banks between the sea and the firm lands. We saw no inhabitants, but many fires in the night; and where there are fires, there are always people.

At day-break, on the 25th, we left the bay, and steered along shore to the northward: we found the variation of the compass to be 12° 42′ E. At noon, our latitude was 35° 36′ S., Bream Head bore south, distant ten miles; and we saw some small islands, to which I gave the name of the POOR KNIGHTS, at N.E. by N., distant three leagues; the northernmost land in sight bore N.N.W.: we were in this place at the distance of two miles from the shore, and had twenty-six fathom water. The country appeared low, but well covered with wood: we saw some straggling houses, three or four fortified towns, and near them a large quantity of cultivated land. In the evening, seven large canoes came off to us, with about two hundred men: some of them came on board, and said that they had heard of us. To two of them, who appeared to be chiefs, I gave presents; but when these were gone out of the ship, the others became exceedingly troublesome. Some of those in the canoes began to trade, and, according to their custom, to cheat, by refusing to deliver what had been bought, after they had received the price: among these was one who had received an old pair of black breeches, which, upon a few small shot being fired at him, he threw into the sea. All the boats soon after paddled off to some distance, and when they thought they were out of reach, they began to defy us, by singing their song, and brandishing their weapons. We thought it advisable to intimidate them, as well for their sakes as our own, and therefore fired first some small arms, and then round shot over their heads; the last put them in a terrible fright, though they received no damage, except by overheating themselves in paddling away, which they did with astonishing expedition.

In the night we had variable light airs; but towards the morning, a breeze sprung up at S., and afterwards at S.E., with which we proceeded slowly to the northward, along the shore. Between six and seven o'clock, two canoes came off, and told us that they had heard of yesterday's adventure, notwithstanding which the people came on board, and traded very quietly and honestly for whatever they had: soon after, two canoes came off

VIEW OF OTAHEITE.

SCENE IN OTAHEITE.

Plate V.] [*Cook's Voyages.*

from a more
when they
and after a
persons of a
had with the
bone, upon
we had befor
complexions
bodies and f
had a broad
black, some
wear striped
a different cu
and those in
without a sin
their weapon
a piece of tal
the cloth was
with the axe.
canoe, upon w
then went ash

At noon, th
land bearing
of Cape Bret
any part of th
at the distance
already been
bridge. This
lies in latitude
and pretty dee
islands: the p
four leagues fr
the west side
several very la
any we had se
was tied up in
each of the can
covered with d
marked with t
trading was als
them, one of t
revenge, to an
when the man
the lead with
the line, and t
sticking in the
six or eight lea
five hundred of

At eight o'cl
close under the
direction of N.
hours, during w
Cavalles, and f
insolent, freque
more canoes ca

from a more distant part of the shore; these were of a much larger size and full of people: when they came near, they called off the other canoes which were alongside of the ship, and after a short conference they all came up together. The strangers appeared to be persons of a superior rank; their canoes were well carved with many ornaments, and they had with them a great variety of weapons: they had patoo-patoos both of stone and whalebone, upon which they appeared to set a great value; they had als f whale, of which we had before seen imitations in wood, carved and adorned with tufts of dog's hair. Their complexions were browner than those of the people we had seen to the southward, and their bodies and faces were more marked with the black stains which they call Amoco: they had a broad spiral on each buttock; and the thighs of many of them were almost entirely black, some narrow lines only being left untouched, so that at first sight they appeared to wear striped breeches. With respect to the Amoco, every different tribe seemed to have a different custom; for all the men, in some canoes, seemed to be almost covered with it, and those in others had scarcely a stain, except on the lips, which were black in all of them, without a single exception. These gentlemen, for a long time, refused to part with any of their weapons, whatever was offered for them; at last, however, one of them produced a piece of talc, wrought into the shape of an axe, and agreed to sell it for a piece of cloth: the cloth was handed over the ship's side, but his honour immediately put off his canoe with the axe. We had recourse to our usual expedient, and fired a musket-ball over the canoe, upon which it put back to the ship, and the piece of cloth was returned; all the boats then went ashore, without offering any further intercourse.

At noon, the mainland extended from S. by E. to N.W. by W., a remarkable point of land bearing W., distant four or five miles; at three we passed it, and I gave it the name of Cape Bret, in honour of Sir Piercy The land of this cape is considerably higher than any part of the adjacent coast: at the point of it is a high round hillock, and N.E. by N., at the distance of about a mile, is a small high island or rock, which, like several that have already been described, was perforated quite through, so as to appear like the arch of a bridge. This cape, or at least some part of it, is by the natives called Motugogogo, and it lies in latitude 35° 10′ 30″ S., longitude 185° 25′ W. On the west side of it is a large and pretty deep bay, lying in S.W. by W., in which there appeared to be several small islands: the point that forms the N.W. entrance, lies W. ¼ N., at the distance of three or four leagues from Cape Bret, and I distinguished it by the name of Point Pococke. On the west side of the bay, we saw several villages, both upon islands and the main, and several very large canoes came off to us, full of people, who made a better appearance than any we had seen yet: they were all stout and well made; their hair, which was black, was tied up in a bunch on the crown of their heads, and stuck with white feathers. In each of the canoes were two or three chiefs, whose habits were of the best sort of cloth, and covered with dog's skin, so as to make an agreeable appearance: most of these people were marked with the Amoco, like those who had been alongside of us before: their manner of trading was also equally fraudulent; and the officers neglecting either to punish or fright them, one of the midshipmen who had been defrauded in his bargain, had recourse, for revenge, to an expedient which was equally ludicrous and severe: he got a fishing line, and when the man who had cheated him was close under the ship's side in his canoe, he heaved the lead with so good an aim, that the hook caught him by the back; he then pulled the line, and the man holding back, the hook broke in the shank, and the beard was left sticking in the flesh. During the course of this day, though we did not range more than six or eight leagues of the coast, we had alongside and on board the ship between four and five hundred of the natives, which is a proof that this part of the country is well inhabited.

At eight o'clock the next morning, we were within a mile of a group of islands which lie close under the main, at the distance of two-and-twenty miles from Cape Bret, in the direction of N.W. by W. ½ W. At this place, having but little wind, we lay about two hours, during which time several canoes came off, and sold us some fish ,which we called Cavalles, and for that reason I gave the same name to the islands. These people were very insolent, frequently threatening us, even while they were selling their fish; and when some more canoes came up, they began to pelt us with stones. Some small-shot were then fired,

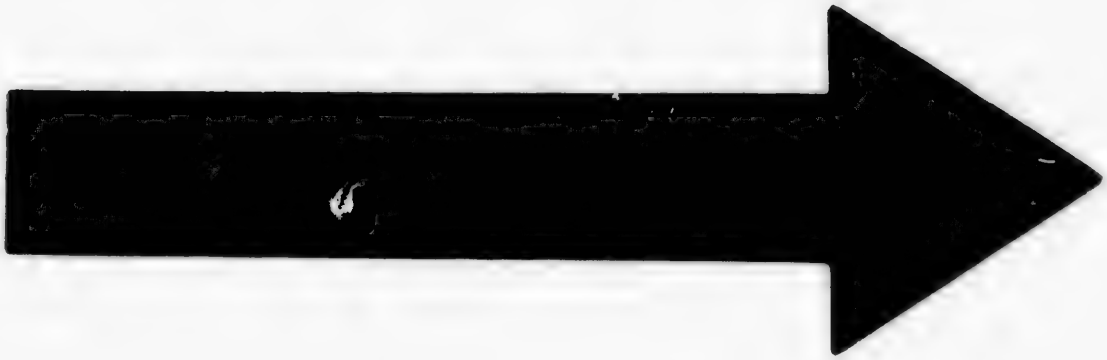
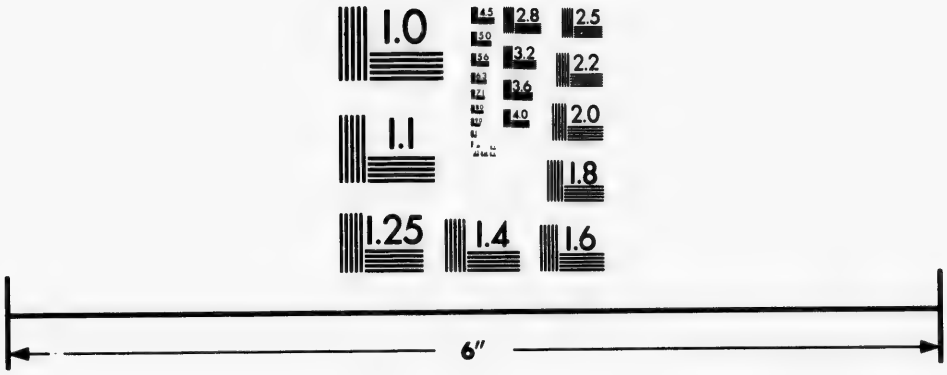


IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)



Photographic
Sciences
Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

2.8
3.2
2.5
3.6
2.2
2.0
1.8
1.1
1.0

and hit one of them while he had a stone in his hand, in the very action of throwing it into the ship they did not, however, desist, till some others had been wounded, and then they went away, and we stood off to sea.

The wind being directly against us, we kept plying to windward till the 29th, when we had rather lost than gained ground; I therefore bore up for a bay which lies to the westward of Cape Bret; at this time it was about two leagues to leeward of us; and at about eleven o'clock we anchored under the south-west side of one of the many islands which line it on the south-east, in four fathom and a half water; we shoaled our water to this depth all at once, and if this had not happened, I should not have come to an anchor so soon. The master was immediately sent out with two boats to sound, and he soon discovered that we had got upon a bank, which runs out from the north-west end of the island, and that on the outside of it there was from eight to ten fathom.

In the mean time the natives, to the number of near four hundred, crowded upon us in their canoes, and some of them were admitted on board: to one, who seemed to be a chief, I gave a piece of broad-cloth, and distributed some trifling presents among the rest. I perceived that some of these people had been about the ship when she was off at sea, and that they knew the power of our fire-arms, for the very sight of a gun threw them into manifest confusion: under this impression, they traded very fairly; but the people in one of the canoes took the opportunity of our being at dinner to tow away our buoy: a musket was fired over them without effect, we then endeavoured to reach them with some small shot, but they were too far off: by this time they had got the buoy into their canoe, and we were obliged to fire a musket at them with ball: this hit one of them, and they immediately threw the buoy overboard: a round shot was then fired over them, which struck the water and went ashore. Two or three of the canoes immediately landed their people, who ran about the beach, as we imagined, in search of the ball. Tupia called to them, and assured them that, while they were honest, they should be safe, and with a little persuasion many of them returned to the ship, and their behaviour was such as left us no reason to suspect that they intended to give us any farther trouble.

After the ship was removed into deeper water, and properly secured, I went with the pinnace and yawl, manned and armed, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, and landed upon the island, which was about three-quarters of a mile distant. We observed that the canoes which were about the ship did not follow us upon our leaving her, which we thought a good sign; but we had no sooner landed than they crowded to different parts of the island and came on shore. We were in a little cove, and in a few minutes were surrounded by two or three hundred people, some rushing from behind the heads of the cove, and others appearing on the tops of the hills: they were all armed, but they came on in so confused and straggling a manner that we scarcely suspected they meant us any harm, and we were determined that hostilities should not begin on our part. We marched towards them, and then drew a line upon the sand between them and us, which we gave them to understand they were not to pass. At first they continued quiet, but their weapons were held ready to strike, and they seemed to be rather irresolute than peaceable. While we remained in this state of suspense, another party of Indians came up, and now growing more bold as their number increased, they began the dance and song, which are their preludes to a battle; still, however, they delayed the attack, but a party ran to each

NEW ZEALANDER, IN WAR COSTUME, GIVING A CHALLENGE.

of our boats, and attempted to draw them on shore: this seemed to be the signal, for the people about us at the same time began to press in upon our line. Our situation was now become too critical for us to remain longer inactive; I therefore discharged my musket, which was loaded with small-shot, at one of the forwardest, and Mr. Banks and two of the men fired immediately afterwards. This made them fall back in some confusion; but one of the chiefs, who was at the distance of about twenty yards, rallied them, and running forward, waving his patoo-patoo, and calling loudly to his companions, led them to the charge. Dr. Solander, whose piece was not yet discharged, fired at this champion, who stopped short upon feeling the shot, and then ran away with the rest; they did not, however, disperse, but got together upon a rising ground, and seemed only to want some leader of resolution to renew their attack. As they were now beyond the reach of small-shot, we fired with ball; but as none of them took place, they still continued in a body, and in this situation we remained about a quarter of an hour. In the mean time the ship, from whence a much greater number of Indians were seen than could be discovered in our situation, brought her broadside to bear, and entirely dispersed them by firing a few shot over their heads. In this skirmish only two of the Indians were hurt with the small-shot, and not a single life was lost, which would not have been the case if I had not restrained the men, who, either from fear or the love of mischief, showed as much impatience to destroy them as a sportsman to kill his game. When we were in quiet possession of our cove, we laid down our arms and began to gather celery, which grew here in great plenty. After a little time, we recollected to have seen some of the people hide themselves in a cave of one of the rocks; we therefore went towards the place, when an old Indian, who proved to be the chief that I had presented with a piece of broad-cloth in the morning, came out with his wife and his brother, and in a supplicating posture put themselves under our protection. We spoke kindly to them, and the old man then told us that he had another brother, who was one of those that had been wounded by the small-shot, and inquired with much solicitude and concern if he would die. We assured him that he would not, and at the same time put into his hand both a musket-ball and some small-shot, telling him that those only who were wounded with the ball would die, and that the others would recover; at the same time assuring him, that if we were attacked again, we should certainly defend ourselves with the ball, which would wound them mortally. Having now taken courage, they came and sat down by us, and as tokens of our perfect amity, we made them presents of such trifles as we happened to have about us.

Soon after, we re-embarked in our boats, and having rowed to another cove in the same island, climbed a neighbouring hill which commanded the country to a considerable distance. The prospect was very uncommon and romantic, consisting of innumerable islands, which formed as many harbours, where the water was as smooth as a mill-pool. We saw also many towns, scattered houses, and plantations, the country being much more populous than any we had seen. One of the towns was very near us, from which many of the Indians advanced, taking great pains to show us that they were unarmed, and in their gestures and countenances expressing great meekness and humility. In the mean time some of our people, who, when the Indians were to be punished for a fraud, assumed the inexorable justice of a Lycurgus, thought fit to break into one of their plantations, and dig up some potatoes; for this offence I ordered each of them to be punished with twelve lashes. After which two of them were discharged; but the third, insisting that it was no crime in an Englishman to plunder an Indian plantation, though it was a crime in an Indian to defraud an Englishman of a nail, I ordered him back into his confinement, from which I would not release him till he had received six lashes more.

On the 30th, there being a dead calm, and no probability of our getting to sea, I sent the master, with two boats, to sound the harbour; and all the forenoon had several canoes about the ship, who traded in a very fair and friendly manner. In the evening, we went ashore upon the main, where the people received us very cordially; but we found nothing worthy of notice. In this bay we were detained by contrary winds and calms several days, during which time our intercourse with the natives was continued in the most peaceable and friendly manner, they being frequently about the ship, and we ashore, both upon the islands and the main. In one of our visits to the continent, an old man showed us the instrument they use

in the staining their bodies, which exactly resembled those that were employed for the same purpose at Otaheite. We saw also the man who was wounded in attempting to steal our buoy: the ball had passed through the fleshy part of his arm, and grazed his breast; but the wound, under the care of nature, the best surgeon, and a simple diet, the best nurse, was in a good state, and seemed to give the patient neither pain nor apprehension. We saw also the brother of our old chief, who had been wounded with small-shot in our skirmish: they had struck his thigh obliquely, and though several of them were still in the flesh, the wound seemed to be attended with neither danger nor pain. We found among their plantations the *morus papyrifera*, of which these people, as well as those of Otaheite, make cloth; but here the plant seems to be rare, and we saw no pieces of the cloth large enough for any use but to wear by way of ornament in their ears.

Having one day landed in a very distant part of the bay, the people immediately fled, except one old man, who accompanied us wherever we went, and seemed much pleased with the little presents we made him. We came at last to a little fort, built upon a small rock, which at high water was surrounded by the sea, and accessible only by a ladder: we perceived that he eyed us with a kind of restless solicitude as we approached it, and, upon our expressing a desire to enter it, he told us that his wife was there. He saw that our curiosity was not diminished by this intelligence, and after some hesitation he said, if we would promise to offer no indecency, he would accompany us: our promise was readily given, and he immediately led the way. The ladder consisted of steps fastened to a pole, but we found the ascent both difficult and dangerous. When we entered, we found three women, who, the moment they saw us, burst into tears of terror and surprise: some kind words and a few presents soon removed their apprehensions, and put them into good-humour. We examined the house of our old friend, and by his interest two others, which were all that the fortification contained; and having distributed a few more presents, we parted with mutual satisfaction.

At four o'clock in the morning of the 5th of December, we weighed, with a light breeze; but it being variable, with frequent calms, we made little way. We kept turning out of the bay till the afternoon, and about ten o'clock we were suddenly becalmed, so that the ship would neither wear nor stay; and the tide or current setting strong, she drove towards land so fast that, before any measures could be taken for her security, she was within a cable's length of the breakers. We had thirteen fathom water, but the ground was so foul that we did not dare to drop our anchor; the pinnace, therefore, was immediately hoisted out to take the ship in tow, and the men, sensible of their danger, exerting themselves to the utmost, and a faint breeze springing up off the land, we perceived, with unspeakable joy, that she made head-way, after having been so near the shore that Tupia, who was not sensible of our hair's-breadth escape, was at this very time conversing with the people upon the beach, whose voices were distinctly heard, notwithstanding the roar of the breakers. We now thought all danger was over, but about an hour afterwards, just as the man in the chains had cried "seventeen fathom," the ship struck. The shock threw us all into the utmost consternation; Mr. Banks, who had undressed himself, and was stepping into bed, ran hastily up to the deck, and the man in the chains called out "five fathom;" by this time, the rock on which we had struck being to windward, the ship went off without having received the least damage, and the water very soon deepened to twenty fathom.

This rock lies half a mile W.N.W. of the northernmost or outermost island on the S.E. side of the bay. We had light airs from the land, with calms, till nine o'clock the next morning, when we got out of the bay; and a breeze springing up at N.N.W., we stood out to sea.

This bay, as I have before observed, lies on the west side of Cape Bret, and I named it the Bay of Islands, from the great number of islands which line its shores, and from several harbours equally safe and commodious, where there is room and depth for any number of shipping. That in which we lay is on the south-west side of the south-westernmost island, called Maturaro, on the south-east side of the bay *. I have made no accurate survey of

* The Bay of Islands has long been the principal resort for the whale ships; upwards of thirty of which have been at anchor there at the same time, from the ports of Great Britain, America, France, and New Holland; besides several vessels engaged in other commercial pursuits, who are all certain to find ample refreshment. One of the principal missionary establishments is near the Bay of Islands, and considerable tracts of the neighbouring country are in the hands of English colonists.—Ed.

this bay, being discouraged by the time it would cost me; I thought also that it was sufficient to be able to affirm that it afforded us good anchorage and refreshment of every kind. It was not the season for roots; but we had plenty of fish, most of which, however, we purchased of the natives, for we could catch very little ourselves either with net or line. When we showed the natives our seine, which is such as the King's ships are generally furnished with, they laughed at it, and in triumph produced their own, which was indeed of an enormous size, and made of a kind of grass, which is very strong: it was five fathom deep, and, by the room it took up, it could not be less than three or four hundred fathom long; fishing seems, indeed, to be the chief business of life in this part of the country. We saw about all their towns a great number of nets, laid in heaps like hay-cocks, and covered with a thatch to keep them from the weather; and we scarcely entered a house where some of the people were not employed in making them. The fish we procured here were sharks, sting-rays, sea-bream, mullet, mackerel, and some others.

VIEW IN THE BAY OF ISLANDS.

The inhabitants in this bay are far more numerous than in any other part of the country that we had before visited; it did not appear to us that they were united under one head, and though their towns were fortified, they seemed to live together in perfect amity. It is high-water in this bay at the full and change of the moon, about eight o'clock, and the tide then rises from six to eight feet perpendicularly. It appears, from such observations as I was able to make of the tides upon the sea-coast, that the flood comes from the southward; and I have reason to think that there is a current which comes from the westward, and sets along the shore to the S.E. or S.S.E. as the land happens to lie.

CHAPTER V.—RANGE FROM THE BAY OF ISLANDS ROUND NORTH CAPE TO QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND; AND A DESCRIPTION OF THAT PART OF THE COAST.

On Thursday the 7th of December, at noon, Cape Bret bore S. S. E. ½ E. distant ten miles, and our latitude, by observation, was 34° 59′ S.; soon after we made several observations of the sun and moon, the result of which made our longitude 185° 36′ W. The wind being against us, we had made but little way. In the afternoon, we stood in shore.

and fetched close under the Cavalles, from which islands the main trends W. by N.; several canoes put off and followed us, but a light breeze springing up, I did not choose to wait for them. I kept standing to the W.N.W. and N.W. till the next morning ten o'clock, when I tacked and stood in for the shore, from which we were about five leagues distant. At noon, the westernmost land in sight bore W. by S. and was about four leagues distant. In the afternoon, we had a gentle breeze to the west, which in the evening came to the south, and continuing so all night, by day-light brought us pretty well in with the land, seven leagues to the westward of the Cavalles, where we found a deep bay running in S.W. by W. and W.S.W. the bottom of which we could but just see, and there the land appeared to be low and level. To this bay, which I called Doubtless Bay, the entrance is formed by two points, which lie W.N.W. and E.S.E. and are five miles distant from each other. The wind not permitting us to look in here, we steered for the westernmost land in sight, which bore from us W. N. W. about three leagues; but before we got the length of it, it fell calm.

While we lay becalmed, several canoes came off to us; but the people having heard of our guns, it was not without great difficulty that they were persuaded to come under our stern: after having bought some of their clothes, as well as their fish, we began to make inquiries concerning their country, and learnt, by the help of Tupia, that, at the distance of three days' rowing in their canoes, at a place called Moorewennua, the land would take a short turn to the southward, and from thence extend no more to the west. This place we concluded to be the land discovered by Tasman, which he called Cape Maria van Diemen, and finding these people so intelligent, we inquired farther, if they knew of any country besides their own: they answered, that they never had visited any other, but that their ancestors had told them, that to the N.W. by N. or N.N.W. there was a country of great extent, called Ulimaroa, to which some people had sailed in a very large canoe; that only part of them returned, and reported, that after a passage of a month they had seen a country where the people eat hogs. Tupia then inquired whether these adventurers brought any hogs with them when they returned; they said, No. Then, replied Tupia, your story is certainly false, for it cannot be believed that men who came back from an expedition without hogs, had ever visited a country where hogs were to be procured. It is, however, remarkable, notwithstanding the shrewdness of Tupia's objection, that when they mentioned hogs, it was not by description, but by name; calling them *Booah*, the name which is given them in the South-sea islands; but if the animal had been wholly unknown to them, and they had had no communication with people to whom it was known, they could not possibly have been acquainted with the name.

About ten o'clock at night, a breeze sprung up at W.N.W. with which we stood off north; and at noon the next day, the Cavalles bore S.E., by E. distant eight leagues; the entrance of Doubtless Bay S. by W., distant three leagues; and the north-west extremity of the land in sight, which we judged to be the main, bore N.W. by W.: our latitude by observation was 34° 44′ S. In the evening, we found the variation to be 12° 41′ E. by the azimuth, and 12° 40′ by the amplitude.

Early in the morning, we stood in with the land, seven leagues to the westward of Doubtless Bay, the bottom of which is not far distant from the bottom of another large bay, which the shore forms at this place, being separated only by a low neck of land, which juts out into a peninsula that I have called Knuckle Point. About the middle of this bay, which we called Sandy Bay, is a high mountain, standing upon a distant shore, to which I gave the name of Mount Camel. The latitude here is 34° 51′ S. and longitude 186° 50′. We had twenty-four and twenty-five fathom water, with a good bottom; but there seems to be nothing in this bay that can induce a ship to put into it; for the land about it is utterly barren and desolate, and, except Mount Camel, the situation is low: the soil appears to be nothing but white sand, thrown up in low irregular hills and narrow ridges, lying parallel with the shore. But barren and desolate as this place is, it is not without inhabitants: we saw one village on the west side of Mount Camel, and another on the east side; we saw also five canoes full of people, who pulled after the ship, but could not come up with us. At nine o'clock, we tacked and stood to the northward; and at noon, the Cavalles

bore S. E. by E., distant thirteen leagues; the north extremity of the land in sight, making like an island, bore N. W. ¼ N., distant nine leagues; and Mount Camel bore S. W. by S., distance six leagues.

The wind being contrary, we kept plying northward till five o'clock in the evening of the 12th, when, having made very little way, we tacked and stood to the N.E., being two leagues to the northward of Mount Camel, and about a mile and a half from the shore, in which situation we had two-and-twenty fathom water. At ten, it began to blow and rain, which brought us under double-reefed topsails; at twelve, we tacked and stood to the westward till seven the next morning, when we tacked and stood again to the N.E., being about a mile to windward of the place where we tacked last night. Soon after, it blew very hard at N. N. W., with heavy squalls and much rain, which brought us under our courses, and split the maintopsail; so that we were obliged to unbend it and bend another: at ten, it became more moderate, and we set the topsails, double-reefed: at noon, having strong gales and heavy weather, we tacked and stood to the westward, and had no land in sight for the first time since we had been upon this coast.

We had now strong gales at W. and W.S.W.; and at half an hour past three we tacked and stood to the northward. Soon after, a small island lying off Knuckle Point bore S. ½ W., distant half a league. In the evening, having split the fore and mizen topsails, we brought the ship under her courses; and at midnight, we wore and stood to the southward till five in the morning; when we tacked and stood to the N.W., and saw land bearing south, at the distance of eight or nine leagues; by this we discovered that we had fallen much to the leeward since yesterday morning. At noon our latitude by observation was 34° 6′ S.; and the same land which we had seen before to the N.W. now bore S.W., and appeared to be the northern extremity of the country. We had a large swell rolling in from the westward, and, therefore, concluded that we were not covered by any land in that quarter. At eight in the evening, we tacked and stood to the westward, with as much sail as we could bear; and at noon the next day, we were in latitude 34° 10′, longitude 185° 45′ W., and by estimation about seventeen leagues from the land, notwithstanding our utmost endeavours to keep in with it.

On the 16th, at six in the morning, we saw land from the mast-head, bearing S.S.W.; and at noon it bore S. by W., distant fourteen leagues: while we were standing in for the shore, we sounded several times, but had no ground with ninety fathom. At eight, we tacked in a hundred and eight fathom, at about three or four miles from the shore, which was the same point of land that we had to the N.W. before we were blown off. At noon, it bore S.W., distant about three miles; Mount Camel bore S. by E., distant about eleven leagues, and the westernmost land in sight bore S. 75 W.; the latitude by observation was 34° 20′ S. At four o'clock, we tacked and stood in shore, in doing which, we met with a strong rippling, and the ship fell fast to leeward, which we imputed to a current setting east. At eight, we tacked and stood off till eight the next morning, when we tacked and stood in, being about ten leagues from the land: at noon, the point of land which we were near the day before bore S.S.W., distant five leagues. The wind still continued at west; and at seven o'clock, we tacked in thirty-five fathom, when the point of land which has been mentioned before bore N.W. by N., distant four or five miles; so that we had not gained one inch to windward the last twenty-four hours, which confirmed our opinion that there was a current to the eastward. The point of land I called North Cape, it being the northern extremity of this country. It lies in latitude 34° 22′ S., longitude 186° 55′ W., and thirty-one leagues distant from Cape Bret, in the direction of N. 63 W. It forms the north point of Sandy Bay, and is a peninsula jutting out N. E. about two miles, and terminating in a bluff head that is flat at the top. The isthmus which joins this head to the mainland is very low, and for that reason the land of the cape, from several situations, has the appearance of an island. It is still more remarkable when it is seen from the southward, by the appearance of a high round island at the S.E. point of the cape; but this also is a deception; for what appears to be an island is a round hill, joined to the cape by a low narrow neck of land. Upon the cape we saw a Hippah or village, and a few inhabitants; and on the south-east side of it, there appears to be anchorage, and good shelter from the south-west and north-west winds.

We continued to stand off and on, making N.W. till noon on the 21st, when North Cape bore S. 39 E. distant thirty-eight leagues. Our situation varied only a few leagues till the 23d, when, about seven o'clock in the evening, we saw land from the mast-head, bearing S. ½ E. At eleven the next morning, we saw it again, bearing S.S.E. at the distance of eight leagues: we now stood to the S.W.; and at four o'clock, the land bore S.E. by S. distant four leagues, and proved to be a small island, with other islands or rocks, still smaller, lying off the south-west end of it, and another lying off the north-east end, which were discovered by Tasman, and called the Three Kings. The principal island lies in latitude 34° 12′ S., longitude 187° 48′ W., and distant fourteen or fifteen leagues from the North Cape, in the direction of W. 14 N. At midnight, we tacked and stood to the N.E. till six the next morning, which was Christmas-day, when we tacked and stood to the southward. At noon, the Three Kings bore E. 8 N. distant five or six leagues. The variation this morning by the azimuth was 11° 25′ E.

On the 26th, we stood to the southward close upon a wind; and at noon, were in latitude 35° 10′ S., longitude 188° 20′ W., the Three Kings bearing N. 26 W. distant twenty-two leagues. In this situation we had no land in sight; and yet, by observation, we were in the latitude of the Bay of Islands; and by my reckoning but twenty leagues to the westward of North Cape: from whence it appears, that the northern part of this island is very narrow: for otherwise we must have seen some part of the west side of it. We stood to the southward till twelve at night, and then tacked and stood to the northward.

At four o'clock in the morning, the wind freshened, and at nine, blew a storm; so that we were obliged to bring the ship to under her mainsail. Our course made good between noon this day and yesterday was S.S.W. ½ W., distance eleven miles. The Three Kings bore N. 27 E., distant seventy-seven miles. The gale continued all this day, and till two the next morning, when it fell, and began to veer to the southward and S.W., where it fixed about four, when we made sail and steered east in for the land, under the foresail and mainsail; but the wind then rising, and by eight o'clock being increased to a hurricane, with a prodigious sea, we were obliged to take in the mainsail; we then wore the ship, and brought her to with her head to the north-west. At noon the gale was somewhat abated, but we had still heavy squalls. Our course made good this day was north, a little easterly, twenty-nine miles; latitude by account 34° 50′ S., longitude 188° 27′ W.; the Three Kings bore N. 41 E. distant fifty-two miles. At seven o'clock in the evening, the wind being at S.W. and S.W. by W., with hard squalls, we wore and lay on the other tack; and at six the next morning, spread more sail. Our course and distance since yesterday was E. by N. twenty-nine miles. In the afternoon, we had hard squalls at S.W.; and at eight in the evening, wore and stood to the N.W. till five the next morning; and then wore and stood to the S.E. At six, we saw the land bearing N.E., distant about six leagues, which we judged to be Cape Maria Van Diemen, and which corresponded with the account that had been given of it by the Indians. At midnight we wore and stood to the S.E. And on the next day at noon, Cape Maria Van Diemen bore N.E. by N., distant about five leagues. At seven in the evening, we tacked and stood to the westward, with a moderate breeze at S.W. by S. and S.W. Mount Camel then bore N. 83 E., and the northernmost land, or Cape Maria Van Diemen, N. by W.; we were now distant from the nearest land about three leagues, where we had something more than forty fathom water; and it must be remarked, that Mount Camel, which when seen on the other side did not seem to be more than one mile from the sea, seemed to be but little more when seen from this side; which is a demonstration that the land here cannot be more than two or three miles broad, or from sea to sea.

At six o'clock in the morning of January the 1st, 1770, being New-year's day, we tacked and stood to the eastward, the Three Kings bearing N.W. by N. At noon we tacked again, and stood to the westward, being in latitude 34° 37′ S.; the Three Kings bearing N.W. by N. at the distance of ten or eleven leagues; and Cape Maria Van Diemen N. 31° E., distant about four leagues and a half: in this situation we had fifty-four fathom water.

During this part of our navigation, two particulars are very remarkable; in latitude 35° S., and in the midst of summer, I met with a gale of wind, which for its strength and

continuance, was such as I had scarcely ever been in before; and we were three weeks in getting ten leagues to the westward, and five weeks in getting fifty leagues, for at this time it was so long since we passed Cape Bret. During the gale we were happily at a considerable distance from the land, otherwise it is highly probable that we should never have returned to relate our adventures.

At five o'clock in the evening, having a fresh breeze to the westward, we tacked and stood to the southward: at this time North Cape bore E. ¾ N., and just open of a point that lies three leagues W. by N. from it. This cape, as I have observed before, is the northernmost extremity of this country, and the easternmost point of a peninsula, which runs out N.W. and N.W. by N. seventeen or eighteen leagues, and of which Cape Maria Van Diemen is the westernmost point. Cape Maria lies in latitude 34° 30′ S., longitude 187° 18′ W.; and from this point the land trends away S.E. by S. and S.E. beyond Mount Camel, and is everywhere a barren shore, consisting of banks of white sand.

On the 2nd, at noon, we were in latitude 35° 17′ S., and Cape Maria bore north, distant about sixteen leagues, as near as we could guess; for we had no land in sight, and did not dare to go nearer, as a fresh gale blew right on shore, with a rolling sea. The wind continued at W.S.W. and S.W., with frequent squalls; in the evening we shortened sail, and at midnight tacked, and made a trip to the N.W. till two in the morning, when we wore and stood to the southward. At break of day we made sail, and edged away, in order to make land; and at ten o'clock we saw it, bearing N.W. It appeared to be high, and at noon extended from N. to E.N.E., distant by estimation eight or ten leagues. Cape Maria then bore N. 2° 30′ W., distant thirty-three leagues; our latitude by observation was 36° 2′ S. About seven o'clock in the evening, we were within six leagues of it; but having a fresh gale upon it, with a rolling sea, we hauled our wind to the S.E., and kept on that course close upon the wind all night, sounding several times, but having no ground with one hundred, and one hundred and ten fathom.

At eight o'clock the next morning, we were about five leagues from the land, and off a place which lies in latitude 36° 25′, and had the appearance of a bay or inlet. It bore east; and in order to see more of it, we kept on our course till eleven o'clock, when we were not more than three leagues from it, and then discovered that it was neither inlet nor bay, but a tract of low land, bounded by higher lands on each side, which produced the deception. At this time we tacked and stood to the N.W.; and at noon the land was not distant more than three or four leagues. We were now in latitude 36° 31′ S., longitude 185° 50′ W. Cape Maria bore N. 25 W., distant forty-four leagues and a half; so that the coast must be almost straight in the direction of S.S.E. ¾ E. and N.N.W. ¾ W. nearly. In about latitude 35° 45′ is some high land adjoining to the sea; to the southward of which the shore is also high, and has the most desolate and inhospitable appearance that can be imagined. Nothing is to be seen but hills of sand, on which there is scarcely a blade of verdure; and a vast sea, impelled by the westerly winds, breaking upon it in a dreadful surf, renders it not only forlorn, but frightful; complicating the idea of danger with desolation, and impressing the mind at once with a sense of misery and death. From this place I steered to the northward, resolving never more to come within the same distance of the coast, except the wind should be very favourable indeed. I stood under a fresh sail all the day, hoping to get an offing by the next noon, and we made good a course of a hundred and two miles N. 38 W. Our latitude by observation was 35° 10′ S.; and Cape Maria bore N. 10 E., distance forty-one miles. In the night, the wind shifted from S.W. by S. to S., and blew fresh. Our course to the noon of the 5th was N. 75 W., distance eight miles.

At day-break on the 6th, we saw the land, which we took to be Cape Maria, bearing N.N.E., distant eight or nine leagues; and on the 7th, in the afternoon, the land bore east: and some time after we discovered a turtle upon the water; but being awake, it dived instantly, so that we could not take it. At noon the high land, which has just been mentioned, extended from N. to E., at the distance of five or six leagues; and in two places a flat gave it the appearance of a bay or inlet. The course that we made good the last four-and-twenty hours was S. 33 E. fifty-three miles; Cape Maria bearing N. 25 W., distant thirty leagues. We sailed within sight of land all this day, with gentle gales

between the N.E. and N.W.; and by the next noon had sailed sixty-nine miles in the direction of S. 37 E.; our latitude by observation was 36° 39′ S. The land which on the 4th we had taken for a bay, now bore N.E. by N., distant five leagues and a half; and Cape Maria N. 29 W., forty-seven leagues.

On the 9th, we continued a south-east course till eight o'clock in the evening, having run seven leagues since noon, with the wind at N.N.E. and N., and being within three or four leagues of the land, which appeared to be low and sandy. I then steered S.E. by S. in a direction parallel with the coast, having from forty-eight to thirty-four fathom water, with a black sandy bottom. At daybreak the next morning, we found ourselves between two and three leagues from the land, which began to have a better appearance, rising in gentle slopes, and being covered with trees and herbage. We saw a smoke and a few houses, but it appeared to be but thinly inhabited. At seven o'clock, we steered S. by E., and afterwards S. by W., the land lying in that direction. At nine, we were abreast of a point which rises with an easy ascent from the sea to a considerable height: this point, which lies in latitude 37° 43′, I named WOODY HEAD. About eleven miles from this head, in the direction of S.W. ½ W., lies a very small island, upon which we saw a great number of gannets, and which we, therefore, called GANNET ISLAND. At noon, a high craggy point bore E.N.E., distant about a league and a half, to which I gave the name of ALBATROSS POINT: it lies in latitude 38° 4′ S., longitude 184° 42′ W.; and is distant seven leagues in the direction of S. 17 W. from Woody Head. On the north side of this point the shore forms a bay, in which there appears to be anchorage and shelter for shipping. Our course and distance for the last twenty-four hours was S. 37 E., sixty-nine miles; and at noon this day Cape Maria bore N. 30 W., distant eighty-two leagues. Between twelve and one, the wind shifted at once from N.N.E. to S.S.W., with which we stood to the westward till four o'clock in the afternoon; and then tacked, and stood again in shore till seven; when we tacked again and stood to the westward, having but little wind. At this time Albatross Point bore N.E., distant near two leagues, and the southernmost land in sight bore S.S.W. ½ W., being a very high mountain, and in appearance greatly resembling the Peak of Teneriffe. In this situation we had thirty fathom water, and having but little wind all night, we tacked about four in the morning, and stood in for the shore. Soon after, it fell calm; and being in forty-two fathom water, the people caught a few sea-bream. At eleven, a light breeze sprung up from the west, and we made sail to the southward. We continued to steer S. by W., and S.S.W. along the shore, at the distance of about four leagues, with gentle breezes from between N.W. and N.N.E. At seven in the evening, we saw the top of the peak to the southward, above the clouds, which concealed it below. And at this time, the southernmost land in sight bore S. by W.; the variation, by several azimuths which were taken both in the morning and the evening, appeared to be 14° 15′ easterly.

At noon on the 12th, we were distant about three leagues from the shore which lies under the peak, but the peak itself was wholly concealed by clouds: we judged it to bear about S.S.E.; and some very remarkable peaked islands, which lay under the shore, bore E.S.E., distant three or four leagues. At seven in the evening we sounded, and had forty-two fathom, being distant from the shore between two and three leagues: we judged the peak to bear east; and after it was dark, we saw fires upon the shore.

At five o'clock in the morning we saw, for a few minutes, the summit of the peak, towering above the clouds, and covered with snow. It now bore N.E.; it lies in latitude 39° 16′ S., longitude 185° 15′ W.; and I named it MOUNT EGMONT, in honour of the Earl. It seems to have a large base, and to rise with a gradual ascent; it lies near the sea, and is surrounded by a flat country, of a pleasant appearance, being clothed with verdure and wood, which renders it the more conspicuous, and the shore under it forms a large cape, which I have named CAPE EGMONT. It lies S.S.W. ½ W., twenty-seven leagues distant from Albatross Point, and on the north side of it are two small islands, which lie near a remarkable point on the main, that rises to a considerable height in the form of a sugar-loaf. To the southward of the cape, the land trends away S.E. by E. and S.S.E., and seems to be everywhere a bold shore. At noon, Cape Egmont bore about N.E.; and in this direction, at about four leagues from the shore, we had forty fathom of water. The

wind during the rest of the day was from W. to N.W. by W., and we continued to steer along the shore S.S.E. and S.... by E., keeping at the distance of between two or three leagues. At half an hour after seven, we had another transient view of Mount Egmont, which bore N. 17 W., distant about ten leagues.

At five the next morning, we steered S.E. by S., the coast inclining more southerly; and in about half an hour we saw land, bearing S.W. by S., for which we hauled up. At noon, the north-west extremity of the land in sight bore S. 63 W., and some high land, which had the appearance of an island lying under the main, bore S.S.E., distant five leagues. We were now in a bay, the bottom of which bearing south, we could not see, though it was clear in that quarter. Our latitude by observation was 40° 27′ S., longitude 184° 39′ W. At eight in the evening, we were within two leagues of the land which we had discovered in the morning, having run ten leagues since noon: the land which then bore S. 63 W., now bore N. 59 W., at the distance of seven or eight leagues, and had the appearance of an island. Between this land and CAPE EGMONT lies the bay, the west side of which was our situation at this time, and the land here is of a considerable height, and diversified by hill and valley.

CHAPTER VI.—TRANSACTIONS IN QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND: PASSAGE THROUGH THE STRAIT WHICH DIVIDES THE TWO ISLANDS, AND BACK TO CAPE TURNAGAIN: HORRID CUSTOM OF THE INHABITANTS: REMARKABLE MELODY OF BIRDS; A VISIT TO A HIPPAH, AND MANY OTHER PARTICULARS.

THE shore at this place seemed to form several bays, into one of which I proposed to carry the ship, which was become very foul, in order to careen her, and at the same time repair some defects, and recruit our wood and water.

With this view, I kept plying on and off all night, having from eighty to sixty-three fathom. At daybreak the next morning, I stood for an inlet which runs in S.W.; and at eight I got within the entrance which may be known by a reef of rocks, stretching from the north-west point, and some rocky islands which lie off the south-east point. At nine o'clock, there being little wind, and what there was being variable, we were carried by the tide or current within two cables' length of the north-west shore, where we had fifty-four fathom water, but by the help of our boats we got clear. Just at this time we saw a sea-lion rise twice near the shore, the head of which exactly resembled that of the male which has been described in the Account of Lord Anson's Voyage. We also saw some of the natives in a canoe cross the bay, and a village situated upon the point of an island which lies seven or eight miles within the entrance. At noon, we were the length of this island, but there being little wind, the boats were ordered a-head to tow. About one o'clock, we hauled close round the south-west end of the island; and the inhabitants of the village which was built upon it were immediately up in arms. About two, we anchored in a very safe and convenient cove, on the north-west side of the bay, and facing the south-west end of the island, in eleven fathom water, with soft ground, and moored with the stream anchor.

We were about four long cannon-shot distant from the village or Hippah, from which four canoes were immediately despatched, as we imagined, to reconnoitre, and, if they should find themselves able, to take us. The men were all well armed, and dressed nearly as they are represented in the figure published by Tasman; two corners of the cloth which they wrapped round the body were passed over the shoulders from behind, and being brought down to the upper edge of it before, were made fast to it just under the breast; but few, or none, had feathers in their hair.

They rowed round the ship several times, with their usual tokens of menace and defiance, and at last began the assault by throwing some stones: Tupia expostulated with them, but apparently to very little purpose; and we began to fear that they would oblige us to fire at them, when a very old man in one of the boats expressed a desire of coming on board. We gladly encouraged him in his design, a rope was thrown into his canoe, and she was immediately alongside of the ship: the old man rose up, and prepared to come up the ship's side, upon which all the rest expostulated with great vehemence against the attempt, and at

last laid hold of him, and held him back: he adhered however to his purpose with a calm but steady perseverance, and having at length disengaged himself, he came on board. We received him with all possible expressions of friendship and kindness, and after some time dismissed him, with many presents, to his companions. As soon as he was returned on board his canoe, the people in all the rest began to dance, but whether as a token of enmity or friendship we could not certainly determine, for we had seen them dance in a disposition both for peace and war. In a short time, however, they retired to their fort, and soon after I went on shore, with most of the gentlemen, at the bottom of the cove, abreast of the ship. We found a fine stream of excellent water, and wood in the greatest plenty, for the land here was one forest, of vast extent. As we brought the seine with us, we hauled it once or twice, and with such success that we caught near three hundred-weight of fish of different sorts, which was equally distributed among the ship's company.

At day-break, while we were busy in careening the ship, three canoes came off to us, having on board above a hundred men, besides several of their women, which we were pleased to see, as in general it is a sign of peace; but they soon afterwards became very troublesome, and gave us reason to apprehend some mischief from them to the people that were in our boats alongside the ship. While we were in this situation, the long-boat was sent ashore with some water-casks, and some of the canoes attempting to follow her, we found it necessary to intimidate them by firing some small-shot: we were at such a distance that it was impossible to hurt them, yet our reproof had its effect, and they desisted from the pursuit. They had some fish in their canoes which they now offered to sell, and which, though it stunk, we consented to buy: for this purpose a man in a small boat was sent among them, and they traded for some time very fairly. At length, however, one of them watching his opportunity, snatched at some paper which our market-man held in his hand, and missing it, immediately put himself in a posture of defence, flourished his patoo-patoo, and making show as if he was about to strike; some small-shot were then fired at him from the ship, a few of which struck him upon the knee: this put an end to our trade, but the Indians still continued near the ship, rowing round her many times, and conversing with Tupia, chiefly concerning the traditions they had among them with respect to the antiquities of their country. To this subject they were led by the inquiries which Tupia had been directed to make, whether they had ever seen such a vessel as ours, or had ever heard that any such had been upon their coast. These inquiries were all answered in the negative, so that tradition has preserved among them no memorial of Tasman; though, by an observation made this day, we find that we are only fifteen miles south of Murderer's Bay, our latitude being 41° 5′ 32″, and Murderer's Bay, according to his account, being 40° 50′. The women in these canoes, and some of the men, had a head-dress which we had not before seen. It consisted of a bunch of black feathers, made up in a round form, and tied upon the top of the head, which it entirely covered, and made it twice as high, to appearance, as it was in reality.

After dinner I went in the pinnace with Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Tupia, and some others, into another cove, about two miles distant from that in which the ship lay: in our way we saw something floating upon the water, which we took for a dead seal, but upon rowing up to it, found it to be the body of a woman, which, to all appearance, had been dead some days. We proceeded to our cove, where we went on shore, and found a small family of Indians, who appeared to be greatly terrified at our approach, and all ran away except one. A conversation between this person and Tupia soon brought back the rest, except an old man and a child, who still kept aloof, but stood peeping at us from the woods. Of these people, our curiosity naturally led us to inquire after the body of the woman, which we had seen floating upon the water: and they acquainted us, by Tupia, that she was a relation, who had died a natural death; and that, according to their custom, they had tied a stone to the body, and thrown it into the sea, which stone, they supposed, had, by some accident, been disengaged.

This family, when we came on shore, was employed in dressing some provisions: the body of a dog was at this time buried in their oven, and many provision-baskets stood near it. Having cast our eyes carelessly into one of these, as we passed it, we saw two bones pretty

cleanly picked, which did not seem to be the bones of a dog, and which, upon a nearer examination, we discovered to be those of a human body. At this sight we were struck with horror, though it was only a confirmation of what we had heard many times since we arrived upon this coast. As we could have no doubt but the bones were human, neither could we have any doubt but that the flesh which covered them had been eaten. They were found in a provision-basket; the flesh that remained appeared manifestly to have been dressed by fire; and in the gristles at the end were the marks of the teeth which had gnawed them: to put an end, however, to conjecture, founded upon circumstances and appearances, we directed Tupia to ask what bones they were; and the Indians, without the least hesitation, answered, the bones of a man: they were then asked what was become of the flesh, and they replied that they had eaten it. But, said Tupia, why did you not eat the body of the woman which we saw floating upon the water? The woman, said they, died of disease; besides, she was our relation, and we eat only the bodies of our enemies, who are killed in battle. Upon inquiry who the man was whose bones we had found, they told us, that about five days before, a boat belonging to their enemies came into the bay, with many persons on board, and that this man was of the seven whom they had killed. Though stronger evidence of this horrid practice prevailing among the inhabitants of this coast will scarcely be required, we have still stronger to give. One of us asked if they had any human bones with the flesh remaining upon them, and upon their answering us that all had been eaten, we affected to disbelieve that the bones were human, and said that they were the bones of a dog; upon which one of the Indians, with some eagerness, took hold of his own fore-arm, and thrusting it towards us, said, that the bone which Mr. Banks held in his hand had belonged to that part of the human body; at the same time, to convince us that the flesh had been eaten, he took hold of his own arm with his teeth, and made show of eating: he also bit and gnawed the bone which Mr. Banks had taken, drawing it through his mouth, and showing, by signs, that it had afforded a delicious repast; the bone was then returned to Mr. Banks, and he brought it away with him. Among the persons of this family, there was a woman who had her arms, legs, and thighs, frightfully cut in several places; and we were told that she had inflicted the wounds upon herself, in token of her grief for the loss of her husband, who had been lately killed and eaten by their enemies, who had come from some place to the eastward, towards which the Indians pointed.

The ship lay at the distance of somewhat less than a quarter of a mile from the shore, and in the morning we were awakened by the singing of the birds: the number was incredible, and they seemed to strain their throats in emulation of each other. This wild melody was infinitely superior to any that we had ever heard of the same kind; it seemed to be like small bells, most exquisitely tuned, and perhaps the distance, and the water between, might be no small advantage to the sound. Upon inquiry, we were informed that the birds here always began to sing about two hours after midnight, and continuing their music till sunrise, were, like our nightingales, silent the rest of the day. In the forenoon, a small canoe came off from the Indian village to the ship, and among those that were in it, was the old man who had first come on board at our arrival in the bay. As soon as it came alongside, Tupia renewed the conversation that had passed the day before concerning their practice of eating human flesh, during which they repeated what they had told us already. But, said Tupia, where are the heads? do you eat them too? Of the heads, said the old man, we eat only the brains, and the next time I come I will bring some of them to convince you that what we have told you is truth. After some farther conversation between these people and Tupia, they told him that they expected their enemies to come very shortly to revenge the death of the seven men whom they had killed and eaten.

On the 18th, the Indians were more quiet than usual; no canoe came near the ship, nor did we see one of them moving on the shore, their fishing and other usual occupations being totally suspended. We thought they expected an attack on this day, and, therefore, attended more diligently to what passed on shore; but we saw nothing to gratify our curiosity. After breakfast, we went out in the pinnace, to take a view of the bay, which was of vast extent, and consisted of numberless small harbours and coves, in every direction: we confined our excursion, however, to the western side, and the country being an impene-

trable forest where we landed, we could see nothing worthy of notice: we killed, however, a good number of shags, which we saw sitting upon their nests in the trees, and which, whether roasted or stewed, we considered as very good provision. As we were returning, we saw a single man in a canoe fishing; we rowed up to him, and, to our great surprise, he took not the least notice of us, but even when we were alongside of him, continued to follow his occupation, without adverting to us any more than if we had been invisible. He did not, however, appear to be either sullen or stupid: we requested him to draw up his net, that we might examine it, and he readily complied: it was of a circular form, extended by two hoops, and about seven or eight feet in diameter: the top was open, and sea-ears were fastened to the bottom as a bait: this he let down so as to lie upon the ground, and when he thought fish enough were assembled over it, he drew it up by a very gentle and even motion, so that the fish rose with it, scarcely sensible that they were lifted, till they came very near the surface of the water, and then were brought out in the net by a sudden jerk. By this simple method, he had caught abundance of fish, and, indeed, they are so plenty in this bay, that the catching them requires neither much labour nor art.

This day, some of our people found in the skirts of the wood, near a hole or oven, three human hip-bones, which they brought on board; a farther proof that these people eat human flesh: Mr. Monkhouse, our surgeon, also brought on board, from a place where he saw many deserted houses, the hair of a man's head, which he had found, among many other things, tied up to the branches of trees.

In the morning of the 19th, we set up the armourer's forge to repair the braces of the tiller, and other iron-work, all hands on board being still busy in careening, and other necessary operations about the vessel: this day, some Indians came on board from another part of the bay, where they said there was a town which we had not seen: they brought plenty of fish, which they sold for nails, having now acquired some notion of their use; and in this traffic no unfair practice was attempted. In the morning of the 20th, our old man kept his promise, and brought on board four of the heads of the seven people who had been so much the subject of our inquiries: the hair and flesh were entire, but we perceived that the brains had been extracted; the flesh was soft, but had by some method been preserved from putrefaction, for it had no disagreeable smell. Mr. Banks purchased one of them, but they sold it with great reluctance, and could not by any means be prevailed upon to part with a second; probably they may be preserved as trophies, like the scalps in America, and the jaw-bones in the islands of the South Seas. Upon examining the head which had been bought by Mr. Banks, we perceived that it had received a blow upon the temples, which had fractured the skull. This day we made another excursion in the pinnace, to survey the bay, but we found no flat large enough for a potato garden, nor could we discover the least appearance of cultivation. we met not a single Indian, but found an excellent harbour; and about eight o'clock in the evening returned on board the ship.

On the 21st, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went a-fishing with hook and line, and caught an immense quantity everywhere upon the rocks, in between four and five fathom water: the seine was hauled every night, and seldom failed to supply the whole ship's company with as much fish as they could eat. This day all the people had leave to go on shore at the watering-place, and divert themselves as they should think proper.

In the morning of the 22nd, I set out again in the pinnace, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, with a design to examine the head of the inlet; but, after rowing about four or five leagues without so much as coming in sight of it, the wind being contrary, and the day half spent, we went on shore on the south-east side, to try what might be discovered from the hills. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander immediately employed themselves in botanising near the beach, and I, taking a seaman with me, ascended one of the hills: when I reached the summit, I found a view of the inlet intercepted by hills, which in that direction rose still higher, and which were rendered inaccessible by impenetrable woods; I was, however, abundantly compensated for my labour, for I saw the sea on the eastern side of the country, and a passage leading from it to that on the west, a little to the eastward of the entrance of the inlet where the ship now lay. The main land,

which lay on the south-east of this inlet, appeared to be a narrow ridge of very high hills, and to form part of the south-west side of the strait; the land on the opposite side appeared to trend away east as far as the eye could reach; and to the south-east there appeared to be an opening to the sea, which washed the eastern coast: on the east side of the inlet also I saw some islands which I had before taken to be part of the main land. Having made this discovery, I descended the hill, and as soon as we had taken some refreshment, we set out on our return to the ship. In our way, we examined the harbours and coves which lie behind the islands that I had discovered from the hill; and in this route we saw an old village, in which there were many houses that seemed to have been long deserted: we also saw another village which was inhabited, but the day was too far spent for us to visit it, and we therefore made the best of our way to the ship, which we reached between eight and nine o'clock at night.

The 23rd I employed in carrying on a survey of the place; and upon one of the islands where I landed, I saw many houses which seemed to have been long deserted, and no appearance of any inhabitant. On the 24th, we went to visit our friends at the Hippah or village on the point of the island near the ship's station, who had come off to us on our first arrival in the bay. They received us with the utmost confidence and civility, showing us every part of their habitations, which were commodious and neat. The island or rock on which this town is situated is divided from the main by a breach or fissure, so narrow that a man might almost leap from one to the other: the sides of it are everywhere so steep as to render the artificial fortification of these people almost unnecessary; there was, however, one slight palisade, and one small fighting-stage, towards that part of the rock where access was least difficult.

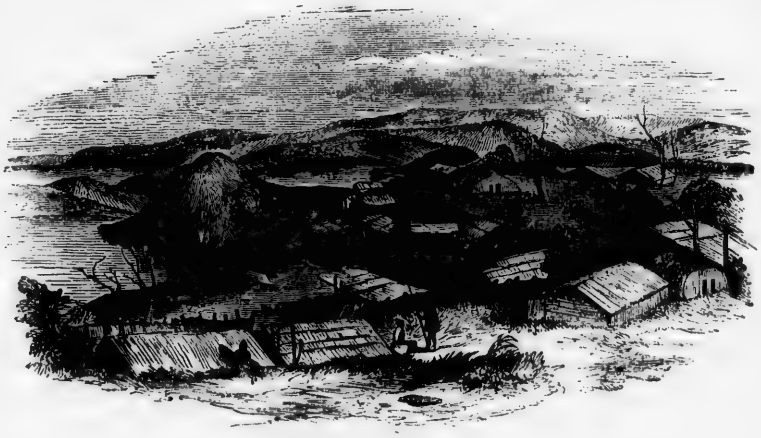
The people here brought us out several human bones, the flesh of which they had eaten, and offered them to sale; for the curiosity of those among us, who had purchased them as memorials of the horrid practice which many, notwithstanding the reports of travellers, have professed not to believe, had rendered them a kind of article of trade. In one part of this village we observed, not without some surprise, a cross exactly like that of a crucifix; it was adorned with feathers, and, upon our inquiring for what purpose it had been set up, we were told that it was a monument for a man who was dead. We had before understood that their dead were not buried, but thrown into the sea; but to our inquiry how the body of the man had been disposed of, to whose memory this cross had been erected, they refused to answer. When we left these people, we went to the other end of the island, and there taking water, crossed over to the main, where we saw several houses, but no inhabitants, except a few in some straggling canoes, that seemed to be fishing. After viewing this place, we returned on board the ship to dinner.

During our visit to the Indians this day, Tupia being always of our party, they had been observed to be continually talking of guns, and shooting people: for this subject of their conversation we could not at all account; and it had so much engaged our attention, that we talked of it all the way back, and even after we got on board the ship. We had perplexed ourselves with various conjectures, which were all given up in their turn; but now we learnt, that on the 21st one of our officers, upon pretence of going out to fish, had rowed up to the Hippah, and that two or three canoes coming off towards his boat, his fears suggested that an attack was intended, in consequence of which three muskets were fired, one with small shot and two with ball, at the Indians, who retired with the utmost precipitation, having probably come out with friendly intentions; for such their behaviour both before and afterwards expressed; and having no reason to expect such treatment from people who had always behaved to them not only with humanity but kindness, and to whom they were not conscious of having given offence.

On the 25th, I made another excursion along the coast, in the pinnace, towards the mouth of the inlet, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, and going on shore at a little cove, to shoot shags, we fell in with a large family of Indians, whose custom it is to disperse themselves among the different creeks and coves, where fish is to be procured in the greatest plenty, leaving a few only in the Hippah, to which the rest repair in times of danger. Some of these people came out a good way to meet us, and gave us an invitation

to go with them to the rest of their party, which we readily accepted. We found a company of about thirty, men, women, and children, who received us with all possible demonstrations of friendship: we distributed among them a few ribands and beads, and, in return, received the kisses and embraces of both sexes, both young and old: they gave us also some fish, and after a little time we returned, much pleased with our new acquaintance.

In the morning of the 26th, I went again out in the boat, with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, and entered one of the bays, which lie on the east side of the inlet, in order to get another sight of the strait which passed between the eastern and western seas. For this purpose, having landed at a convenient place, we climbed a hill of a very considerable height, from which we had a full view of it, with the land on the opposite shore, which we judged to be about four leagues distant; but as it was hazy in the horizon, we could not see far to the south-east: I resolved, however, to search the passage with the ship, as soon as I should put to sea. Upon the top of this hill we found a parcel of loose stones, with which we erected a pyramid, and left in it some musket balls, small shot, beads, and other things, which we happened to have about us, that were likely to stand the test of time, and, not being of Indian workmanship, would convince any European who should come to the place and pull it down, that other natives of Europe had been there before him. When this was done, we descended the hill, and made a comfortable meal of the shags and fish which our guns and lines had procured us, and which were dressed by the boat's crew in a place that we had appointed: in this place we found another Indian family, who received us, as usual, with strong expressions of kindness and pleasure, showing us where to procure water, and doing us such other good offices as were in their power. From this place we went to the town of which the Indians had told us, who visited us on the 19th; this, like that which we had seen before, was built upon a small island or rock, so difficult of access, that we gratified our curiosity at the risk of our necks. The Indians here also received us with open arms, carried us to every part of the place, and showed us all that it contained: this town, like the other, consisted of between eighty and a hundred houses, and had only one



INTERIOR OF A HIPPAH.

fighting-stage. We happened to have with us a few nails and ribands, and some paper, with which our guests were so gratified, that at our coming away they filled our boat with dried fish, of which we perceived they had laid up great quantities.

The 27th and 28th were spent in refitting the ship for the sea, fixing a transom for the tiller, getting stones on board to put into the bottom of the bread-room, to bring the ship more by the stern, in repairing the casks, and catching fish.

On the 29th, we received a visit from our old man, whose name we found to be TOPĀA,

o found a
l possible
eads, and,
ey gave us
uaintance.
s and Dr.
rder to get
For this
onsiderable
which we
uld not see
s soon as I
with which
her things,
e, and, not
o the place
n this was
which our
place that
s, as usual,
water, and
vent to the
that which
ss, that we
ed us with
ained: this
d only one

some paper,
ur boat with

nsom for the
ing the ship

o be Topāa,

AN OTAHEITE GIRL.

Plate VI.] [*Cook's Voyages.*

and three other natives, with whom Tupia had much conversation. The old man told us, that one of the men who had been fired upon by the officer who had visited their hippah, under pretence of fishing, was dead; but to my great comfort I afterwards discovered that this report was not true, and that if Topāa's discourses were taken literally, they would frequently lead us into mistakes. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were several times on shore during the last two or three days, not without success, but greatly circumscribed in their walks, by climbers of a most luxuriant growth, which were so interwoven together as to fill up the space between the trees about which they grew, and render the woods altogether impassable. This day, also, I went on shore again myself, upon the western point of the inlet, and from a hill of considerable height I had a view of the coast to the N.W. The farthest land I could see in that quarter was an island which has been mentioned before, at the distance of about ten leagues, lying not far from the main: between this island and the place where I stood, I discovered, close under the shore, several other islands, forming many bays, in which there appeared to be good anchorage for shipping. After I had set off the different points for my survey, I erected another pile of stones, in which I left a piece of silver coin, with some musket-balls and beads, and a piece of an old pendant flying on the top. In my return to the ship, I made a visit to several of the natives, whom I saw along-shore, and purchased a small quantity of fish.

On the 30th, early in the morning, I sent a boat to one of the islands for celery, and while the people were gathering it, about twenty of the natives, men, women, and children, landed near some empty huts: as soon as they were on shore, five or six of the women sat down upon the ground together, and began to cut their legs, arms, and faces, with shells, and sharp pieces of talc or jasper, in a terrible manner. Our people understood that their husbands had lately been killed by their enemies: but, while they were performing this horrid ceremony, the men set about repairing the huts, with the utmost negligence and unconcern.

The carpenter having prepared two posts to be left as memorials of our having visited this place, I ordered them to be inscribed with the ship's name, and the year and month: one of them I set up at the watering-place, hoisting the Union-flag upon the top of it; and the other I carried over to the island that lies nearest to the sea, called by the natives MOTUARA. I went first to the village or hippah, accompanied by Mr. Monkhouse and Tupia, where I met with our old man, and told him and several others, by means of Tupia, that we were come to set up a mark upon the island, in order to show to any other ship which should happen to come thither, that we had been there before. To this they readily consented, and promised that they never would pull it down: I then gave something to every one present; and to the old man I gave a silver three-pence, dated 1736, and some spike-nails, with the king's broad arrow cut deep upon them; things which I thought most likely to remain long among them: I then took the post to the highest part of the island, and, after fixing it firmly in the ground, I hoisted upon it the Union-flag, and honoured this inlet with the name of QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND; at the same time taking formal possession of this and the adjacent country, in the name and for the use of his Majesty King George the Third. We then drank a bottle of wine to her Majesty's health, and gave the bottle to the old man who had attended us up the hill, and who was mightily delighted with his present.

While the post was setting up, we inquired of the old man concerning the passage into the eastern sea, the existence of which he confirmed; and then asked him about the land to the S.W. of the strait, where we were then situated; this land, he said, consisted of two whennuas or islands, which may be circumnavigated in a few days, and which he called TOVY POENAMMOO: the literal translation of this word is, "the water of green talc;" and probably if we had understood him better, we should have found that Tovy Poenammoo was the name of some particular place where they got the green talc or stone of which they make their ornaments and tools, and not a general name for the whole southern district: he said, there was also a third whennua, on the east side of the strait, the circumnavigation of which would take up many moons: this he called EAHEINOMAUWE; and to the land on the borders of the strait he gave the name of TIERA WITTE. Having set up our post, and

procured this intelligence, we returned on board the ship, and brought the old man with us, who was attended by his canoe, in which, after dinner, he returned home.

On the 31st, having completed our wooding, and filled all our water-casks, I sent out two parties, one to cut and make brooms, and another to catch fish. In the evening we had a strong gale from the N.W., with such a heavy rain, that our little wild musicians on shore suspended their song, which till now we had constantly heard during the night, with a pleasure which it was impossible to lose without regret. On the 1st, the gale increased to a storm, with heavy gusts from the high land, one of which broke the hawser that we had fastened to the shore, and obliged us to let go another anchor. Towards midnight, the gale became more moderate, but the rain continued with such violence, that the brook which had supplied us with water overflowed its banks, and carried away ten small casks which had been left there full of water, and, notwithstanding we searched the whole cove, we could never recover one of them.

On the 3rd, as I intended to sail the first opportunity, I went over to the hippah on the east side of the Sound, and purchased a considerable quantity of split and half-dried fish, for sea-stores. The people here confirmed all that the old man had told us concerning the strait and the country, and about noon I took leave of them; some of them seemed to be sorry, and others glad, that we were going: the fish which I had bought they sold freely, but there were some who showed manifest signs of disapprobation. As we returned to the ship, some of us made an excursion along the shore to the northward, to traffic with the natives for a farther supply of fish; in which, however, they had no great success. In the evening we got everything off from the shore, as I intended to sail in the morning, but the wind would not permit.

On the 4th, while we were waiting for a wind, we amused ourselves by fishing, and gathering shells and seeds of various kinds; and early in the morning of the 5th, we cast off the hawser, hove short on the bower, and carried the kedge-anchor out, in order to warp the ship out of the cove, which having done, about two o'clock in the afternoon, we hove up the anchor and got under sail; but the wind soon failing, we were obliged to come to an anchor again a little above Motuara. When we were under sail, our old man, Topāa, came on board to take his leave of us; and as we were still desirous of making farther inquiries whether any memory of Tasman had been preserved among these people, Tupia was directed to ask him whether he had ever heard that such a vessel as ours had before visited the country. To this he replied in the negative; but said that his ancestors had told him there had once come to this place a small vessel, from a distant country, called Ulimaroa, in which were four men, who, upon their coming on shore, were all killed: upon being asked where this distant land lay, he pointed to the northward. Of Ulimaroa we had heard something before, from the people about the Bay of Islands, who said that their ancestors had visited it; and Tupia had also talked to us of Ulimaroa, concerning which he had some confused traditionary notions, not very different from those of our old man, so that we could draw no certain conclusion from the accounts of either.

Soon after the ship came to an anchor the second time, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went on shore, to see if any gleanings of natural knowledge remained; and by accident fell in with the most agreeable Indian family they had seen, which afforded them a better opportunity of remarking the personal subordination among these people than had before offered. The principal persons were a widow, and a pretty boy about ten years old: the widow was mourning for her husband with tears of blood, according to their custom, and the child, by the death of its father, was become proprietor of the land where we had cut our wood. The mother and the son were sitting upon mats, and the rest of the family, to the number of sixteen or seventeen, of both sexes, sat round them in the open air, for they did not appear to have any house, or other shelter from the weather, the inclemencies of which custom has probably enabled them to endure without any lasting inconvenience. Their whole behaviour was affable, obliging, and unsuspicious: they presented each person with fish, and a brand of fire to dress it, and pressed them many times to stay till the morning, which they would certainly have done if they had not expected the ship to sail, greatly regretting that they had not become acquainted with them sooner, as they made no doubt but that more know-

ledge of the manners and disposition of the inhabitants of this country would have been obtained from them in a day than they had yet been able to acquire during our whole stay upon the coast.

On the 6th, about six o'clock in the morning, a light breeze sprung up at north, and we again got under sail; but the wind proving variable, we reached no farther than just without Motuara; in the afternoon, however, a more steady gale at N. by W. set us clear of the Sound, which I shall now describe.

The entrance of Queen Charlotte's Sound is situated in latitude 41° S., longitude 184° 45′ W., and near the middle of the south-west side of the strait in which it lies. The land of the south-east head of the Sound, called by the natives Koamaroo, off which lie two small islands and some rocks, makes the narrowest part of the strait. From the north-west head a reef of rocks runs out about two miles, in the direction of N.E. by N.; part of which is above the water, and part below. By this account of the heads, the Sound will be sufficiently known; at the entrance it is three leagues broad, and lies in S.W. by S.S.W. and W.S.W. at least ten leagues, and is a collection of some of the finest harbours in the world. The land forming the harbour or cove in which we lay, is called by the natives Totarranue: the harbour itself, which I called Ship Cove, is not inferior to any in the Sound, either for convenience or safety: it lies on the west side of the Sound, and is the southernmost of three coves that are situated within the island of Motuara, which bears east of it. Ship Cove may be entered, either between Motuara and a long island, called by the natives Hamote, or between Motuara and the western shore. In the last of these channels are two ledges of rocks, three fathom under water, which may easily be known by the sea-weed that grows upon them. In sailing either in or out of the Sound, with little wind, attention must be had to the tides, which flow about nine or ten o'clock at the full and change of the moon, and rise and fall between seven and eight feet perpendicularly. The flood comes in through the strait from the S.E., and sets strongly over upon the north-west head, and the reef that lies off it: the ebb sets with still greater rapidity to the S.E. over upon the rocks and islands that lie off the south-east head. The variation of the compass we found, from good observation, to be 13° 5′ E.

The land about this sound, which is of such a height that we saw it at the distance of twenty leagues, consists wholly of high hills and deep valleys, well stored with a variety of excellent timber, fit for all purposes except masts, for which it is too hard and heavy. The sea abounds with a variety of fish, so that, without going out of the cove where we lay, we caught every day, with the seine and hooks and lines, a quantity sufficient to serve the whole ship's company; and along the shore we found plenty of shags, and a few other species of wild-fowl, which those who have long lived upon salt provisions will not think despicable food.

The number of inhabitants scarcely exceeds four hundred, and they live dispersed along the shores, where their food, consisting of fish and fern roots, is most easily procured, for we saw no cultivated ground. Upon any appearance of danger, they retire to their hippahs or forts: in this situation we found them, and in this situation they continued for some time after our arrival. In comparison of the inhabitants of other parts of this country, they are poor, and their canoes are without ornament. The little traffic we had with them was wholly for fish; and, indeed, they had scarcely anything else to dispose of. They seemed, however, to have some knowledge of iron, which the inhabitants of some other parts had not; for they willingly took nails for their fish, and sometimes seemed to prefer it to everything else that we could offer, which had not always been the case. They were at first very fond of paper; but when they found that it was spoiled by being wet, they would not take it: neither did they set much value upon the cloth of Otaheite, but English broad-cloth and red kersey were in high estimation, which showed that they had sense enough to appreciate the commodities which we offered by their use, which is more than could be said of some of their neighbours, who made a much better appearance. Their dress has been mentioned already, particularly their large round head-dresses of feathers, which were far from being unbecoming.

As soon as we got out of the Sound, I stood over to the eastward, in order to get the strait

well open before the tide of ebb came on. At seven in the evening, the two small islands which lie off Cape Koamaroo, the south-east head of Queen Charlotte's Sound, bore east, distant about four miles. At this time it was nearly calm, and the tide of ebb setting out, we were in a very short time carried by the rapidity of the stream close upon one of the islands, which was a rock rising almost perpendicularly out of the sea. We perceived our danger increase every moment, and had but one expedient to prevent our being dashed to pieces, the success of which a few minutes would determine. We were now within little more than a cable's length of the rock, and had more than seventy-five fathom water; but upon dropping an anchor, and veering about one hundred and fifty fathom of cable, the ship was happily brought up: this, however, would not have saved us, if the tide, which set S. by E., had not, upon meeting with the island, changed its direction to S.E., and carried us beyond the first point. In this situation, we were not above two cables' length from the rocks: and here we remained in the strength of the tide, which set to the S.E., after the rate of at least five miles an hour, from a little after seven till near midnight, when the tide abated, and we began to heave. By three in the morning the anchor was at the bows, and having a light breeze at N.W. we made sail for the eastern shore; but the tide being against us, we made but little way; the wind, however, afterwards freshened, and came to N. and N.E., with which, and the tide of ebb, we were in a short time hurried through the narrowest part of the strait, and then stood away for the southernmost land we had in sight, which bore from us S. by W. Over this land appeared a mountain of stupendous height, which was covered with snow.

The narrowest part of the strait through which we had been driven with such rapidity, lies between Cape Tierawitte, on the coast of Eaheinomauwe, and Cape Koamaroo: the distance between them I judged to be between four or five leagues, and notwithstanding the tide, now its strength is known, may be passed without much danger. It is, however, safest to keep on the north-east shore, for on that side there appeared to be nothing to fear; but on the other shore there are not only the islands and rocks which lie off Cape Koamaroo, but a reef of rocks stretching from these islands six or seven miles to the southward, at the distance of two or three miles from the shore, which I had discovered from the hill when I took my second view of the strait from the east to the western sea. The length of the strait we had passed I shall not pretend to assign, but some judgment may be formed of it from a view of the map.

About nine leagues north from Cape Tierawitte, and under the same shore, is a high and remarkable island which may be distinctly seen from Queen Charlotte's Sound, from which it is distant about six or seven leagues. This island, which was noticed when we passed it on the 14th of January, I have called ENTRY ISLE. On the east side of Cape Tierawitte, the land trends away S.E. by E., about eight leagues, where it ends in a point, and is the southernmost land on Eaheinomauwe. To this point I have given the name of CAPE PALLISER, in honour of my worthy friend Captain Palliser. It lies in latitude 41° 34′ S., longitude 183° 58′ W., and bore from us this day at noon S. 79 E., distant about thirteen leagues, the ship being then in the latitude of 41° 27′ S.; Koamaroo at the same time bearing N. ½ E., distant seven or eight leagues. The southernmost land in sight bore S. 16 W., and the snowy mountain S.W. At this time we were about three leagues from the shore, and abreast of a deep bay or inlet, to which I gave the name of CLOUDY BAY, and at the bottom of which there appeared low land covered with tall trees.

At three o'clock in the afternoon we were abreast of the southernmost point of land that we had seen at noon, which I called CAPE CAMPBELL: it lies S. by W., distant between twelve and thirteen leagues from Cape Koamaroo, in latitude 41° 44′ S., longitude 183° 45′ W; and with Cape Palliser forms the southern entrance of the strait; the distance between them being between thirteen and fourteen leagues W. by S., and E. by N.

From this cape we steered along the shore S.W. by S. till eight o'clock in the evening, when the wind died away. About half an hour afterwards, however, a fresh breeze sprung up at S.W., and I put the ship right before it. My reason for this was a notion which some of the officers had just started, that Eaheinomauwe was not an island, and that the

land might stretch away to the S.E. from between Cape Turnagain and Cape Palliser, there being a space of between twelve and fifteen leagues that we had not seen. I had, indeed, the strongest conviction that they were mistaken, not only from what I had seen the first time I discovered the strait, but from many other concurrent testimonies, that the land in question was an island; but being resolved to leave no possibility of doubt with respect to an object of such importance, I took the opportunity of the wind's shifting, to stand eastward, and accordingly steered N.E. by E. all the night. At nine o'clock in the morning we were abreast of Cape Palliser, and found the land trend away N.E. towards Cape Turnagain, which I reckoned to be distant about twenty-six leagues: however, as the weather was hazy, so as to prevent our seeing above four or five leagues, I still kept standing to the N.E. with a light breeze at south; and at noon Cape Palliser bore N. 72 W., distant about three leagues.

About three o'clock in the afternoon three canoes came up to the ship with between thirty and forty people on board, who had been pulling after us with great labour and perseverance for some time: they appeared to be more cleanly, and a better class, than any we had met with since we left th Bay of Islands; and their canoes were also distinguished by the same ornaments which we had seen upon the northernly part of the coast. They came on board with very little invitation; and their behaviour was courteous and friendly. Upon receiving presents from us, they made us presents in return, which had not been done by any of the natives that we had seen before. We soon perceived that our guests had heard of us, for as soon as they came on board, they asked for *Whow*, the name by which nails were known among the people with whom we had trafficked: but though they had heard of nails, it was plain they had seen none; for when nails were given them, they asked Tupia what they were. The term *Whow*, indeed, convey to them the idea not of their quality, but only of their use; for it is the same by which they distinguish a tool, commonly made of bone, which they use both as an auger and a chisel. However, their knowing that we had *Whow* to sell, was a proof that their connexions extended as far north as Cape Kidnappers, which was distant no less than forty-five leagues; for that was the southernmost place on this side the coast where we had had any traffic with the natives. It is also probable, that the little knowledge which the inhabitants of Queen Charlotte's Sound had of iron, they obtained from their neighbours at Tierawitte; for we had no reason to think that the inhabitants of any part of this coast had the least knowledge of iron or its use before we came among them, especially as, when it was first offered, they seemed to disregard it as of no value. We thought it probable, that we were now once more in the territories of Teratu; but upon inquiring of these people, they said that he was not their king. After a short time, they went away, much gratified with the presents that we had made them; and we pursued our course along the shore to the N.E. till eleven o'clock the next morning. About this time, the weather happening to clear up, we saw Cape Turnagain, bearing N. by E. ½ E., at the distance of about seven leagues: I then called the officers upon deck, and asked them, whether they were not now satisfied that Eaheinomauwe was an island: they readily answered in the affirmative; and all doubts being now removed, we hauled our wind to the eastward.

CHAPTER VII.—RANGE FROM CAPE TURNAGAIN SOUTHWARD ALONG THE EASTERN COAST OF POENAMMOO, ROUND CAPE SOUTH, AND BACK TO THE WESTERN ENTRANCE OF COOK'S STRAIT, WHICH COMPLETED THE CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF THIS COUNTRY; WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE COAST, AND OF ADMIRALTY BAY. THE DEPARTURE FROM NEW ZEALAND, AND VARIOUS PARTICULARS.

At four o'clock in the afternoon of Friday, the 9th of February, we tacked, and stood S.W. till eight o'clock the next morning, when, being not above three or four miles from the shore, we stood off two hours; and then again S.W. till noon, when, at the distance of about two miles from the shore, we had twenty-six fathom water.

We continued to make sail to the southward till sunset on the 11th, when a fresh breeze

at N.E. had carried us back again the length of Cape Palliser, of which, as the weather was clear, we had a good view. It is of a height sufficient to be seen in clear weather at the distance of twelve or fourteen leagues, and the land is of a broken and hilly surface. Between the foot of the high land and the sea there is a low flat border, off which there are some rocks that appear above water. Between this Cape and Cape Turnagain, the land near the shore is in many places low and flat, and has a green and pleasant appearance; but farther from the sea it rises into hills. The land between Cape Palliser and Cape Tierawitte is high, and makes in table-points; it also seemed to us to form two bays; but we were at too great a distance from this part of the coast to judge accurately from appearances. The wind having been variable, with calms, we had advanced no farther by the 12th at noon than latitude 41° 52′, Cape Palliser then bearing north, distant about five leagues; and the snowy mountain, S. 83 W.

At noon, on the 13th, we found ourselves in the latitude of 42° 2′ S., Cape Palliser bearing N. 20 E., distant eight leagues. In the afternoon, a fresh gale sprung up at N.E., and we steered S.W. by W. for the southernmost land in sight, which at sunset bore from us S. 74 W. At this time the variation was 15° 4′ E.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 14th, having run one-and-twenty leagues S. 58 W. since the preceding noon, it fell calm. We were then abreast of the snowy mountain, which bore from us N.W., and in this direction lay behind a mountainous ridge of nearly the same height, which rises directly from the sea, and runs parallel with the shore, which lies N.E. ½ N. and. S.W. ½ S. The north-west end of the ridge rises inland, not far from Cape Campbell; and both the mountain and the ridge are distinctly seen as well from Cape Koamaroo as Cape Palliser. From Koamaroo they are distant two-and-twenty leagues S.W. ½ S.; and from Cape Palliser, thirty leagues W.S.W.; and are of a height sufficient to be seen at a much greater distance. Some persons on board were of opinion that they were as high as Teneriffe; but I did not think them as high as Mount Egmont, on the south-west coast of Eaheinomauwe, because the snow, which almost entirely covered Mount Egmont, lay only in patches upon these. At noon, this day, we were in latitude 42° 34′ S. The southernmost land in sight bore S.W. ½ W.; and some low land that appeared like an island, and lay close under the foot of the ridge, bore N.W. by N. about five or six leagues.

In the afternoon, when Mr. Banks was out in the boat a-shooting, we saw with our glasses four double canoes, having on board fifty-seven men, put off from that shore, and make towards him; we immediately made signals for him to come on board, but the ship, with respect to him, being right in the wake of the sun, he did not see them. We were at a considerable distance from the shore, and he was at a considerable distance from the ship, which was between him and the shore; so that, it being a dead calm, I began to be in some pain for him, fearing that he might not see the canoes time enough to reach the ship before they should get up with him. Soon after, however, we saw his boat in motion, and had the pleasure to take him on board before the Indians came up, who probably had not seen him, as their attention seemed to be wholly fixed upon the ship. They came within about a stone's cast, and then stopped, gazing at us with a look of vacant astonishment: Tupia exerted all his eloquence to prevail upon them to come nearer, but without any effect. After surveying us for some time, they left us, and made towards the shore, but had not measured more than half the distance between that and the ship before it was dark. We imagined that these people had heard nothing of us, and could not but remark the different behaviour and dispositions of the inhabitants of the different parts of this coast upon their first approaching the vessel. These kept aloof with a mixture of timidity and wonder; others had immediately commenced hostilities, by pelting us with stones. The gentleman whom we had found alone, fishing in his boat, seemed to think us entirely unworthy of his notice; and some, almost without invitation, had come on board with an air of perfect confidence and good-will. From the behaviour of our last visitors, I gave the land from which they had put off, and which, as I have before observed, had the appearance of an island, the name of Lookers-on.

At eight o'clock in the evening, a breeze sprung up at S.S.W., with which I stretched off south-east, because some on board thought they saw land in that quarter. In this course

we continued till six o'clock the next morning, when we had run eleven leagues, but saw no land, except that which we had left. Having stood to the S.E. with a light breeze, which veered from the west to the north, till noon, our latitude by observation was 42° 56′ S., and the high land that we were abreast of the preceding noon bore N.N.W. ½ W. In the afternoon we had a light breeze at N.E., with which we steered west, edging in for the land, which was distant about eight leagues. At seven in the evening, we were about six leagues from the shore, and the southernmost extremity of the land in sight bore W.S.W.

At daybreak, on the 16th, we discovered land bearing S. by W., and seemingly detached from the coast we were upon. About eight, a breeze sprung up at N. by E., and we steered directly for it. At noon, we were in latitude 43° 19′ S.; the peak on the snowy mountain bore N. 20 E., distant twenty-seven leagues; the southern extremity of the land we could see bore west; and the land which had been discovered in the morning appeared like an island, extending from S.S.W. to S.W. by W. ½ W., distant about eight leagues. In the afternoon, we stood to the southward of it, with a fresh breeze at north. At eight in the evening, we had run eleven leagues, and the land then extended from S.W. by W. to N. by W. We were then distant about three or four leagues from the nearest shore, and in this situation had fifty fathom water, with a fine sandy bottom. The variation of the compass by this morning's amplitude was 14° 39′ E.

At sunrise the next morning, our opinion that the land we had been standing for was an island, was confirmed, by our seeing part of the land of Tovy Poenammoo open to the westward of it, extending as far as W. by S. At eight in the morning, the extremes of the island bore N. 76 W. and N.N.E. ½ E.; and an opening near the south point, which had the appearance of a bay or harbour, N. 20 W., distant between three and four leagues. In this situation we had thirty-eight fathom water, with a brown sandy bottom.

This island, which I named after Mr. Banks, lies about five leagues from the coast of Tovy Poenammoo; the south point bears S. 21 W. from the highest peak on the snowy mountain, and lies in latitude 43° 32′ S., and in longitude 186° 30′ W., by an observation of the sun and moon which was made this morning. It is of a circular figure, and about twenty-four leagues in compass. It is sufficiently high to be seen at the distance of twelve or fifteen leagues, and the land has a broken irregular surface, with the appearance rather of barrenness than fertility; yet it was inhabited, for we saw smoke in one place, and a few straggling natives in another.

When this island was first discovered in the direction of S. by W., some persons on board were of opinion that they also saw land bearing S.S.E. and S.E. by E. I was myself upon the deck at the time, and told them that in my opinion it was no more than a cloud, and that as the sun rose it would dissipate and vanish. However, as I was determined to leave no subject for disputation which experiment could remove, I ordered the ship to be wore, and steered E.S.E. by compass, in the direction which the land was said to bear from us at that time. At noon we were in latitude 44° 7′ S., the south point of Banks's Island bearing north, distant five leagues. By seven o'clock at night we had run eight-and-twenty miles, when, seeing no land, nor any signs of any, but that which we had left, we bore away S. by W., and continued upon that course till the next day at noon, when we were in latitude 45° 16, the south point of Banks's Island bearing N. 6° 30′ W., distant twenty-eight leagues. The variation by the azimuth this morning was 15° 30′ E. As no signs of land had yet appeared to the southward, and as I thought that we had stood far enough in that direction to weather all the land we had left, judging from the report of the natives in Queen Charlotte's Sound, I hauled to the westward.

We had a moderate breeze at N.N.W. and N. till eight in the evening, when it became unsettled; and at ten, fixed at south. During the night, it blew with such violence that it brought us under our close-reefed topsails. At eight the next morning, having run twenty-eight leagues upon a W. by N. ½ N. course; and judging ourselves to be to the westward of the land of Tovy Poenammoo, we bore away N.W. with a fresh gale at south. At ten, having run eleven miles upon this course, we saw land extending from the S.W. to the N.W., at the distance of about ten leagues, which we hauled up for. At noon, our latitude by observation was 44° 38′, the south-east point of Banks's Island bore N. 58° 30′ E., distant

thirty leagues, and the main body of the land in sight, W. by N. A head-sea prevented us from making much way to the southward. At seven in the evening, the extremes of the land stretched from S.W. by S. to N. by W.; and at six leagues from the shore, we had thirty-two fathom water. At four o'clock the next morning, we stood in for the shore W. by S.; and during a course of four leagues, our depth of water was from thirty-two to thirteen fathom. When it was thirteen fathom, we were but three miles distant from the shore, and therefore stood off; its direction is here nearly N. and S. The surface, to the distance of about five miles from the sea, is low and flat, but it then rises into hills of a considerable height. It appeared to be totally barren, and we saw no signs of its being inhabited. Our latitude, at noon, was 44° 44′; and the longitude which we made from Banks's Island to this place was 2° 22′ W. During the last twenty-four hours, though we carried as much sail as the ship would bear, we were driven three leagues to the leeward.

We continued to stand off and on all this day and the next, keeping at the distance of between four and twelve leagues from the shore, and having water from thirty-five to fifty-three fathom. On the 22nd, at noon, we had no observation, but by the land judged ourselves to be about three leagues farther north than we had been the day before. At sunset, the weather, which had been hazy, clearing up, we saw a mountain which rose in a high peak, bearing N.W. by N.; and at the same time we saw the land more distinctly than before, extending from N. to S.W. by S., which, at some distance within the coast, had a lofty and mountainous appearance. We soon found that the accounts which had been given us by the Indians in Queen Charlotte's Sound of the land to the southward, were not true; for they had told us that it might be circumnavigated in four days.

On the 23rd, having a hollow swell from the S.E., and expecting wind from the same quarter, we kept plying between seven and fifteen leagues from the shore, having from seventy to forty-four fathom. At noon, our latitude by observation was 44° 40′ S., and our longitude from Banks's Island 1° 31′ W. From this time to six in the evening it was calm; but a light breeze then springing up at E.N.E., we steered S.S.E. all night, edging off from the land, the hollow swell still continuing; our depth of water was from sixty to seventy-five fathom. While we were becalmed, Mr. Banks, being out in the boat, shot two Port Egmont hens, which were in every respect the same as those that are found in great numbers upon the island of Faro, and were the first of the kind we had seen upon this coast, though we fell in with some a few days before we made land.

At daybreak, the wind freshened, and before noon we had a strong gale at N.N.E. At eight in the morning we saw the land extending as far as S.W. by S., and steered directly for it. At noon, we were in latitude 45° 22′ S.; and the land, which now stretched from S.W. ½ S. to N.N.W., appeared to be rudely diversified by hill and valley. In the afternoon, we steered S.W. by S. and S.W., edging in for the land with a fresh gale at north; but though we were at no great distance, the weather was so hazy that we could see nothing distinctly upon it, except a ridge of high hills lying not far from the sea, and parallel to the coast, which in this place stretches S. by W. and N. by E., and seemed to end in a high bluff point to the southward. By eight in the evening we were abreast of this point; but it being then dark, and I not knowing which way the land trended, we brought-to for the night. At this time the point bore west, and was distant about five miles: our depth of water was thirty-seven fathom, and the bottom consisted of small pebbles.

At daybreak, having made sail, the point bore north, distant three leagues, and we now found that the land trended from it S.W. by W., as far as we could see. This point I named Cape Saunders, in honour of Sir Charles Our latitude was 45° 35′ S., and longitude 189° 4′ W. By the latitude, and the angles that are made by the coast, this point will be sufficiently known; there is, however, about three or four leagues to the southwest of it, and very near the shore, a remarkable saddle-hill, which is a good direction to it on that quarter. From one league to four leagues north of Cape Saunders, the shore forms two or three bays, in which there appeared to be good anchorage, and effectual shelter from the S.W. westerly, and N. westerly winds; but my desire of getting to the southward, in order to ascertain whether this country was an island or a continent, prevented my putting into any of them.

We kept at a small distance from the shore all this morning, with the wind at S.W., and had a very distinct view of it: it is of a moderate height, and the surface is broken by many hills which are green and woody; but we saw no appearance of inhabitants. At noon, Cape Saunders bore N. 30 W., distant about four leagues. We had variable winds and calms till five o'clock in the evening, when it fixed at W.S.W., and soon blew so hard that it put us past our topsails, and split the foresail all to pieces: after getting another to the yard, we continued to stand to the southward under two courses; and at six the next morning, the southernmost land in sight bore W. by N., and Cape Saunders N. by W., distant eight leagues: at noon, it bore N. 20 W., fourteen leagues; and our latitude by observation was 46° 36′. The gale continued, with heavy squalls and a large hollow sea, all the afternoon; and at seven in the evening, we lay-to under our foresail, with the ship's head to the southward: at noon on the 27th, our latitude was 46° 54′, and our longitude from Cape Saunders 1° 24′ E. At seven in the evening, we made sail under our courses; and at eight the next morning set the topsails close reefed. At noon, our latitude was 47° 43′, and our longitude east from Cape Saunders 2° 10′. At this time, we wore and stood to the northward: in the afternoon, we found the variation to be 16° 34′ E. At eight in the evening, we tacked and stood to the southward, with the wind at west.

At noon this day, our latitude by account was 47° 52′, and our longitude from Cape Saunders 1° 8′ E. We stood to the southward till half an hour past three in the afternoon; and then, being in latitude 48° S., and longitude 188° W., and seeing no appearance of land, we tacked and stood to the northward, having a large swell from the S.W. by W. At noon the next day, our latitude was 46° 42′ S.; and Cape Saunders bore N. 46° W., distant eighty-six miles. The south-west swell continuing till the 3rd, confirmed our opinion, that there was no land in that quarter. At four in the afternoon, we stood to the westward with all the sail we could make. In the morning of the 4th, we found the variation to be 16° 16′ E. This day we saw some whales and seals, as we had done several times after our having passed the strait; but we saw no seal while we were upon the coast of Eahienomauwe. We sounded both in the night and this morning, but had no ground with one hundred and fifty fathom. At noon, we saw Cape Saunders bearing N. ½ W.; and our latitude by observation was 46° 31′ S. At half an hour past one o'clock, we saw land bearing W. by S., which we steered for, and before it was dark were within three or four miles of it: during the whole night we saw fires upon it, and at seven in the morning were within about three leagues of the shore, which appeared to be high, but level. At three o'clock in the afternoon, we saw the land extending from N.E. by N. to N.W. ½ N.; and soon after we discovered some low land, which appeared like an island, bearing S. ½ W. We continued our course to the W. by S., and in two hours we saw high land over the low land, extending to the southward as far as S.W. by S.; but did not appear to be joined to the land to the northward, so that there is either water, a deep bay, or low land between them.

At noon on the 6th, we were nearly in the same situation as at noon on the day before: in the afternoon we found the variation, by several azimuths and the amplitude, to be 15° 10′ E. On the 7th at noon, we were in latitude 47° 6′ S., and had made twelve miles easting during the last twenty-four hours. We stood to the westward the remainder of this day, and all the next till sunset, when the extremes of the land bore from N. by E. to W., distant about seven or eight leagues: in this situation our depth of water was fifty-five fathom, and the variation by amplitude 16° 29′ E. The wind now veered from the N. to the W., and as we had fine weather and moonlight, we kept standing close upon the wind to the S.W. all night. At four in the morning, we had sixty fathom water; and at daylight we discovered under our bow a ledge of rocks, extending from S. by W. to W. by S., upon which the sea broke very high: they were not more than three quarters of a mile distant, yet we had five-and-forty fathom water. As the wind was at N.W., we could not now weather them, and as I was unwilling to run to leeward, I tacked and made a trip to the eastward; the wind, however, soon after coming to the northward, enabled us to get clear of all. Our soundings, while we were passing within the ledge, were from thirty-five to forty-seven fathom, with a rocky bottom.

This ledge lies S.E. six leagues from the southernmost part of the land, and S.E. by E. from some remarkable hills which stand near the shore: about three leagues to the northward of it, there is another ledge, which lies full three leagues from the shore, and on which the sea broke in a dreadful surf. As we passed these rocks to the north in the night, and discovered the others under our bow at break of day, it is manifest that our danger was imminent, and our escape critical in the highest degree: from the situation of these rocks, so well adapted to catch unwary strangers, I called them the Traps. Our latitude at noon was 47° 26′ S. The land in sight, which had the appearance of an island, extended from N.E. by N. to N.W. by W., and seemed to be about five leagues distant from the main; the easternmost ledge of rocks bore S.S.E., distant one league and a half, and the northernmost N.E. ½ E., distant about three leagues. This land is high and barren, with nothing upon it but a few straggling shrubs, for not a single tree was to be seen; it was, however, remarkable for a number of white patches, which I took to be marble, as they reflected the sun's rays very strongly: other patches of the same kind we had observed in different parts of this country, particularly in Mercury Bay: we continued to stand close upon a wind to the westward, and at sunset the southernmost point of land bore N. 38 E., distant four leagues, and the westernmost land in sight bore N. 2 E. The point which lies in latitude 47° 19′ S. longitude 192° 12′ W. I named South Cape; the westernmost land was a small island, lying off the point of the main.

Supposing South Cape to be the southern extremity of this country, as indeed it proved to be, I hoped to get round it by the west, for a large hollow swell from the south-west, ever since our last hard gale, had convinced me that there was no land in that direction.

In the night we had a hard gale at N.E. by N. and N., which brought us under our courses, but about eight in the morning it became moderate; and at noon, veering to the west, we tacked and stood to the northward, having no land in sight. Our latitude, by observation, was 47° 33′ S., our longitude, west from the South Cape, 59′. We stood away N.N.E. close upon a wind, without seeing any land, till two the next morning, when we discovered an island bearing N.W. by N., distant about five leagues: about two hours afterwards we saw land a-head, upon which we tacked and stood off till six, when we stood in to take a nearer view of it: at eleven we were within three leagues of it, but the wind seeming to incline upon the shore, I tacked and stood off to the southward. We had now sailed round the land which we had discovered on the 5th, and which then did not appear to be joined to the main which lay north of it; and being now come to the other side of what we supposed to be water, a bay, or low land, it had the same appearance, but when I came to lay it down upon paper I saw no reason to suppose it to be an island; on the contrary, I was clearly of opinion that it made part of the main. At noon, the western extremity of the main bore N. 59 W., and the island which we had seen in the morning S. 59 W. distant about five leagues. It lies in latitude 46° 31′ S., longitude 192° 49′ W., and is nothing but a barren rock about a mile in circuit, remarkably high, and lies full five leagues distant from the main. This island I named after Dr. Solander, and called it Solander's Island. The shore of the main lies nearest E. by S. and W. by N. and forms a large open bay, in which there is no appearance of any harbour or shelter for shipping against S.W. and southerly winds; the surface of the country is broken into craggy hills, of a great height, on the summits of which are several patches of snow: it is not, however, wholly barren, for we could see wood not only in the valleys, but upon the highest ground, yet we saw no appearance of its being inhabited.

We continued to stand to the S.W. by S. till eleven o'clock the next morning, when the wind shifted to the S.W. by W., upon which we wore, and stood to the N.N.W., being then in latitude 47° 40′ S. longitude 193° 50′ W., and having a hollow sea from the S.W.

During the night, we steered N.N.W. till six in the morning, when, seeing no land, we steered N. by E. till eight, when we steered N.E. by E. ½ E. to make the land, which at ten we saw bearing E.N.E., but it being hazy, we could distinguish nothing upon it. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was 46° S. About two it cleared up, and the land appeared to be high, rude, and mountainous: about half an hour after three I hauled in for

a bay, in which there appeared to be good anchorage; but in about an hour, finding the distance too great to run before it would be dark, and the wind blowing too hard to make the attempt safe in the night, I bore away along the shore.

This bay, which I called Dusky Bay, lies in latitude 45° 47′ S.: it is between three and four miles broad at the entrance, and seems to be full as deep as it is broad: it contains several islands, behind which there must be shelter from all winds, though possibly there may not be sufficient depth of water. The north point of this bay, when it bears S.E. by S., is rendered very remarkable by five high peaked rocks which lie off it, and have the appearance of the four fingers and thumb of a man's hand, for which reason I called it Point Five Fingers: the land of this point is farther remarkable, for being the only level land within a considerable distance. It extends near two leagues to the northward, is lofty, and covered with wood: the land behind it is very different, consisting wholly of mountains, totally barren and rocky; and this difference gives the Cape the appearance of an island.

At sunset, the southernmost land in sight bore due south, distant about five or six leagues; and as this is the westernmost point of land upon the whole coast, I called it West Cape. It lies about three leagues to the southward of Dusky Bay, in the latitude of 45° 54′ S., and in the longitude of 193° 17′ W. The land of this Cape is of a moderate height next the sea, and has nothing remarkable about it, except a very white cliff, two or three leagues to the southward of it: to the southward of it also the land trends away to the S.E., and to the northward it trends N.N.E.

Having brought to for the night, we made sail along the shore at four in the morning, in the direction of N.E. ½ N. with a moderate breeze at S.S.E. At noon our latitude, by observation, was 45° 13′ S. At this time, being about a league and a half from the shore, we sounded, but had no ground with seventy fathom: we had just passed a small narrow opening in land, where there seemed to be a very safe and convenient harbour, formed by an island, which lay in the middle of the opening at east. The opening lies in latitude 45° 16′ S., and on the land behind it are mountains, the summits of which were covered with snow, that appeared to have been recently fallen; and indeed for two days past we had found the weather very cold. On each side the entrance of the opening, the land rises almost perpendicularly from the sea to a stupendous height, and this indeed was the reason why I did not carry the ship into it, for no wind could blow there but right in, or right out, in the direction of either east or west, and I thought it by no means advisable to put into a place whence I could not have got out but with a wind which experience had taught me did not blow more than one day in a month. In this, however, I acted contrary to the opinion of some persons on board, who in very strong terms expressed their desire to harbour for present convenience, without any regard to future disadvantages.

In the evening, being about two leagues from the shore, we sounded, and had no ground with 108 fathom: the variation of the needle, by azimuth, was 14° E. and by amplitude 15° 2′. We made the best of our way along the shore with what wind we had, keeping at the distance of between two and three leagues. At noon, we were in latitude 44° 47′, having run only twelve leagues upon a N.E. ¼ N. course, during the last four-and-twenty hours.

We continued to steer along the shore, in the direction of N.E. ¼ E. till six o'clock in the evening, when we brought to for the night. At four in the morning, we stood in for the land, and when the day broke we saw what appeared to be an inlet; but upon a nearer approach, proved to be only a deep valley between two high lands: we proceeded therefore in the same course, keeping the shore at the distance of between four and five miles. At noon on the 16th, the northernmost point of land in sight bore N. 60 E. at the distance of ten miles; and our latitude, by observation, was 44° 5′, our longitude from Cape West 2° 8′ E. About two, we passed the point which at noon had been distant ten miles, and found it to consist of high red cliffs, down which there fell a cascade of water in four small streams, and I therefore gave it the name of Cascade Point. From this point, the land trends first N. 76 E. and afterwards more to the northward. At the distance of eight leagues from Cascade Point, in the direction of E.N.E., and at a little distance from the shore, lies a small low island, which bore from us S. by E., at the distance of about a league and a half.

At seven in the evening, we brought to, in thirty-three fathom, with a fine sandy bottom; at ten we had fifty fathom, and at twelve wore in sixty-five fathom, having driven several miles N.N.W. after our having brought to. At two in the morning, we had no ground with 140 fathom, by which it appears that the soundings extend but a little way from the shore. About this time it fell calm; at eight, a breeze sprung up at S.W. with which we steered along the shore, in the direction of N.E. by E. ½ E. at the distance of about three leagues. At six in the evening, being about one league from the shore, we had seventeen fathom; and at eight, being about three leagues from the shore, we had forty-four; we now shortened sail, and brought to, having run ten leagues N.E. by E. since noon.

It was calm most part of the night; but at ten in the morning a light breeze sprung up at S.W. by W., when we made sail again along the shore N.E. by N., having a large swell from the W.S.W. which had risen in the night; at noon, our latitude, by observation, was 43° 4′ S., and our longitude from Cape West 4° 12′ E. We observed, that the valleys as well as the mountains were this morning covered with snow, part of which we supposed to have fallen during the night, when we had rain. At six in the evening we shortened sail, and at ten brought to, at the distance of about five leagues from the shore, where we had 115 fathom. At midnight, there being little wind, we made sail, and at eight in the morning we stood to the N.E. close upon a wind till noon, when we tacked, being about three leagues from the land, and, by observation, in latitude 42° 8′, and longitude from Cape West 5° 5′ E. We continued to stand westward till two in the morning, when we made a trip to the eastward, and afterwards stood westward till noon, when, by our reckoning, we were in the latitude 42° 23′, and longitude from Cape West 3° 55′ E. We now tacked and stood eastward, with a fresh gale at N. by W. till six in the evening, when the wind shifted to the S. and S.S.W., with which we steered N.E. by N. till six in the morning, when we hauled in E. by N. to make the land, which we saw soon afterwards; at noon, our latitude, by account, was 41° 37′, and our longitude from Cape West 5° 42′ E. We were now within three or four leagues of the land, but it being foggy, we could see nothing upon it distinctly, and as we had much wind, and a vast swell rolling in upon the shore, from the W.S.W., I did not think it safe to go nearer.

In the afternoon, we had a gentle breeze from the S.S.W., with which we steered north along the shore till eight, when, being within between two and three leagues, we sounded, and had but thirty-four fathom; upon which we hauled off N.W. by N. till eleven at night, and then brought to, having sixty-four fathom. At four in the morning, we made sail to the N.E. with a light breeze at S.S.W. which at eight veered to the westward, and soon after died away; at this time we were within three or four miles of the land, and had fifty-four fathom, with a large swell from the W.S.W., rolling obliquely upon the shore, which made me fear that I should be obliged to anchor; but by the help of a light air now and then from the S.W. I was able to keep the ship from driving. At noon, the northernmost land in sight bore N.E. by E. ½ E. distant about ten leagues; our latitude, by account, was 40° 55′ S., longitude from Cape West 6° 35′ E. From this time we had light airs from the southward, with intervals of calm, till noon on the 23d, when our latitude, by observation, was 40° 36′ 30″ S., and our longitude from Cape West 6° 52′ E. The easternmost point of land in sight bore E. 10 N., at the distance of seven leagues, and a bluff head or point, of which we had been abreast at noon the day before, and off which lay some rocks above water, bore S. 18 W. at the distance of six leagues. This point I called Rock's Point. Our latitude was now 40° 55′ S., and having nearly run down the whole of the north-west coast of Tovy Poenammoo, I shall give some account of the face of the country.

I have already observed, that on the 11th, when we were off the southern part, the land then seen was craggy and mountainous, and there is great reason to believe that the same ridge of mountains extends nearly the whole length of the island. Between the westernmost land which we saw that day, and the easternmost which we saw on the 13th, there is a space of about six or eight leagues, of which we did not see the coast, though we plainly discovered the mountains inland. The sea-coast near Cape West is low, rising with an easy and gradual ascent to the foot of the mountains, and being in most parts covered with wood. From Point Five Fingers, down to latitude 44° 20′, there is a narrow ridge of hills that rises

directly from the sea, and is covered with wood: close behind these hills are the mountains, extending in another ridge of a stupendous height, and consisting of rocks that are totally barren and naked, except where they are covered with snow, which is to be seen in large patches upon many parts of them; and has probably lain there ever since the creation of the world: a prospect more rude, craggy, and desolate than this country affords from the sea, cannot possibly be conceived, for, as far inland as the eye can reach, nothing appears but the summits of rocks, which stand so near together, that instead of valleys there are only fissures between them. From the latitude of 44° 20′, to the latitude of 42° 8′, these mountains lie farther inland, and the sea-coast consists of woody hills and valleys, of various height and extent, and has much appearance of fertility: many of the valleys form plains of considerable extent, wholly covered with wood; but it is very probable that the ground, in many places, is swampy, and interspersed with pools of water. From latitude 42° 8′, to 41° 30′, the land is not distinguished by anything remarkable: it rises into hills directly from the sea, and is covered with wood; but the weather being foggy while we were upon this part of the coast, we could see very little inland, except now and then the summits of the mountains, towering above the cloudy mists that obscured them below, which confirmed my opinion that a chain of mountains extended from one end of the island to the other.

In the afternoon, we had a gentle breeze at S.W., which, before it was quite dark, brought us abreast of the eastern point which we had seen at noon; but not knowing what course the land took on the other side of it, we brought to in thirty-four fathom, at the distance of about one league from the shore. At eight in the evening, there being little wind, we filled and stood on till midnight, and then we brought to till four in the morning, when we again made sail, and at break of day we saw low land extending from the point to the S.S.E. as far as the eye could reach, the eastern extremity of which appeared in round hillocks: by this time the gale had veered to the eastward, which obliged us to ply to windward. At noon next day, the eastern point bore S.W. by S., distant sixteen miles, and our latitude was 40° 19′: the wind continuing easterly, we were nearly in the same situation at noon on the day following. About three o'clock the wind came to the westward, and we steered E.S.E. with all the sail we could set till it was dark, and then shortened sail till the morning: as we had thick hazy weather all night, we kept sounding continually, and had from thirty-seven to forty-two fathom. When the day broke we saw land bearing S.E. by E., and an island lying near it, bearing E.S.E., distant about five leagues: this island I knew to be the same that I had seen from the entrance of Queen Charlotte's Sound, from which it bears N.W. by N., distant nine leagues. At noon, it bore south, distant four or five miles, and the north-west head of the sound S.E. by S., distant ten leagues and a half. Our latitude, by observation, was 40° 33′ S.

As we had now circumnavigated the whole country, it became necessary to think of quitting it; but as I had thirty tons of empty water casks on board, this could not be done till I had filled them: I therefore hauled round the island, and entered a bay, which lies between that and Queen Charlotte's Sound, leaving three more islands, which lay close under the western shore, between three or four miles within the entrance, on our starboard hand: while we were running in, we kept the lead continually going, and had from forty to twelve fathom. At six o'clock in the evening, we anchored in eleven fathom with a muddy bottom, under the west shore, in the second cove, that lies within three islands; and as soon as it was light the next morning, I took a boat, and went on shore to look for a watering place, and a proper berth for the ship, both which I found, much to my satisfaction. As soon as the ship was moored, I sent an officer on shore to superintend the watering, and the carpenter, with his crew, to cut wood, while the long-boat was employed in landing the empty casks.

In this employment we were busy till the 30th, when the wind seeming to settle at S.E., and our water being nearly completed, we warped the ship out of the cove, that we might have room to get under sail; and at noon I went away in the pinnace to examine as much of the bay as my time would admit. After rowing about two leagues up it, I went ashore upon a point of land on the western side, and having climbed a hill, I saw the western arm of this bay run in S.W. by W. about five leagues farther, yet I could not discover the end

of it: there appeared to be several other inlets, or at least small bays, between this and the north-west head of Queen Charlotte's Sound, in each of which, I make no doubt, there is anchorage and shelter, as they are all covered from the sea-wind by the islands which lie without them. The land about this bay, as far as I could see of it, is of a hilly surface, chiefly covered with trees, shrubs, and fern, which render travelling difficult and fatiguing. In this excursion I was accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, who found several new plants. We met with some huts, which seemed to have been long deserted, but saw no inhabitants. Mr. Banks examined several of the stones that lay upon the beach, which were full of veins, and had a mineral appearance; but he did not discover anything in them which he knew to be ore: if he had had an opportunity to examine any of the bare rocks, perhaps he might have been more fortunate. He was also of opinion that what I had taken for marble in another place, was a mineral substance; and that, considering the correspondence of latitude between this place and South America, it was not improbable but that, by a proper examination, something very valuable might be found.

At my return in the evening, I found all the wood and water on board, and the ship ready for the sea; I resolved therefore to quit the country, and return home by such a route as might be of most advantage to the service; and upon this subject took the opinion of my officers. I had myself a strong desire to return by Cape Horn, because that would have enabled me finally to determine, whether there is or is not a southern continent; but against this it was a sufficient objection that we must have kept in a high southern latitude in the very depth of winter, with a vessel which was not thought sufficient for the undertaking; and the same reason was urged against our proceeding directly for the Cape of Good Hope, with still more force, because no discovery of moment could be hoped for in that route; it was therefore resolved that we should return by the East Indies, and that with this view we should, upon leaving the coast, steer westward, till we should fall in with the east coast of New Holland, and then follow the direction of that coast to the northward, till we should arrive at its northern extremity; but if that should be found impracticable, it was further resolved that we should endeavour to fall in with the land, or islands, said to have been discovered by Quiros. With this view, at break of day on Saturday the 31st of March, 1770, we got under sail, and put to sea, with the advantage of a fresh gale at S.E., and clear weather, taking our departure from the eastern point, which we had seen at noon on the 23rd, and to which, on this occasion, I gave the name of Cape Farewell.

The bay out of which we had just sailed I called Admiralty Bay, giving the name of Cape Stephens to the north-west point, and Cape Jackson to the south-east, after the two gentlemen who at this time were secretaries to the board. Admiralty Bay may easily be known by the island that has been just mentioned, which lies two miles N.E. of Cape Stephens, in latitude 40° 37′ S., longitude 185° 6′ W., and is of a considerable height. Between this island and Cape Farewell, which are between fourteen and fifteen leagues distant from each other, in the direction of W. by N. and E. by S., the shore forms a large deep bay, the bottom of which we could scarcely see while we were sailing in a straight line from one cape to the other; it is, however, probably of less depth than it appeared to be, for as we found the water shallower here than at the same distance from any other part of the coast, there is reason to suppose that the land at the bottom which lies next the sea is low, and therefore not easily to be distinguished from it. I have for this reason called it Blind Bay, and am of opinion that it is the same which was called Murderer's Bay by Tasman. Such particulars of this country and its inhabitants, with their manners and customs, as could be learnt while we were circumnavigating the coast, shall now be related.

CHAPTER VIII.—A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF NEW ZEALAND: ITS FIRST DISCOVERY, SITUATION, EXTENT, CLIMATE, AND PRODUCTIONS.

New Zealand was first discovered by Abel Jansen Tasman, a Dutch navigator, whose name has been several times mentioned in this narrative, on the 13th of December, in the year 1642. He traversed the eastern coast from latitude 34° to 43°, and entered the strait

which divides the two islands, and in the chart is called Cook's Strait; but being attacked by the natives soon after he came to an anchor, in the place to which he gave the name of Murderer's Bay, he never went on shore. He gave the country the name of Staaten Land, or the land of the States, in honour of the states-general, and it is now generally distinguished in our maps and charts by the name of New Zealand. As the whole of this country, except that part of the coast which was seen by Tasman from on board his ship, has from his time, to the voyage of the Endeavour, remained altogether unknown, it has by many been supposed to be part of a southern continent. It is, however, now known to consist of two large islands, divided from each other by a strait or passage, which is about four or five leagues broad. These islands are situated between the latitudes of 34° and 48° S., and between the longitudes of 181° and 194° W., which is now determined with uncommon exactness, from innumerable observations of the sun and moon, and one of the transits of Mercury, by Mr. Green, a person of known abilities, who, as has been mentioned before, was sent out by the Royal Society, to observe the transit of Venus in the South Seas.

The northernmost of these islands is called by the natives Eaheinomauwe, and the southernmost Tovy, or Tavai Poenammoo; yet, as I have observed before, we are not sure whether the name Tovy Poenammoo comprehends the whole southern island, or only part of it. The figure and extent of these islands, with the situation of the bays and harbours they contain, and the smaller islands that lie about them, will appear from the chart that I have drawn, every part of which, however, I cannot vouch to be equally accurate *. The coast of Eaheinomauwe, from Cape Palliser to East Cape, is laid down with great exactness both in its figure, and the course and distance from point to point; for the opportunities that offered, and the methods that I used, were such as could scarcely admit of an error. From East Cape to St. Maria van Diemen, the chart, though perhaps not equally exact, is without any error of moment, except possibly in some few places which are here, and in other parts of the chart, distinguished by a dotted line, and which I had no opportunity to examine: from Cape Maria van Diemen to latitude 36° 15′, we were seldom nearer the shore than between five and eight leagues; and therefore the line that marks the sea-coast may possibly be erroneous. From latitude 36° 15′, to nearly the length of Entry Island, our course was very near the shore, and in this part of the chart therefore there can be no material error, except perhaps at Cape Tierawitte. Between Entry Island and Cape Palliser we were again farther from the shore, and this part of the coast, therefore, may not be laid down with minute exactness; yet, upon the whole, I am of opinion that this island will be found not much to differ from the figure that I have given it, and that upon the coast there are few or no harbours which are not noticed in the journal, or delineated in the chart. I cannot, however, say as much of Tovy Poenammoo: the season of the year, and the circumstances of the voyage, would not permit me to spend so much time about this island as I had employed upon the other; and the storms that we met with made it both difficult and dangerous to keep near the shore. However, from Queen Charlotte's Sound to Cape Campbell, and as far to the S.W. as latitude 43°, the chart will be found pretty accurate. Between latitude 43° and latitude 44° 20′ the line may be doubted, for of some part of the coast which it represents we had scarcely a view. From latitude 44° 20′, to Cape Saunders, our distance would not permit me to be particular, and the weather was besides extremely unfavourable. From Cape Saunders to Cape South, and even to Cape West, there is also reason to fear that the chart will in many places be found erroneous, as we were seldom able to keep the shore, and were sometimes blown to such a distance that it could not be seen. From Cape West to Cape Farewell, and even to Charlotte's Sound, it is not more to be trusted.

Tovy Poenammoo is for the most part a mountainous, and to all appearance a barren country; and the people whom we saw in Queen Charlotte's Sound, those that came off to us under the snowy mountains, and the fires to the west of Cape Saunders, were all the inhabitants, and signs of inhabitants, that we discovered upon the whole island. Eaheino-

* A map compiled from the best modern authorities is substituted in the present edition for Captain Cook's chart.—Ed.

mauwe has a much better appearance; it is indeed not only hilly but mountainous, yet even the hills and mountains are covered with wood, and every valley has a rivulet of water: the soil in these valleys, and in the plains, of which there are many that are not overgrown with wood, is in general light but fertile, and in the opinion of Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, as well as of every other gentleman on board, all kinds of European grain, plants, and fruit, would flourish here in the utmost luxuriance: from the vegetables that we found here, there is reason to conclude that the winters are milder than those in England, and we found the summer not hotter, though it was more equally warm; so that if this country should be settled by people from Europe, they would, with a little industry, be very soon supplied not only with the necessaries, but the luxuries of life in great abundance.

In this country there are no quadrupeds but dogs and rats, at least we saw no other, and the rats are so scarce that many of us never saw them. The dogs live with the people, who breed them for no other purpose than to eat: there might indeed be quadrupeds that we did not see; but this is not probable, because the chief pride of the natives, with respect to their dress, is in the skins and hair of such animals as they have, and we never saw the skin of any animal about them but those of dogs and birds: there are indeed seals upon the coast, and we once saw a sea-lion, but we imagine they are seldom caught, for though we saw some of their teeth, which were fashioned into an ornament like a bodkin, and worn by the natives at their breast, and highly valued, we saw none of their skins: there are whales also upon this coast, and though the people did not appear to have any art or instrument by which such an animal could be taken and killed, we saw pattoo-pattoos in the possession of some of them, which were made of the bone of a whale, or of some other animal whose bone had exactly the same appearance.

Of birds the species are not many; and of these none, except perhaps the gannet, is the same with those of Europe: here are ducks indeed, and shags of several kinds, sufficiently resembling those of Europe to be called the same, by those who have not examined them very nicely. Here are also hawks, owls, and quails, which differ but little from those of Europe at first sight; and several small birds, whose song, as has been remarked in the course of the narrative, is much more melodious than any that we had ever heard. The sea-coast is also visited by many oceanic birds, particularly albatrosses, sheerwaters, pintados, and a few of the birds which Sir John Narborough has called Penguins, and which indeed are what the French call *Nuance*, and seem to be a middle species between bird and fish; for their feathers, especially those upon their wings, differ very little from scales; and their wings themselves, which they use only in diving, and not to accelerate their motion even upon the surface of the water, may, perhaps with equal propriety, be called fins. Neither are insects in greater plenty than birds: a few butterflies and beetles, flesh flies, very like those in Europe, and some musquitos and sand flies, perhaps exactly the same with those of North America, make up the whole catalogue. Of musquitos and sand flies, however, which are justly accounted the curse of every country where they abound, we did not see many: there were indeed a few in almost every place where we went on shore, but they gave us so little trouble, that we did not make use of the shades which we had provided for the security of our faces.

For this scarcity of animals upon the land, the sea, however, makes an abundant recompense; every creek swarming with fish, which are not only wholesome, but equally delicious with those of Europe: the ship seldom anchored in any station, or with a light gale passed any place, that did not afford us enough with hook and line to serve the whole ship's company, especially to the southward: when we lay at anchor, the boats, with hook and line, near the rocks, could take fish in any quantity; and the seine seldom failed of producing a still more ample supply; so that both times when we anchored in Cook's Strait, every mess in the ship, that was not careless and improvident, salted as much as lasted many weeks after they went to sea. Of this article, the variety was equal to the plenty; we had mackerel of many kinds, among which, one was exactly the same as we have in England these came in immense shoals, and were taken by the natives in their seines, who sold them to us at a very easy rate. Besides these, there were fish of many species which we had never seen before, but to all which the seamen very readily gave names: so that we talked

here as familiarly of hakes, bream, cole-fish, and many others, as we do in England; and though they are by no means of the same family, it must be confessed that they do honour to the name. But the highest luxury which the sea afforded us, even in this place, was the lobster or sea cray-fish, which are probably the same that in the account of Lord Anson's Voyage are said to have been found at the island of Juan Fernandez, except that, although large, they are not quite equal in size: they differ from ours in England in several particulars, they have a greater number of prickles on their backs, and they are red when first taken out of the water. These we also bought everywhere to the northward in great quantities of the natives, who catch them by diving near the shore, and finding out where they lie with their feet. We had also a fish that Frezier, in his Voyage to the Spanish Main in South America, has described by the names of *Elefant*, *Pejegallo*, or *Poison coq*, which, though coarse, we eat very heartily. Several species of the skate, or sting-ray, are also found here, which were still coarser than the *Elefant;* but as an atonement, we had among many kinds of dog-fish one spotted with white, which was in flavour exactly similar to our best skate, but much more delicious. We had also flat fish resembling both soles and flounders, besides eels and congers of various kinds, with many others of which those who shall hereafter visit this coast will not fail to find the advantage; and shell-fish in great variety, particularly clams, cockles, and oysters.

Among the vegetable productions of this country, the trees claim a principal place; for here are forests of vast extent, full of the straightest, the cleanest, and the largest timber trees that we had ever seen: their size, their grain, and apparent durability, render them fit for any kind of building, and indeed for every other purpose except masts; for which, as I have already observed, they are too hard, and too heavy: there is one in particular which, when we were upon the coast, was rendered conspicuous by a scarlet flower, that seemed to be a compendage of many fibres; it is about as large as an oak, and the wood is exceedingly hard and heavy, and excellently adapted to the use of the millwright. There is another which grows in the swamps, remarkably tall and straight, thick enough to make masts for vessels of any size, and, if a judgment may be formed by the direction of its grain, very tough: this, which, as has been before remarked, our carpenter thought to resemble the pitch-pine, may probably be lightened by tapping, and it will then make the finest masts in the world: it has a leaf not unlike a yew, and bears berries in small bunches *.

Great part of the country is covered with a luxuriant verdure, and our natural historians were gratified by the novelty, if not the variety of the plants. Sow-thistle, garden night-shade, one or two kinds of grass, the same as in England, and two or three kinds of fern, like those of the West Indies, with a few of the plants that are to be found in almost every part of the world, were all, out of about four hundred species, that have hitherto been described by any botanists, or had been seen elsewhere during the course of this voyage, except about five or six which had been gathered at Terra del Fuego.

Of eatable vegetables there are but few; our people, indeed, who had been long at sea, eat, with equal pleasure and advantage, of wild celery, and a kind of cresses, which grew in great abundance upon all parts of the sea-shore. We also, once or twice, met with a plant like what the country people in England call *Lamb's quarters*, or Fat-hen, which we boiled instead of greens; and once we had the good fortune to find a cabbage-tree, which afforded us a delicious meal; and, except the fern-root, and one other vegetable, totally unknown in Europe, and which, though eaten by the natives, was extremely disagreeable to us, we found no other vegetable production that was fit for food, among those that appeared to be the wild produce of the country; and we could find but three esculent plants

* New Zealand abounds in timber trees, suitable for a variety of purposes, many of them being capable of receiving a fine polish, and equalling in beauty the choicest woods in use among us. The tree most valuable for mercantile purposes, and alluded to above, is the *Kauri* or *Yellow Pine* (*Pinus australis*), which has been found on long trial to equal in flexibility the best northern firs, and has been made use of as main and top masts in some of our largest frigates. The trunk grows to the height of from fifty to nearly one hundred feet without a branch protruding. There is an inferior kind of pine, known as the *Kahikátia* (*Juniperus Novæ Zelandicæ*), which is much used, being very easily worked.

The tree described above, as resembling an oak, is the *Pohutokaua* or *Potikawa* (*Metrosideros excelsa*). It is well adapted for ship-timbers, is crooked, close-grained, brittle, tough, and of a deep brown colour. It is difficult to work up by the joiner from its extreme hardness, but when polished forms a beautiful and durable article for furniture. Its appearance in flower is splendid.—Ed.

among those which are raised by cultivation—yams, sweet potatoes, and cocos. Of the yams and potatoes there are plantations consisting of many acres; and I believe that any ship which should happen to be here in the autumn, when they are dug up, might purchase them in any quantity. Gourds are also cultivated by the natives of this place, the fruit of which furnishes them with vessels for various uses. We also found here the Chinese paper mulberry-tree, the same as that of which the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands make their cloth; but it is so scarce, that though the New Zealanders also make cloth of it, they have not enough for any other purpose than to wear as an ornament in the holes which they make in their ears, as I have observed before.

But among all the trees, shrubs, and plants of this country, there is not one that produces fruit, except a berry, which has neither sweetness nor flavour, and which none but the boys took pains to gather, should be honoured with that appellation. There is, however, a plant that serves the inhabitants instead of hemp and flax, which excels all that are put to the same purposes in other countries. Of this plant there are two sorts; the leaves of both resemble those of flags, but the flowers are smaller, and their clusters more numerous; in one kind they are yellow, and in the other a deep red. Of the leaves of these plants, with very little preparation, they make all their common apparel; and of these they make also their strings, lines, and cordage for every purpose, which are so much stronger than anything we can make with hemp, that they will not bear a comparison. From the same plant, by another preparation, they draw long slender fibres which shine like silk, and are as white as snow: of these, which are also surprisingly strong, the finer clothes are made; and of the leaves, without any other preparation than splitting them into proper breadths, and tying the strips together, they make their fishing nets; some of which, as I have before remarked, are of an enormous size. A plant which, with such advantage, might be applied to so many useful and important purposes, would certainly be a great acquisition to England, where it would probably thrive with very little trouble, as it seems to be hardy, and to affect no particular soil; being found equally in hill and valley; in the driest mould, and the deepest bogs: the bog, however, it seems rather to prefer, as near such places we observed it to be larger than elsewhere *.

I have already observed, that we found great plenty of iron sand in Mercury Bay, and therefore that iron ore is undoubtedly to be found at no great distance. As to other metals, we had scarcely knowledge enough of the country for conjecture.

If the settling of this country should ever be thought an object worthy the attention of Great Britain, the best place for establishing a colony would be either on the banks of the Thames, or in the country bordering upon the Bay of Islands. In either place there would be the advantage of an excellent harbour; and, by means of the river, settlements might be extended, and a communication established with the inland parts of the country: vessels might be built of the fine timber which abounds in these parts, at very little trouble and expense, fit for such a navigation as would answer the purpose. I cannot indeed exactly assign the depth of water which a vessel intended to navigate this river, even as far up as I went with the boat, should draw, because this depends upon the depth of water that is upon the bar, or flats, which lie before the narrow part of the river, for I had no opportunity to make myself acquainted with them, but I am of opinion, that a vessel which should draw not more than twelve feet would perfectly answer the purpose. When we first arrived upon the coast of this country, we imagined it to be much better peopled than we afterwards found it, concluding that the inland parts were populous from the smoke that

* The *Phormium tenax*, or New Zealand flax, is a most invaluable production, and to the natives almost indispensable. Large quantities of it have been exported to Sydney and elsewhere, and cordage manufactured from it is far superior in strength to any other vegetable fibre. Some disadvantages attending it have hitherto prevented its use from extending so far as would otherwise be the case. No method of cleaning it has hitherto been found to answer the purpose as well as the slow method of scraping it by muscle-shells, as used by the natives, and all that is brought to market is prepared in this way. When manufactured into ropes, it is found to take tar very indifferently, that substance coming off on the hand when the ropes are hauled over, a palpable defect in running rigging. All attempts to weave it into cloth have also proved ineffectual. Until some means shall be discovered for remedying this inconvenience, the use of New Zealand flax will be very limited. When first brought into notice, there was a considerable demand, and in 1831, one thousand and sixty-two tons were exported from Sydney to England; but from that time the consumption has decreased every year.—Ed.

we saw at a considerable distance from the shore; and, perhaps, that may really be the case with respect to the country behind Poverty Bay, and the Bay of Plenty, where the inhabitants appeared to be more numerous than in other places. But we had reason to believe, that, in general, no part of the country but the sea-coast is inhabited; and even there we found the people but thinly scattered, all the western coast from Cape Maria Van Diemen to Mount Egmont being totally desolate; so that upon the whole the number of inhabitants bears no proportion to the extent of country.

CHAPTER IX.—A DESCRIPTION OF THE INHABITANTS, THEIR HABITATIONS, APPAREL, ORNAMENTS, FOOD, COOKERY, AND MANNER OF LIFE.

THE stature of the men in general is equal to the largest of those in Europe: they are stout, well-limbed, and fleshy; but not fat, like the lazy and luxurious inhabitants of the islands in the South Seas: they are also exceedingly vigorous and active; and have an adroitness and manual dexterity in an uncommon degree, which are discovered in whatever they do. I have seen the strokes of fifteen paddles on a side in one of their canoes made with incredible quickness, and yet with such minute exactness of time, that all the rowers seemed to be actuated by one common soul. Their colour in general is brown; but in few deeper than that of a Spaniard who has been exposed to the sun; in many not so deep. The women have not a feminine delicacy in their appearance, but their voice is remarkably soft; and by that, the dress of both sexes being the same, they are principally distinguished: they have, however, like the women of other countries, more airy cheerfulness, and a greater flow of animal spirits, than the other sex. Their hair, both of the head and beard, is black, and their teeth extremely regular, and as white as ivory: the features of both sexes are good: they seem to enjoy high health; and we saw many who appeared to be of a great age. The dispositions both of the men and women seemed to be mild and gentle: they treat each other with the tenderest affection, but are implacable towards their enemies, to whom, as I have before observed, they never give quarter. It may, perhaps, at first seem strange, that where there is so little to be got by victory, there should so often be war; and that every little district of a country inhabited by people so mild and placid, should be at enmity with all the rest. But possibly more is to be gained by victory among these people than at first appears, and they may be prompted to mutual hostilities by motives which no degree of friendship or affection is able to resist. It appears by the account that has already been given of them, that their principal food is fish, which can only be procured upon the sea-coast; and there in sufficient quantities only at certain times: the tribes, therefore, who live inland, if any such there are, and even those upon the coast, must be frequently in danger of perishing by famine. Their country produces neither sheep nor goats, nor hogs, nor cattle: tame fowls they have none, nor any art by which those that are wild can be caught in sufficient plenty to serve as provision. If there are any whose situation cuts them off from a supply of fish, the only succedaneum of all other animal food, except dogs, they have nothing to support life but the vegetables that have already been mentioned, of which the chief are fern-root, yams, clams, and potatoes; when by any accident these fail, the distress must be dreadful; and even among the inhabitants of the coast, many tribes must frequently be reduced to nearly the same situation, either by the failure of their plantations, or the deficiency of their dry stock, during the season when but few fish are to be caught. These considerations will enable us to account, not only for the perpetual danger in which the people who inhabit this country appear to live, by the care which they take to fortify every village, but for the horrid practice of eating those who are killed in battle; for the hunger of him who is pressed by famine to fight will absorb every feeling and every sentiment which would restrain him from allaying it with the body of his adversary. It may, however, be remarked, that if this account of the origin of so horrid a practice is true, the mischief does by no means end with the necessity that produced it: after the practice has been once begun on one side by hunger, it will naturally be adopted on the other by revenge. Nor is this all; for though it may be pretended by some who wish to

appear speculative and philosophical, that whether the dead body of an enemy be eaten or buried is in itself a matter perfectly indifferent; as it is, whether the breasts or thighs of a woman should be covered or naked; and that prejudice and habit only make us shudder at the violation of custom in one instance, and blush at it in the other: yet leaving this as a point of doubtful disputation, to be discussed at leisure, it may safely be affirmed that the practice of eating human flesh, whatever it may be in itself, is relatively, and in its consequences, most pernicious; tending manifestly to eradicate a principle which is the chief security of human life, and more frequently restrains the hand of murder than the sense of duty, or even the fear of punishment.

Among those who are accustomed to eat the dead, death must have lost much of its horror; and where there is little horror at the sight of death, there will not be much repugnance to kill. A sense of duty, and fear of punishment, may be more easily surmounted than the feelings of nature, or those which have been ingrafted upon nature by early prejudice and uninterrupted custom. The horror of the murderer arises less from the guilt of the fact than its natural effect; and he who has familiarised the effect will consequently lose much of the horror. By our laws, and our religion, murder and theft incur the same punishment, both in this world and the next; yet, of the multitude who would deliberately steal, there are but very few who would deliberately kill, even to procure much greater advantage. But there is the strongest reason to believe, that those who have been so accustomed to prepare a human body for a meal, that they can with as little feeling cut up a dead man as our cook-maids divide a dead rabbit for a fricassee, would feel as little horror in committing a murder as in picking a pocket, and consequently would take away life with as little compunction as property, so that men, under these circumstances, would be made murderers by the slight temptations that now make them thieves. If any man doubts whether this reasoning is conclusive, let him ask himself, whether in his own opinion he should not be safer with a man in whom the horror of destroying life is strong, whether in consequence of natural instinct unsubdued, or of early prejudice, which has nearly an equal influence, than in the power of a man who, under any temptation to murder him, would be restrained only by considerations of interest; for to these all motives of mere duty may be reduced, as they must terminate either in hope of good or fear of evil. The situation and circumstances, however, of these poor people, as well as their temper, are favourable to those who shall settle as a colony among them. Their situation sets them in need of protection, and their temper renders it easy to attach them by kindness; and whatever may be said in favour of a savage life among people who live in luxurious idleness upon the bounty of nature, civilization would certainly be a blessing to those whom her parsimony scarcely furnishes with the bread of life, and who are perpetually destroying each other by violence as the only alternative of perishing by hunger.

But these people, from whatever cause, being inured to war, and by habit considering every stranger as an enemy, were always disposed to attack us when they were not intimidated by our manifest superiority. At first, they had no notion of any superiority but numbers; and when this was on their side, they considered all our expressions of kindness as the artifices of fear and cunning, to circumvent them and preserve ourselves; but when they were once convinced of our power, after having provoked us to the use of our fire-arms, though loaded only with small-shot, and of our clemency, by our forbearing to make use of weapons so dreadful except in our defence, they became at once friendly, and even affectionate, placing in us the most unbounded confidence, and doing everything which could incite us to put equal confidence in them. It is also remarkable, that when an intercourse was once established between us, they were very rarely detected in any act of dishonesty. Before, indeed, and while they considered us as enemies, who came upon their coast only to make an advantage of them, they did not scruple by any means to make any advantage of us; and would, therefore, when they had received the price of anything they had offered to sell, pack up both the purchase and the purchase-money with all possible composure, as so much lawful plunder from people who had no view but to plunder them.

I have observed, that our friends in the South Seas had not even the idea of indecency with respect to any object or any action; but this was by no means the case with the inha-

bitants of New Zealand, in whose carriage and conversation there was as much modesty, reserve, and decorum, with respect to actions, which yet in their opinion were not criminal, as are to be found among the politest people in Europe. The women were not impregnable, but the terms and manner of compliance were as decent as those in marriage among us, and according to their notions the agreement was as innocent.

NEW ZEALAND TATTOOED HEAD.

I have already observed, that in personal cleanliness they are not quite equal to our friends at Otaheite, because, not having the advantage of so warm a climate, they do not so often go into the water; but the most disgustful thing about them is the oil, with which, like the islanders, they anoint their hair. It is, certainly, the fat either of fish or of birds, melted down; and though the better sort have it fresh, their inferiors use that which is rancid, and consequently are almost as disagreeable to the smell as a Hottentot: neither are their heads free from vermin, though we observed that they were furnished with combs, both of bone and wood. These combs are sometimes worn stuck upright in the hair as an ornament; a fashion which at present prevails among the ladies of England. The men generally wear their beards short, and their hair tied upon the crown of the head in a bunch, in which they stick the feathers of various birds in different manners, according to their fancies; sometimes one is placed on each side of the temples, pointing forwards, which we thought made a very disagreeable appearance. The women wear their hair sometimes cropped short, and sometimes flowing over their shoulders.

The bodies of both sexes are marked with the black stains called Amoco, by the same method that is used at Otaheite, and called Tattowing; but the men are more marked, and the women less. The women in general stain no part of their bodies but the lips, though sometimes they are marked with small black patches on other parts: the men, on the contrary, seem to add something every year to the ornaments of the last, so that some of them, who appeared to be of an advanced age, were almost covered from head to foot. Besides the Amoco, they have marks impressed by a method unknown to us, of a very extraordinary kind: they are furrows of about a line deep, and a line broad, such as appear upon the bark of a tree which has been cut through after a year's growth; the edges of these furrows are afterwards indented by the same method, and being perfectly black, they make a most frightful appearance. The faces of the old men are almost covered with these marks; those who are very young, black only their lips, like the women; when they are somewhat older, they have generally a black patch upon one cheek and over one eye, and so proceed gradually, that they may grow old and honourable together. But though we could not but be disgusted with the horrid deformity which these stains and furrows produced in the "human face divine," we could not but admire the dexterity and art with which they were impressed. The marks upon the face in general are spirals, which are drawn with great nicety, and even elegance, those on one side exactly corresponding with those on the other. The marks on the body somewhat resemble the foliage in old chased ornaments, and the convolutions of filigree-work; but in these they have such a luxuriance of fancy, that of a hundred, which at first sight appeared to be exactly the same, no two were, upon a close examination, found to be alike. We observed that the quantity and form of these marks were different in different parts of the coast, and that as the principal seat of them at Otaheite was the breech, in New Zealand it was sometimes the only part which was free, and in general was less distinguished than any other. The skins of these people, however, are not only dyed, but

painted; for, as I have before observed, they smear their bodies with red-ochre, some rubbing it on dry, and some applying it in large patches, mixed with oil, which is always wet, and which the least touch will rub off; so that the transgressions of such of our people as were guilty of ravishing a kiss from these blooming beauties were most legibly written upon their faces.

The dress of a New Zealander is certainly, to a stranger at first sight, the most uncouth that can be imagined. It is made of the leaves of the flag, which has been described among the vegetable productions of this country: these leaves are split into three or four slips, and the slips, when they are dry, interwoven with each other into a kind of stuff between netting and cloth, with all the ends, which are eight or nine inches long, hanging out on the upper side, like the shag or thrumb mats which we sometimes see lying in a passage. Of this cloth, if cloth it may be called, two pieces serve for a complete dress; one of them is tied over their shoulders with a string, and reaches as low as the knees; to the end of this string is fastened a bodkin of bone, which is easily passed through any two parts of this upper garment, so as to tack them together; the other piece is wrapped round the waist, and reaches nearly to the ground: the lower garment, however, is worn by the men only upon particular occasions; but they wear a belt, to which a string is fastened, for a very singular use.

NEW ZEALAND WOMAN.

But besides this coarse shag or thatch, they have two sorts of cloth, which have an even surface, and are very ingeniously made, in the same manner with that manufactured by the inhabitants of South America, some of which we procured at Rio de Janeiro. One sort is as coarse as our coarsest canvass, and somewhat resembles it in the manner of laying the threads, but it is ten times as strong; the other is formed by many threads lying very close one way, and a few crossing them the other, so as to bind them together; but these are about half an inch asunder; somewhat like the round pieces of cane matting which are sometimes placed under the dishes upon a table. This is frequently striped, and always had a pretty appearance, for it is composed of the fibres of the same plant, which are prepared so as to shine like silk. It is made in a kind of frame of the size of the cloth, generally about five feet long, and four broad, across which the long threads, which lie close together, or warp, are strained, and the cross threads, or woof, are worked in by hand, which must be a very tedious operation.

To both these kinds of cloth they work borders of different colours, in stitches, somewhat like carpeting, or rather like those used in the samplers which girls work at school. These borders are of various patterns, and wrought with a neatness, and even an elegance, which, considering they have no needle, is surprising: but the great pride of their dress consists in the fur of their dogs, which they use with such economy, that they cut it into stripes, and sew them upon their cloth at a distance from each other, which is a strong proof that dogs are not plenty among them; these stripes are also of different colours, and disposed so as to produce a pleasing effect. We saw some dresses that were adorned with feathers instead of fur, but these were not common; and we saw one that was entirely covered with the red feathers of the parrot. The dress of the man who was killed when we first went ashore in Poverty Bay has been described already; but we saw the same dress only once more during our stay upon the coast, and that was in Queen Charlotte's Sound.

The women, contrary to the custom of the sex in general, seemed to affect dress rather less than the men: their hair, which, as I have observed before, is generally cropt short, is

never tied upon the top of the head when it is suffered to be long, nor is it ever adorned with feathers. Their garments were made of the same materials, and in the same form, as those of the other sex, but the lower one was always bound fast round them, except when they went into the water to catch lobsters, and then they took great care not to be seen by the men. Some of us happening one day to land upon a small island in Tolaga Bay, we surprised several of them at this employment; and the chaste Diana, with her nymphs, could not have discovered more confusion and distress at the sight of Actæon than these women expressed upon our approach. Some of them hid themselves among the rocks, and the rest crouched down in the sea till they had made themselves a girdle and apron of such weeds as they could find; and when they came out, even with this veil, we could perceive that their modesty suffered much pain by our presence. The girdle and apron which they wear in common have been mentioned before.

Both sexes bore their ears, and, by stretching them, the holes become large enough to admit a finger at least. In these holes they wear ornaments of various kinds, cloth, feathers, bones of large birds, and even sometimes a stick of wood; and to these receptacles of finery they generally applied the nails which we gave them, and everything which it was possible they could contain. The women sometimes thrust through them the down of the albatross, which is as white as snow, and which, spreading before and behind the hole in a bunch almost as big as the fist, makes a very singular, and, however strange it may be thought, not a disagreeable appearance. Besides the ornaments that are thrust through the holes of the ears, many others are suspended to them by strings; such as chisels or bodkins made of green talc, upon which they set a high value, the nails and teeth of their deceased relations, the teeth of dogs, and everything else that they can get, which they think either curious or valuable. The women also wear bracelets and anclets, made of the bones of birds, shells, or any other substances which they can perforate and string upon a thread. The men had sometimes hanging to a string, which went round the neck, a piece of green talc, or whalebone, somewhat in the shape of a tongue, with the rude figure of a man carved upon it; and upon this ornament they set a high value. In one instance, we saw the gristle that divides the nostrils, and called by anatomists the *septum nasi*, perforated, and a feather thrust through the hole, which projected on each side over the cheeks: it is probable that this frightful singularity was intended as an ornament; but of the many people we saw, we never observed it in any other, nor even a perforation that might occasionally serve for such a purpose.

Their houses are the most inartificially made of anything among them, being scarcely equal, except in size, to an English dog-kennel: they are seldom more than eighteen or twenty feet long, eight or ten broad, and five or six high, from the pole that runs from one end to the other, and forms the ridge, to the ground. The framing is of wood, generally slender sticks, and both walls and roof consist of dry grass and hay, which, it must be confessed, is very tightly put together; and some are also lined with the bark of trees, so that in cold weather they must afford a very comfortable retreat. The roof is sloping, like those of our barns, and the door is at one end, just high enough to admit a man, creeping upon his hands and knees: near the door is a square hole, which serves the double office of window and chimney, for the fire-place is at that end, nearly in the middle between the two sides. In some conspicuous part, and generally near the door, a plank is fixed, covered with carving after their manner: this they value as we do a picture, and in their estimation it is not an inferior ornament. The side-walls and roof project about two feet beyond the walls at each end, so as to form a kind of porch, in which there are benches for the accommodation of the family. That part of the floor which is allotted for the fire-place is inclosed in a hollow square, by partitions either of wood or stone, and in the middle of it the fire is kindled. The floor, along the inside of the walls, is thickly covered with straw, and upon this the family sleep. Their furniture and implements consist of but few articles, and one chest commonly contains them all, except their provision-baskets, the gourds that hold their fresh water, and the hammers that are used to beat their fern-root, which generally stand without the door: some rude tools, their clothes, arms, and a few feathers to stick in their hair, make the rest of their treasure. Some of the better sort, whose families are large, have three or

four houses inclosed within a court-yard, the walls of which are constructed of poles and hay, and are about ten or twelve feet high.

When we were on shore in the district called Tolaga, we saw the ruins, or rather the frame of a house, for it had never been finished, much superior in size to any that we saw elsewhere: it was thirty feet in length, about fifteen in breadth, and twelve high: the sides of it were adorned with many carved planks, of a workmanship much superior to any other that we had met with in the country; but for what purpose it was built, or why it was deserted, we could never learn. But these people, though in their houses they are so well defended from the inclemency of the weather, seem to be quite indifferent whether they have any shelter at all during their excursions in search of fern-roots and fish, sometimes setting up a small shade to windward, and sometimes altogether neglecting even that precaution, sleeping with their women and children under bushes, with their weapons ranged round them, in the manner that has already been described. The party, consisting of forty or fifty, whom we saw at Mercury Bay, in a district which the natives call Opoorage, never erected the least shelter while we staid there, though it sometimes rained incessantly for four-and-twenty hours together.

The articles of their food have been enumerated already; the principal, which to them is what bread is to the inhabitants of Europe, is the roots of the fern which grows upon the hills, and is nearly the same with what grows upon our high commons in England, and is called indifferently fern, bracken, or brakes. The birds, which sometimes serve them for a feast, are chiefly penguins and albatrosses, with a few other species that have been occasionally mentioned in this narrative. Having no vessel in which water can be boiled, their cookery consists wholly of baking and roasting. They bake nearly in the same manner as the inhabitants of the South Seas, and to the account that has been already given of their roasting, nothing need be added, but that the long skewer or spit to which the flesh is fastened is placed sloping towards the fire, by setting one stone against the bottom of it, and supporting it near the middle with another, by the moving of which, to a greater or less sustance from the end, the degree of obliquity is increased or diminished at pleasure.

To the northward, as I have observed, there are plantations of yams, sweet potatoes, and cocos, but we saw no such to the southward; the inhabitants, therefore, of that part of the country must subsist wholly upon fern-root and fish, except the scanty and accidental resource which they may find in sea-fowl and dogs; and that fern and fish are not to be procured at all seasons of the year, even at the sea-side, and upon the neighbouring hills, is manifest from the stores of both that we saw laid up dry, and the reluctance which some of them expressed at selling any part of them to us when we offered to purchase them, at least the fish, for sea stores. And this particular seems to confirm my opinion, that this country scarcely sustains the present number of its inhabitants, who are urged to perpetual hostilities by hunger, which naturally prompted them to eat the dead bodies of those who were slain in the contest. Water is their universal and only liquor, as far as we could discover; and if they have really no means of intoxication, they are, in this particular, happy beyond any other people that we have yet seen or heard of.

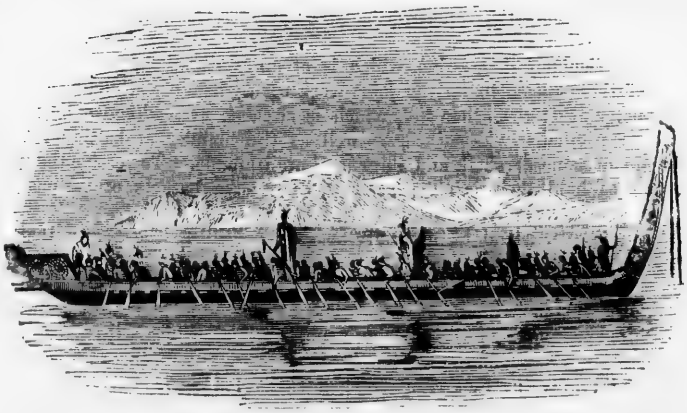
As there is, perhaps, no source of disease, either critical or chronic, but intemperance and inactivity, it cannot be thought strange that these people enjoy perfect and uninterrupted health. In all our visits to their towns, where young and old, men and women, crowded about us, prompted by the same curiosity that carried us to look at them, we never saw a single person who appeared to have any bodily complaint, nor among the numbers that we have seen naked did we once perceive the slightest eruption upon the skin, or any marks that an eruption had left behind. At first, indeed, observing that some of them when they came off to us were marked in patches with a white flowery appearance upon different parts of their bodies, we thought that they were leprous, or highly scorbutic; but upon examination we found that these marks were owing to their having been wetted by the spray of the sea in their passage, which, when it was dried away, left the salts behind it in a fine white powder.

Another proof of health, which we have mentioned upon a former occasion, is the facility with which the wounds healed that had left scars behind them, and that we saw in a recent

state; when we saw the man who had been shot with a musket-ball through the fleshy part of his arm, his wound seemed to be so well digested, and in so fair a way of being perfectly healed, that if I had not known no application had been made to it, I should certainly have inquired, with a very interested curiosity, after the vulnerary herbs and surgical art of the country. A farther proof that human nature is here untainted with disease, is the great number of old men that we saw, many of whom, by the loss of their hair and teeth, appeared to be very ancient, yet none of them were decrepit; and though not equal to the young in muscular strength, were not a whit behind them in cheerfulness and vivacity.

CHAPTER X.—OF THE CANOES AND NAVIGATION OF THE INHABITANTS OF NEW ZEALAND: THEIR TILLAGE, WEAPONS, AND MUSIC: GOVERNMENT, RELIGION, AND LANGUAGE: WITH SOME REASONS AGAINST THE EXISTENCE OF A SOUTHERN CONTINENT.

The ingenuity of these people appears in nothing more than in their canoes: they are long and narrow, and in shape very much resemble a New England whale-boat: the larger sort seem to be built chiefly for war, and will carry from forty to eighty, or a hundred armed men. We measured one which lay ashore at Tolaga: she was sixty-eight feet and a half long, five feet broad, and three feet and a half deep; the bottom was sharp, with straight sides like a wedge, and consisted of three lengths, hollowed out to about two inches, or an inch and a half thick, and well fastened together with strong plaiting: each side consisted of one entire plank, sixty-three feet long, ten or twelve inches broad, and about an inch and a quarter thick, and these were fitted and lashed to the bottom part with great dexterity and strength. A considerable number of thwarts were laid from gunwale to gunwale, to which they were securely lashed on each side, as a strengthening to the boat. The ornament at the head projected five or six feet beyond the body, and was about four feet and a half high; the ornament at the stern was fixed upon that end, as the stern-post of a ship is upon her keel, and was about fourteen feet high, two feet broad, and an inch and a half thick. They both consisted of boards of carved work, of which the design was much better than the execution. All their canoes, except a few at Opoorage or Mercury Bay, which were of one piece, and hollowed by fire, are built after this plan, and few are less than twenty feet long: some of the smaller sort have outriggers, and sometimes two of them are joined together, but this is not common. The carving upon the stern and head ornaments of the inferior boats, which seemed to be intended wholly for fishing, consists of the figure of a man, with a face as ugly as can be conceived, and a monstrous tongue thrust



CANOE WITH CARVED DECORATIONS.

out of the mouth, with the white shells of sea-ears stuck in for the eyes. But the canoes of the superior kind, which seem to be their men-of-war, are magnificently adorned with open-work, and covered with loose fringes of black feathers, which had a most elegant appearance: the gunwale boards were also frequently carved in a grotesque taste, and adorned with tufts of white feathers placed upon a black ground. Of visible objects that are wholly new, no verbal description can convey a just idea, but in proportion as they resemble some that are already known, to which the mind of the reader must be referred: the carving of these people being of a singular kind, and not in the likeness of anything that is known on our side of the ocean, either "in the heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the waters that are under the earth," I must refer wholly to the representations which will be found of it in the cut.

The paddles are small, light, and neatly made; the blade is of an oval shape, or rather of a shape resembling a large leaf, pointed at the bottom, broadest in the middle, and gradually losing itself in the shaft, the whole length being about six feet, of which the shaft or loom including the handle is four, and the blade two. By the help of these oars they push on their boats with amazing velocity. In sailing they are not expert, having no art of going otherwise than before the wind: the sail is of netting or mat, which is set up between two poles that are fixed upright upon each gunwale, and serve both for masts and yards: two ropes answered the purpose of sheets, and were consequently fastened above to the top of each pole. But clumsy and inconvenient as this apparatus is, they make good way before the wind, and are steered by two men who sit in the stern, with each a paddle in his hand for that purpose.

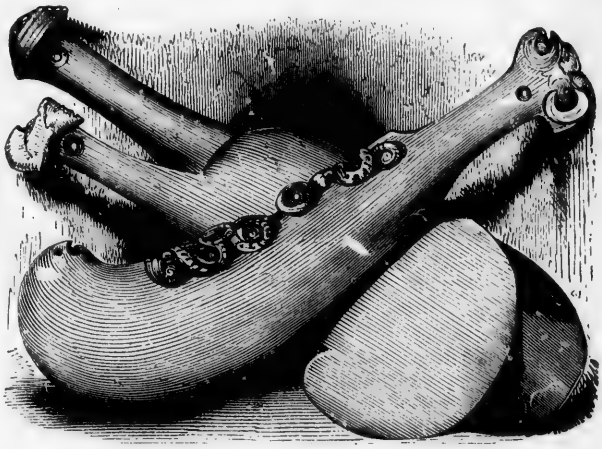
Having said thus much of their workmanship, I shall now give some account of their tools: they have adzes, axes, and chisels, which serve them also as augers for the boring of holes: as they have no metal, their adzes and axes are made of a hard black stone, or of a green talc, which is not only hard but tough; and their chisels of human bone, or small fragments of jasper, which they chip off from a block in sharp angular pieces like a gun-flint. Their axes they value above all that they possess, and never would part with one of them for anything that we could give: I once offered one of the best axes I had in the ship, besides a number of other things, for one of them, but the owner would not sell it; from which I conclude that good ones are scarce among them. Their small tools of jasper, which are used in finishing their nicest work, they use till they are blunt, and then, as they have no means of sharpening them, throw them away. We have given the people at Tolaga a piece of glass, and in a short time they found means to drill a hole through it, in order to hang it round the neck as an ornament by a thread; and we imagine the tool must have been a piece of this jasper. How they bring their large tools first to an edge, and sharpen the weapon which they call Patoo-Patoo, we could not certainly learn; but probably it is by bruising the same substance to powder, and, with this, grinding two pieces against each other.

Their nets, particularly their seine, which is of an enormous size, have been mentioned already: one of these seems to be the joint work of a whole town, and I suppose it to be the joint property also: the other net, which is circular, and extended by two or three hoops, has been particularly described, as well as the manner of baiting and using it. Their hooks are of bone or shell, and in general are ill made. To receive the fish when it is caught, and to hold their other provisions, they have baskets of various kinds and dimensions, very neatly made of wicker-work.

They excel in tillage, as might naturally be expected where the person that sows is to eat the produce, and where there is so little besides that can be eaten: when we first came to Tegadoo, a district between Poverty Bay and East Cape, their crops were just covered, and had not yet begun to sprout; the mould was as smooth as in a garden, and every root had its small hillock, ranged in a regular quincunx by lines, which with the pegs were still remaining in the field. We had not an opportunity to see any of these husbandmen work, but we saw what serves them at once for spade and plough: this instrument is nothing more than a long narrow stake sharpened to an edge at one end, with a short piece fastened transversely at a little distance above it, for the convenience of pressing it down with the

foot. With this they turn up pieces of ground six or seven acres in extent, though it is not more than three inches broad; but as the soil is light and sandy, it makes little resistance. Tillage, weaving, and the other arts of peace, seem to be best known and most practised in the northern part of this country; for there is little appearance of any of them in the south: but the arts of war flourish equally through the whole coast.

Of weapons they have no great variety, but such as they have are well fitted for destruction; they have spears, darts, battle-axes, and the patoo-patoo. The spear is fourteen or fifteen feet long, pointed at both ends, and sometimes headed with bone: these are grasped by the middle, so that the part behind balancing that before, makes a push more difficult to be parried, than that of a weapon which is held by the end. The dart and other weapons have been sufficiently described already; and it has also been remarked, that these people have neither sling nor bow. They throw the dart by hand, and so they do stones; but darts and stones are seldom used, except in defending their forts. Their battles, whether in boats or on shore, are generally hand to hand, and the slaughter must consequently be great, as a second blow with any of their weapons is unnecessary, if the first takes place: their trust, however, seems to be principally placed in the patoo-patoo, which is fastened to their wrists by a strong strap, lest it should be wrenched from them, and which the principal people generally wear sticking in their girdles, considering it as a military ornament, and part of their dress, like the poniard of the Asiatic, and the sword of the European. They have no defensive armour; but, besides their weapons, the chiefs carry a staff of distinction, in the same manner as our officers do the spontoon: this was generally the rib of a whale, as white as snow, with many ornaments of carved work, dog's hair, and feathers; but sometimes it was a stick, about six feet long, adorned in the same manner, and inlaid with a shell like mother-of-pearl. Those who bore this mark of distinction were generally old, at least past the middle age, and were also more marked with the *Amoco* than the rest.



CLUBS OF NEW ZEALAND.

One or more persons, thus distinguished, always appeared in each canoe, when they came to attack us, according to the size of it. When they came within about a cable's length of the ship, they used to stop; and the chiefs rising from their seat, put on a dress which seemed appropriated to the occasion, generally of dog's skin, and holding out their decorated staff, or weapon, directed the rest of the people what they should do. When they were at too great a distance to reach us with a lance or a stone, they presumed that we had no weapon with which we could reach them; here then the defiance was given, and the words were almost universally the same,—*Haromai, haromai, harre ute a patoo-patoo oge:* "Come to us, come on shore, and we will kill you all with our patoo-patoos." While they were uttering these menaces, they came gradually nearer and nearer, till they were close alongside; talking at intervals in a peaceable strain, and answering any questions that we asked them; and at intervals renewing their defiance and threats, till being encouraged by our apparent timidity, they began their war-song and dance, as a prelude to an attack, which always followed, and

was sometimes continued till it became absolutely necessary to repress them by firing some small-shot; and sometimes ended after throwing a few stones on board, as if content with having offered us an insult which we did not dare to revenge.

The war-dance consists of a great variety of violent motions, and hideous contortions of the limbs, during which the countenance also performs its part: the tongue is frequently thrust out to an incredible length, and the eyelids so forcibly drawn up, that the white appears both above and below, as well as on each side of the iris, so as to form a circle round it; nor is anything neglected that can render the human shape frightful and deformed: at the same time they brandish their spears, shake their darts, and cleave the air with their patoo-patoos. This horrid dance is always accompanied by a song; it is wild, indeed, but not disagreeable, and every strain ends in a loud and deep sigh, which they utter in concert. In the motions of the dance, however horrid, there is a strength, firmness, and agility, which we could not but behold with admiration; and in their song they keep time with such exactness, that I have often heard above a hundred paddles struck against the sides of their boats at once, so as to produce but a single sound, at the divisions of their music.

NEW ZEALANDER PROTRUDING HIS TONGUE.

A song not altogether unlike this, they sometimes sing without the dance, and as a peaceable amusement: they have also other songs which are sung by the women, whose voices are remarkably mellow and soft, and have a pleasing and tender effect; the time is slow, and the cadence mournful; but it is conducted with more taste than could be expected among the poor ignorant savages of this half-desolate country; especially as it appeared to us, who were none of us much acquainted with music as a science, to be sung in parts; it was at least sung by many voices at the same time. They have sonorous instruments, but they can scarcely be called instruments of music; one is the shell, called the Triton's trumpet, with which they make a noise not unlike that which our boys sometimes make with a cow's horn; the other is a small wooden pipe, resembling a child's nine-pin, only much smaller, and in this there is no more music than in a pea-whistle. They seem sensible indeed that these instruments are not musical; for we never heard an attempt to sing to them, or to produce with them any measured tones that bore the least resemblance to a tune.

To what has been already said of the practice of eating human flesh, I shall only add, that in almost every cove where we landed, we found flesh-bones of men near the places where fires had been made; and that among the heads that were brought on board by the old man, some seemed to have false eyes, and ornaments in their ears as if alive. That which Mr. Banks bought was sold with great reluctance by the possessor: the head was manifestly that of a young person about fourteen or fifteen years of age, and by the contusions on one side appeared to have received many violent blows, and indeed a part of the bone near the eye was wanting. These appearances confirmed us in the opinion that the natives of this country give no quarter, nor take any prisoners to be killed and eaten at a future time, as is said to have been a practice among the Indians of Florida: for if prisoners had been taken, this poor young creature, who cannot be supposed capable of making much resistance, would probably have been one, and we knew that he was killed with the rest, for the fray had happened but a few days before.

The towns or Hippahs of these people, which are all fortified, have been sufficiently described already, and from the Bay of Plenty to Queen Charlotte's Sound they seem to be the constant residence of the people: but about Poverty Bay, Hawke's Bay, Tegadoo, and Tolaga, we saw no Hippahs, but single houses scattered at a distance from each other; yet upon the sides of the hills there were stages of a great length, furnished with stones and darts, probably as retreats for the people at the last extremity, as upon these stages a fight

may be carried on with much advantage against those below, who may be reached with great effect by darts and stones, which it is impossible for them to throw up with equal force. And indeed the forts themselves seem to be no farther serviceable than by enabling the possessors to repress a sudden attack; for as there is no supply of water within the lines, it would be impossible to sustain a siege. A considerable stock of fern-root and dry fish is indeed laid up in them; but they may be reserved against seasons of scarcity, and that such seasons there are, our observations left us no room to doubt; besides, while an enemy should be prowling in the neighbourhood, it would be easy to snatch a supply of water from the side of the hill, though it would be impossible to dig up fern-root or catch fish. In this district, however, the people seemed to live in a state of conscious security, and to avail themselves of their advantage: their plantations were more numerous, their canoes were more decorated, and they had not only finer carving, but finer clothes. This part of the coast also was much the most populous, and possibly their apparent peace and plenty might arise from their being united under one Chief, or King; for the inhabitants of all this part of the country told us, that they were the subjects of Teratu: when they pointed to the residence of this prince, it was in a direction which we thought inland; but which, when we knew the country better, we found to be the Bay of Plenty.

It is much to be regretted that we were obliged to leave this country without knowing anything of Teratu but his name. As an Indian monarch, his territory is certainly extensive: he was acknowledged from Cape Kidnappers to the northward, and westward as far as the Bay of Plenty, a length of coast upwards of eighty leagues; and we do not yet know how much farther westward his dominions may extend. Possibly the fortified towns which we saw in the Bay of Plenty may be his barrier; especially as at Mercury Bay he was not acknowledged, nor indeed any other single chief; for wherever we landed, or spoke with the people upon that coast, they told us that we were at but a small distance from their enemies. In the dominions of Teratu we saw several subordinate chiefs, to whom great respect was paid, and by whom justice was probably administered; for upon our complaint to one of them of a theft that had been committed on board the ship by a man that came with him, he gave him several blows and kicks, which the other received as the chastisement of authority, against which no resistance was to be made, and which he had no right to resent. Whether this authority was possessed by appointment or inheritance we could not learn; but we observed that the chiefs, as well here as in other parts, were elderly men: in other parts, however, we learnt that they possessed their authority by inheritance.

The little societies which we found in the southern parts seemed to have several things in common, particularly their fine clothes and fishing-nets. Their fine clothes, which possibly might be the spoils of war, were kept in a small hut, which was erected for that purpose in the middle of the town: the nets we saw making in almost every house, and the several parts being afterwards collected were joined together. Less account seems to be made of the women here than in the South Sea islands; such at least was the opinion of Tupia, who complained of it as an indignity to the sex. We observed that the two sexes eat together, but how they divide their labour we do not certainly know. I am inclined to believe that the men till the ground, make nets, catch birds, and go out in their boats to fish; and that the women dig up fern-roots, collect lobsters and other shell-fish near the beach, dress the victuals, and weave cloth: such, at least, were their employments when we had an opportunity of observing them, which was but seldom; for in general our appearance made a holiday wherever we went, men, women, and children flocking round us, either to gratify their curiosity, or to purchase some of the valuable merchandise which we carried about with us, consisting principally of nails, paper, and broken glass.

Of the religion of these people it cannot be supposed that we could learn much; they acknowledge the influence of superior beings, one of whom is supreme, and the rest subordinate; and gave nearly the same account of the origin of the world, and the production of mankind, as our friends in Otaheite. Tupia, however, seemed to have a much more deep and extensive knowledge of these subjects than any of the people here; and whenever he was disposed to instruct them, which he sometimes did in a long discourse, he was sure of a numerous audience, who listened in profound silence, with such reverence and attention, that

we could not but wish them a better teacher. What homage they pay to the deities they acknowledge, we could not learn; but we saw no place of public worship, like the Morais of the South Sea islands: yet we saw, near a plantation of sweet potatoes, a small area, of a square figure, surrounded with stones, in the middle of which one of the sharpened stakes which they use as a spade was set up, and upon it was hung a basket of fern-roots. Upon inquiry, the natives told us that it was an offering to the gods, by which the owner hoped to render them propitious, and obtain a plentiful crop.

As to their manner of disposing of their dead, we could form no certain opinion of it, for the accounts that we received by no means agreed. In the northern parts, they told us that they buried them in the ground; and in the southern, that they threw them into the sea: it is, however, certain, that we saw no grave in the country, and that they affected to conceal everything relating to their dead with a kind of mysterious secrecy *. But whatever may be the sepulchre, the living are themselves the monuments; for we saw scarcely a single person of either sex whose body was not marked by the scars of wounds which they had inflicted upon themselves as a testimony of their regret for the loss of a relation or friend. Some of these wounds we saw in a state so recent that the blood was scarcely stanched, which shows that death had been among them while we were upon the coast; and makes it more extraordinary that no funeral ceremony should have fallen under our notice: some of the scars were very large and deep, and in many instances had greatly disfigured the face. One monument, indeed, we observed of another kind,—the cross that was set up near Queen Charlotte's Sound.

Having now given the best account in my power of the customs and opinions of the inhabitants of New Zealand, with their boats, nets, furniture, and dress, I shall only remark, that the similitude between these particulars here and in the South Sea islands is a very strong proof that the inhabitants have the same origin, and that the common ancestors of both were natives of the same country. They have both a tradition that their ancestors, at a very remote period of time, came from another country; and according to the tradition of both, that the name of that country was HEAWIJE; but the similitude of the language seems to put the matter altogether out of doubt. I have already observed, that Tupia, when he accosted the people here in the language of his own country, was perfectly understood; and I shall give a specimen of the similitude by a list of words in both languages, according to the dialect of the northern and southern islands of which New Zealand consists, by which it will appear that the language of Otaheite does not differ more from that of New Zealand than the language of the two islands from each other.

ENGLISH.	NEW ZEALAND. NORTHERN.	NEW ZEALAND. SOUTHERN.	OTAHEITE.
A Chief	Earcete	Earecte	Earec.
A man	Taata	Taata	Taata.
A woman	Whahine	Whahine	Ivahine.
The head	Eupo	Heaowpoho	Eupo.
The hair	Macauwe	Heoo-oo	Roourou.
The ear	Terringa	Hetaheyei	Terrea.
The forehead	Erai	Heai	Erai.
The eyes	Mata	Hemata	Mata.
The cheeks	Paparinga	Hepapaeh	Paparea.
The nose	Ahewh	Heeih	Ahew.
The mouth	Hangoutou	Hegaowai	Outou.
The chin	Ecouwai	Hakaoewai	

* Every chief of repute is, on his death, included in the long catalogue of their Atuas, or inferior deities; to whom as many various attributes are attributed as to the multifarious members of the Greek and Roman mythologies. The remains of such chiefs as are supposed to have become Atuas are first entirely divested of flesh, and the bones are afterwards deposited with much ceremony in buildings erected for the purpose, highly adorned by carved work and rude statues of the deceased. From time to time the bones are taken down and cleaned, and returned to their resting-place, where offerings of various kinds are frequently made to propitiate the favour of the Atua. They have no Creator of the Universe in the catalogue of their deities; the chief, or father of their gods, as they call him, who is named Mawe, is said to have fished up New Zealand from the bottom of the sea; but the rest of the world was, they insist, created by its own Atuas, and those of New Zealand have no power over the white men. The people are remarkably superstitious, and much under the control of their priests, who pretend to converse with their Atuas.—ED.

ENGLISH.	NEW ZEALAND. NORTHERN.	NEW ZEALAND. SOUTHERN.	OTAHEITE.
The arm	Haringaringu		Rema.
The finger	Maticara	Hermaigawh	Maneow.
The belly	Ateraboo		Oboo.
The navel	Apeto	Heeapeto	Peto.
Come hither	Haromai	Haromai	Herromai.
Fish	Heica	Heica	Eyea.
A lobster	Kooura	Kooura	Tooura.
Cocos	Taro	Taro	Taro.
Sweet potatoes	Cumala	Cumala	Cumala.
Yams	Tuphwhe	Tuphwhe	Tuphwhe.
Birds	Mannu	Mannu	Mannu.
No	Kaoura	Kaoura	Oure.
One	Tahai		Tahai.
Two	Rua		Rua.
Three	Torou		Torou.
Four	Ha		Hea.
Five	Rema		Rema.
Six	Ono		Ono.
Seven	Etu		Hetu.
Eight	Warou		Warou.
Nine	Iva		Heva.
Ten	Angahourou		Ahourou.
The teeth	Hennihew	Heneaho	Nihio.
The wind	Mehow		Mattai.
A thief	Amootoo		Teto.
To examine	Mataketake		Mataitai.
To sing	Ehcara		Heiva.
Bad	Keno	Keno	Eno.
Trees	Eratou	Eratou	Eraou.
Grandfather	Toubouna	Toubouna	Toubouna.
What do you call this or that	Owy Terra		Owy Terra.

By this specimen, I think it appears to demonstration that the language of New Zealand and Otaheite is radically the same. The language of the northern and southern parts of New Zealand differs chiefly in the pronunciation, as the same English word is pronounced *gate* in Middlesex, and *geäte* in Yorkshire: and as the southern and northern words were not written down by the same person, one might possibly use more letters to produce the same sound than the other. I must also observe, that it is the genius of the language, especially in the southern parts, to put some article before a noun, as we do *the* or *a;* the articles used here were generally *ke* or *ko;* it is also common here to add the word *öeia* after another word as an iteration, especially if it is an answer to a question; as we say, *yes, indeed, to be sure, really, certainly:* this sometimes led our gentlemen into the formation of words of an enormous length, judging by the ear only, without being able to refer each sound into its signification. An example will make this perfectly understood.

In the Bay of Islands there is a remarkable one, called by the natives Matuaro. One of our gentlemen having asked a native the name of it, he answered, with the particle, *Kematuaro;* the gentleman hearing the sound imperfectly, repeated his question, and the Indian repeating his answer, added *öeia*, which made the word *Kematuaroöeia;* and thus it happened that in the log-book I found *Matuaro* transformed into *Cumettiwarrowöia:* and the same transformation by the same means, might happen to an English word. Suppose a native of New Zealand at Hackney church, to inquire "What village is this?" the answer would be, "It is Hackney:" suppose the question to be repeated with an air of doubt and uncertainty, the answer might be, "It is Hackney indeed," and the New Zealander, if he had the use of letters, would probably record, for the information of his countrymen, that during his residence among us he had visited a village called "Ityshakneeindede." The article used by the inhabitants of the South Sea islands, instead of *ke* or *ko*, is *to* or *ta*, but the word *öeia* is common to both; and when we began to learn the language, it led us into many ridiculous mistakes.

But supposing these islands, and those in the South Seas, to have been peopled originally from the same country, it will perhaps for ever remain a doubt what country that is: we

were, however, unanimously of opinion, that the people did not come from America, which lies to the eastward; and except there should appear to be a continent to the southward, in a moderate latitude, it will follow that they came from the westward.

Thus far our navigation has certainly been unfavourable to the notion of a southern continent, for it has swept away at least three-fourths of the positions upon which it has been founded. The principal navigators, whose authority has been urged on this occasion, are Tasman, Juan Fernandez, Hermite, the commander of a Dutch squadron, Quiros, and Roggewein; and the track of the Endeavour has demonstrated that the land seen by these persons, and supposed to be part of a continent, is not so; it has also totally subverted the theoretical arguments which have been brought to prove that the existence of a southern continent is necessary to preserve an equilibrium between the two hemispheres; for upon this principle what we have already proved to be water, would render the southern hemisphere too light. In our route to the northward, after doubling Cape Horn, when we were in the latitude of 40°, our longitude was 110°; and in our return to the southward, after leaving Ulietea, when we were again in latitude 40°, our longitude was 145°; the difference is 35°. When we were in latitude 30° the difference of longitude between the two tracks was 21°, which continued till we were as low as 20°; but a single view of the chart will convey a better idea of this than the most minute description: yet as upon a view of the chart it will appear that there is a large space extending quite to the tropics, which neither we, nor any other navigators to our knowledge, have explored, and as there will appear to be room enough for the Cape of a southern continent to extend northward into a low southern latitude, I shall give my reason for believing there is no Cape of any southern continent, to the northward of 40° south.

Notwithstanding what has been laid down by some geographers in their maps, and alleged by Mr. Dalrymple, with respect to Quiros, it is improbable in the highest degree that he saw to the southward of two islands, which he discovered in latitude 25° or 26°, and which I suppose may lie between the longitude of 130° and 140° W., any signs of a continent, much less anything which, in his opinion, was a known or indubitable sign of such land; for if he had, he would certainly have sailed southward in search of it; and if he had sought, supposing the signs to have been indubitable, he must have found: the discovery of a southern continent was the ultimate object of Quiros's voyage, and no man appears to have had it more at heart; so that if he was in latitude 26° S., and in longitude 146° W., where Mr. Dalrymple has placed the islands he discovered, it may fairly be inferred that no part of a southern continent extends to that latitude.

It will, I think, appear with equal evidence from the accounts of Roggewein's voyage, that between the longitudes of 130° and 150° W. there is no main land to the northward of 35° S. Mr. Pingre, in a treatise concerning the transit of Venus, which he went out to observe, has inserted an extract of Roggewein's voyage, and a map of the South Seas; and for reasons which may be seen at large in his work, supposes him, after leaving Easter Island, which he places in latitude 28½ S., longitude 123° W., to have steered S. W. as high as 34° S., and afterwards W.N.W.; and if this was indeed his route, the proof that there is no main land to the northward of 35° S. is irrefragable. Mr. Dalrymple indeed supposes his route to have been different, and that from Easter Isle he steered N.W., taking a course afterwards very little different from that of La Maire; but I think it is highly improbable that a man who, at his own request, was sent to discover a southern continent, should take a course in which La Maire had already proved no continent could be found: it must, however, be confessed, that Roggewein's track cannot certainly be ascertained, because, in the accounts that have been published of his voyage, neither longitudes nor latitudes are mentioned. As to myself, I saw nothing that I thought a sign of land in my route, eithe to the northward, southward, or westward, till a few days before I made the east coast of New Zealand. I did indeed frequently see large flocks of birds, but they were generally such as are found at a very remote distance from any coast; and it is also true that I frequently saw pieces of rock-weed, but I could not infer the vicinity of land from these, because I have been informed, upon indubitable authority, that a considerable quantity of the beans called *ox-eyes*, which are known to grow nowhere but in the West Indies, are

every year thrown up on the coast of Ireland, which is not less than twelve hundred leagues distant.

Thus have I given my reasons for thinking that there is no continent to the northward of latitude 40° S. Of what may lie farther to the southward than 40°, I can give no opinion; but I am so far from wishing to discourage any future attempt, finally to determine a question which has long been an object of attention to many nations, that now this voyage has reduced the only possible site of a continent in the southern hemisphere, north of latitude 40°, to so small a space, I think it would be pity to leave that any longer unexamined, especially as the voyage may turn to good account, besides determining the principal question, if no continent should be found, by the discovery of new islands in the tropical regions, of which there is probably a great number that no European vessel has ever yet visited. Tupia from time to time gave us an account of about one hundred and thirty; and, in a chart drawn by his own hand, he actually laid down no less than seventy-four.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.—THE RUN FROM NEW ZEALAND TO BOTANY BAY, ON THE EAST COAST OF NEW HOLLAND, NOW CALLED NEW SOUTH WALES.—VARIOUS INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED THERE.—WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS INHABITANTS.

Having sailed from Cape Farewell, which lies in latitude 40° 33′ S., longitude 186° W., on Saturday the 31st of March, 1770, we steered westward, with a fresh gale at N.N.E., and at noon, on the 2d of April, our latitude, by observation, was 40°, our longitude from Cape Farewell, 2° 31′ W.

In the morning of the 9th, being in latitude 38° 29′ S., we saw a tropic-bird, which in so high a latitude is very uncommon.

In the morning of the 10th, being in latitude 38° 51′ S., longitude, 202° 43′ W., we found the variation, by the amplitude, to be 11° 25′ E., and by the azimuth, 11° 20′.

In the morning of the 11th, the variation was 13° 48′, which is two degrees and a half more than the day before, though I expected to have found it less.

In the course of the 13th, being in latitude 39° 23′ S., longitude 204° 2′ W., I found the variation to be 12° 27′ E., and in the morning of the 14th it was 11° 30′; this day we also saw some flying-fish. On the 15th we saw an egg-bird and a gannet, and as these are birds that never go far from the land, we continued to sound all night, but had no ground with 130 fathom. At noon, on the 16th, we were in latitude 39° 45′ S., longitude 208° W. At about two o'clock the wind came about to the W.S.W., upon which we tacked and stood to the N.W.; soon after a small land-bird perched upon the rigging, but we had no ground with 120 fathom. At eight we wore, and stood to the southward till twelve at night, and then wore and stood to the N.W. till four in the morning, when we again stood to the southward, having a fresh gale at W.S W., with squalls and dark weather till nine, when the weather became clear, and there being little wind, we had an opportunity to take several observations of the sun and moon, the mean result of which gave 207° 56′ W. long.: our latitude at noon was 39° 36′ S. We had now a hard gale from the southward, and a great sea from the same quarter, which obliged us to run under our fore-sail and mizen all night, during which we sounded every two hours, but had no ground with 120 fathom.

In the morning of the 18th, we saw two Port Egmont hens, and a pintado bird, which are certain signs of approaching land, and, indeed, by our reckoning, we could not be far from it, for our longitude was now one degree to the westward of the east side of Van Diemen's Land, according to the longitude laid down by Tasman, whom we could not suppose to have erred much in so short a run as from this land to New Zealand; and by our latitude, we could not be above fifty or fifty-five leagues from the place whence he took his departure. All this day we had frequent squalls and a great swell. At one in the

morning we brought to and sounded, but had no ground with 130 fathom; at six we saw land extending from N.E. to W. at the distance of five or six leagues, having eighty fathom water, with a fine sandy bottom

We continued standing westward, with the wind at S.S.W., till eight, when we made all the sail we could, and bore away along the shore N.E. for the easternmost land in sight, being at this time in latitude 37° 58′ S., and longitude 210° 39′ W. The southernmost point of land in sight, which bore from us W. ¼ S., I judged to lie in latitude 38°, longitude 211° 7′, and gave it the name of Point Hicks, because Mr. Hicks, the first lieutenant, was the first who discovered it. To the southward of this point no land was to be seen, though it was very clear in that quarter, and by our longitude, compared with that of Tasman, not as it is laid down in the printed charts, but in the extracts from Tasman's journal, published by Rembrantse, the body of Van Diemen's Land ought to have borne due south; and, indeed, from the sudden falling of the sea after the wind abated, I had reason to think it did; yet as I did not see it, and as I found this coast trend N.E. and S.W., or rather more to the eastward, I cannot determine whether it joins to Van Diemen's Land or not.

At noon we were in latitude 37° 5′, longitude 210° 29′ W. The extremes of the land extended from N.W. to E.N.E., and a remarkable point bore N. 20 E., at the distance of about four leagues. This point rises in a round hillock, very much resembling the Ram Head at the entrance of Plymouth Sound, and therefore I called it by the same name. The variation by an azimuth, taken this morning, was 3° 7′ E.; and what we had now seen of the land appeared low and level: the sea-shore was a white sand, but the country within was green and woody. About one o'clock, we saw three water-spouts at once; two were between us and the shore, and the third at some distance, upon our larboard quarter: this phenomenon is so well known, that it is not necessary to give a particular description of it here.

At [illegible] o'clock in the evening we shortened sail, and brought to for the night, having fifty-six fathom water, and a fine sandy bottom. The northernmost land in sight then bore N. by E. ½ E., and a small island lying close to a point on the main bore W., distant two leagues. This point, which I called Cape Howe, may be known by the trending of the coast, which is north on the one side and south-west on the other; it may also be known by some round hills upon the main, just within it.

We brought to for the night, and at four in the morning made sail along-shore to the northward. At six the northermost land in sight bore N N.W., and we were at this time about four leagues from the shore. At noon we were in latitude 36° 51′ S., longitude 209° 53′ W., and about three leagues distant from the shore. The weather being clear, gave us a good view of the country, which has a very pleasing appearance: it is of a moderate height, diversified by hills and valleys, ridges and plains, interspersed with a few lawns of no great extent, but in general covered with wood: the ascent of the hills and ridges is gentle, and the summits are not high. We continued to sail along the shore to the northward, with a southerly wind, and in the afternoon we saw smoke in several places, by which we knew the country to be inhabited. At six in the evening we shortened sail, and sounded: we found forty-four fathom water, with a clear sandy bottom, and stood on under an easy sail till twelve, when we brought-to for the night, and had ninety fathom water.

At four in the morning we made sail again, at the distance of about five leagues from the land, and at six we were abreast of a high mountain, lying near the shore, which, on account of its figure, I called Mount Dromedary. Under this mountain the shore forms a point to which I gave the name of Point Dromedary, and over it there is a peaked hillock. At this time, being in latitude 36° 18′ S., longitude 209° 55′ W., we found th variation to be 10° 42′ E.

Between ten and eleven, Mr. Green and I took several observations of the sun and moon, the mean result of which gave 209° 17′ longitude W. By an observation made the day before, our longitude was 210° 9′ W., from which 20′ being subtracted, there remains 209° 49′, the longitude of the ship this day at noon, the mean of which, with this day's observation, gives 209° 33′, by which I fix the longitude of this coast. At noon our latitude was 35° 49′ S., Cape Dromedary bore S. 30 W., at the distance of twelve leagues, and an open

bay, in which were three or four small islands, bore N.W. by W., at the distance of five or six leagues. This bay seemed to afford but little [illegible] from the sea winds, and yet it is the only place where there appeared a probability of [illegible]g anchorage upon the whole coast. We continued to steer along the shore N. by E. and N.N.E., at the distance of about three leagues, and saw smoke in many places near the beach. At five in the evening we were abreast of a point of land which rose in a perpendicular cliff, and which, for that reason, I called Point Upright. Our latitude was 35° 35′ S. when this point bore from us due west, distant about two leagues: in this situation, we had about thirty-one fathom water, with a sandy bottom. At six in the evening, the wind falling, we hauled off E.N.E., and at this time the northermost land in sight bore N. by E. ½ E. At midnight, being in seventy fathom water, we brought to till four in the morning, when we made sail in for the land; but at day-break found our situation nearly the same as it had been at five the evening before, by which it was apparent that we had been driven about three leagues to the southward, by a tide or current, during the night. After this we steered along the shore N.N.E. with a gentle breeze at S.W., and were so near the land as to distinguish several of the natives upon the beach, who appeared to be of a black, or very dark colour. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was 35° 27′ S. and longitude 209° 23 W.; Cape Dromedary bore S. 28 W., distant nineteen leagues; a remarkable peaked hill, which resembled a square dove-house, with a dome at the top, and which for that reason I called the Pigeon House, bore N. 32° 30′ W.; and a small low island, which lay close under the shore, bore N.W., distant about two or three leagues. When I first discovered this island, in the morning, I was in hopes, from its appearance, that I should have found shelter for the ship behind it; but when we came near it, it did not promise security even for the landing of a boat. I should however have attempted to send a boat on shore, if the wind had not veered to that direction, with a large hollow sea rolling in upon the land from the S.E., which indeed had been the case ever since we had been upon it. The coast still continued to be of a moderate height, forming alternately rocky points and sandy beaches; but within, between Mount Dromedary and the Pigeon House, we saw high mountains, which, except two, are covered with wood: these two lie inland behind the Pigeon House, and are remarkably flat at the top, with steep rocky cliffs all round them, as far as we could see. The trees, which almost everywhere clothe this country, appear to be large and lofty. This day the variation was found to be 9° 50′ E., and for the two last days, the latitude, by observation, was twelve or fourteen miles to the southward of the ship's account, which could have been the effect of nothing but a current setting in that direction. About four in the afternoon, being near five leagues from the land, we tacked, and stood off S.E. and E., and the wind having veered in the night, from E. to N.E. and N., we tacked about four in the morning, and stood in, being then about nine or ten leagues from the shore. At eight, the wind began to die away, and soon after it was calm. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was 35° 38′, and our distance from the land about six leagues. Cape Dromedary bore S. 37 W., distant seventeen leagues, and the Pigeon House N. 40 W. In this situation we had 74 fathom water. In the afternoon, we had variable light airs and calms, till six in the evening, when a breeze sprung up at N. by W.: at this time, being about four or five leagues from the shore, we had seventy fathom water. The Pigeon House bore N. 45 W., Mount Dromedary S. 30 W., and the northermost land in sight N. 19 E.

We stood to the north-east till noon the next day, with a gentle breeze at N.W., and then we tacked and stood westward. At this time our latitude, by observation, was 35° 10′ S., and longitude 208° 51′ W. A point of land which I had discovered on St. George's day, and which therefore I called Cape George, bore W. distant nineteen miles. and the Pigeon House (the latitude and longitude of which I found to be 35° 19′ S. and 209° 42′ W.) S. 75 W. In the morning we had found the variation, by amplitude, to be 7° 50′ E., and by several azimuths 7° 54′ E. We had a fresh breeze at N.W. from noon till three; it then came to the west, when we tacked and stood to the northward. At five in the evening, being about five or six leagues from the shore, with the Pigeon House bearing W.S.W. distant about nine leagues, we had eighty-six fathom water; and at eight, having thunder and lightning, with heavy squalls, we brought to in 120 fathom.

At three in the morning, we made sail again to the northward, having the advantage of a fresh gale at S.W. At noon we were about three or four leagues from the shore, and in latitude 34° 22′ S., longitude 208° 36′ W. In the course of this day's run from the preceding noon, which was forty-five miles north-east, we saw smoke in several places near the beach. About two leagues to the northward of Cape George, the shore seemed to form a bay, which promised shelter from the north-east winds; but as the wind was with us, it was not in my power to look into it without beating up, which would have cost me more time than I was willing to spare. The north point of this bay, on account of its figure, I named Long Nose; its latitude is 35° 0′, and about eight leagues north of it there lies a point, which, from the colour of the land about it, I called Red Point: its latitude is 34° 29′, and longitude 208° 45′ W. To the north-west of Red Point, and a little way inland, stands a round hill, the top of which looks like the crown of a hat. In the afternoon of this day we had a light breeze at N.N.W. till five in the evening, when it fell calm. At this time, we were between three and four leagues from the shore, and had forty-eight fathom water: the variation by azimuth was 8° 48′ E. and the extremities of this land were from N.E. by N. to S.W. by S. Before it was dark, we saw smoke in several places along the shore, and a fire two or three times afterwards. During the night we lay becalmed, driving in before the sea till one in the morning, when we got a breeze from the land, with which we steered N.E., being then in thirty-eight fathom. At noon it veered to N.E. by N., and we were then in latitude 34° 10′ S., longitude 208° 27′ W.: the land was distant about five leagues, and extended from S. 37 W. to N. ½ E. In this latitude there are some white cliffs, which rise perpendicularly from the sea to a considerable height. We stood off the shore till two o'clock, and then tacked and stood in till six, when we were within four or five miles of it, and at that distance had fifty fathom water. The extremities of the land bore from S. 28 W. to N. 25° 30′ E. We now tacked and stood off till twelve, then tacked and stood in again till four in the morning, when we made a trip off till day-light; and during all this time we lost ground, owing to the variableness of the winds. We continued at the distance of between four and five miles from the shore, till the afternoon, when we came within two miles, and I then hoisted out the pinnace and yawl to attempt a landing, but the pinnace proved to be so leaky that I was obliged to hoist her in again. At this time we saw several of the natives walking briskly along the shore, four of whom carried a small canoe upon their shoulders. We flattered ourselves that they were going to put her into the water, and come off to the ship, but finding ourselves disappointed, I determined to go on shore in the yawl, with as many as it would carry. I embarked, therefore, with only Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Tupia, and four rowers: we pulled for that part of the shore where the Indians appeared, near which four small canoes were lying at the water's edge. The Indians sat down upon the rocks, and seemed to wait for our landing; but to our great regret, when we came within about a quarter of a mile, they ran away into the woods. We determined, however, to go on shore, and endeavour to procure an interview; but in this we were again disappointed, for we found so great a surf beating upon every part of the beach, that landing with our little boat was altogether impracticable. We were therefore obliged to be content with gazing at such objects as presented themselves from the water. The canoes, upon a near view, seemed very much to resemble those of the smaller sort at New Zealand. We observed, that among the trees on shore, which were not very large, there was no underwood; and could distinguish that many of them were of the palm kind, and some of them cabbage trees: after many a wishful look we were obliged to return, with our curiosity rather excited than satisfied, and about five in the evening got on board the ship. About this time it fell calm, and our situation was by no means agreeable. We were now not more than a mile and a half from the shore, and within some breakers, which lay to the southward; but happily a light breeze came off the land, and carried us out of danger. With this breeze we stood to the northward, and at day-break we discovered a bay, which seemed to be well sheltered from all winds, and into which, therefore, I determined to go with the ship. The pinnace being repaired, I sent her, with the master, to sound the entrance, while I kept turning up, having the wind right out. At noon, the mouth of the bay bore N.N.W., distant about a mile, and seeing a smoke on the shore, we

directed our gl. es to the spot, and soon discovered ten people, who upon our nearer approach, left their fire, and retired to a little eminence, whence they could conveniently observe our motions. Soon after two canoes, each having two men on board, came to the shore just under the eminence, and the men joined the rest on the top of it. The pinnace, which had been sent a-head to sound, now approached the place, upon which all the Indians retired farther up the hill, except one, who hid himself among some rocks near the landing-place. As the pinnace proceeded along the shore, most of the people took the same route, and kept abreast of her at a distance. When she came back, the master told us, that in a cove a little within the harbour, some of them had come down to the beach, and invited him to land by many signs and words, of which he knew not the meaning; but that all of them were armed with long pikes, and a wooden weapon shaped somewhat like a cimeter. The Indians who had not followed the boat, seeing the ship approach, used many threatening gestures and brandished their weapons; particularly two, who made a very singular appearance, for their faces seemed to have been dusted with a white powder, and their bodies painted with broad streaks of the same colour, which passing obliquely over their breasts and backs, looked not unlike the cross-belts worn by our soldiers; the same kind of streaks were also drawn round their legs and thighs, like broad garters. Each of these men held in his hand the weapon that had been described to us as like a cimeter*, which appeared to be about two feet and a half long; and they seemed to talk to each other with great earnestness.

NATIVE OF NEW HOLLAND WITH BOOMERANG.

We continued to stand into the bay, and early in the afternoon anchored under the south shore, about two miles within the entrance, in six fathom water, the south point bearing S.E., and the north point East. As we came in we saw, on both points of the bay, a few huts, and several of the natives, men, women, and children. Under the south head we saw four small canoes, with each one man on board, who were very busily employed in striking fish with a long pike or spear. They ventured almost into the surf, and were so intent upon what they were doing, that although the ship passed within a quarter of a mile of them, they scarcely turned their eyes toward her; possibly, being deafened by the surf, and their attention wholly fixed upon their business or sport, they neither saw nor heard her go past them.

The place where the ship had anchored was abreast of a small village, consisting of about six or eight houses; and while we were preparing to hoist out the boat, we saw an old woman, followed by three children, come out of the wood; she was loaded with fire-wood, and each of the children had also its little burden. When she came to the houses, three more children, younger than the others, came out to meet her: she often looked at the ship, but expressed neither fear nor surprise. In a short time she kindled a fire, and the four canoes came in from fishing. The men landed, and having hauled up their boats, began to dress their dinner, to all appearance, wholly unconcerned about us, though we were within half a mile of them. We thought it remarkable that all of the people we had yet seen, not

* This is the singular weapon known as the *boomerang*, the use of which has been rendered familiar by its introduction among us as an instructive toy. It is described by Captain King as very formidable in its effects. It is used by the natives with success in killing the kangaroo; but is used more as a hunting than a warlike weapon. It is a short, curved piece of heavy wood, and is propelled through the air in a direction opposite to the point aimed at, and rising in rapid whirls, it passes over the head of the thrower, and strikes a point behind him. The natives are remarkably skilful in its use. The size varies from eighteen to thirty inches in length, and from two to three inches broad. The shape is that of an obtuse angle. One in Captain King's possession was twenty-six inches long, its greatest breadth two inches and a half, thickness half an inch, and the angle formed from the centre 140 degrees.—Ed.

one had the least appearance of clothing, the old woman herself being destitute even of a fig-leaf.

After dinner the boats were manned, and we set out from the ship, having Tupia of our party. We intended to land where we saw the people, and began to hope that as they had so little regard to the ship's coming into the bay, they would as little regard our coming on shore. In this, however, we were disappointed; for as soon as we approached the rocks, two of the men came down upon them to dispute our landing, and the rest ran away. Each of the two champions was armed with a lance about ten feet long, and a short stick, which he seemed to handle as if it was a machine to assist him in managing or throwing the lance. They called to us in a very loud tone, and in a harsh dissonant language, of which neither we nor Tupia understood a single word: they brandished their weapons, and seemed resolved to defend their coast to the uttermost, though they were but two, and we were forty. I could not but admire their courage, and being very unwilling that hostilities should commence with such inequality of force between us, I ordered the boat to lie upon her oars: we then parleyed by signs for about a quarter of an hour, and to bespeak their good-will, I threw them nails, beads, and other trifles, which they took up, and seemed to be well pleased with. I then made signs that I wanted water, and, by all the means that I could devise, endeavoured to convince them that we would do them no harm. They now waved to us, and I was willing to interpret it as an invitation; but upon our putting the boat in, they came again to oppose us. One appeared to be a youth about nineteen or twenty, and the other a man of middle age; as I had now no other resource, I fired a musket between them. Upon the report, the youngest dropped a bundle of lances upon the rock, but recollecting himself in an instant, he snatched them up again with great haste. A stone was then thrown at us, upon which I ordered a musket to be fired with small-shot, which struck the eldest upon the legs, and he immediately ran to one of the houses, which was distant about a hundred yards. I now hoped that our contest was over, and we immediately landed; but we had scarcely left the boat when he returned, and we then perceived that he had left the rock only to fetch a shield or target for his defence. As soon as he came up, he threw a lance at us, and his comrade another; they fell where we stood thickest, but happily hurt nobody. A third musket with small-shot was then fired at them, upon which one of them threw another lance, and both immediately ran away; if we had pursued, we might probably have taken one of them; but Mr. Banks suggesting that the lances might be poisoned, I thought it not prudent to venture into the woods. We repaired immediately to the huts, in one of which we found the children, who had hidden themselves behind a shield and some bark; we peeped at them, but left them in their retreat, without their knowing that they had been discovered, and we threw into the house, when we went away, some beads, ribbons, pieces of cloth, and other presents, which we hoped would procure us the good-will of the inhabitants when they should return; but the lances which we found lying about, we took away with us, to the number of about fifty: they were from six to fifteen feet long, and all of them had four prongs in the manner of a fish-gig, each of which was pointed with fish-bone, and very sharp: we observed that they were smeared with a viscous substance of a green colour, which favoured the opinion of their being poisoned, though we afterwards discovered that it was a mistake: they appeared, by the sea-weed that we found sticking to them, to have been used in striking fish. Upon examining the canoes that lay upon the beach, we found them to be the worst we had ever seen: they were between twelve and fourteen feet long, and made of the bark of a tree in one piece, which was drawn together and tied up at each end, the middle being kept open by sticks, which were placed across them from gunwale to gunwale as thwarts. We then searched for fresh water, but found none, except in a small hole which had been dug in the sand.

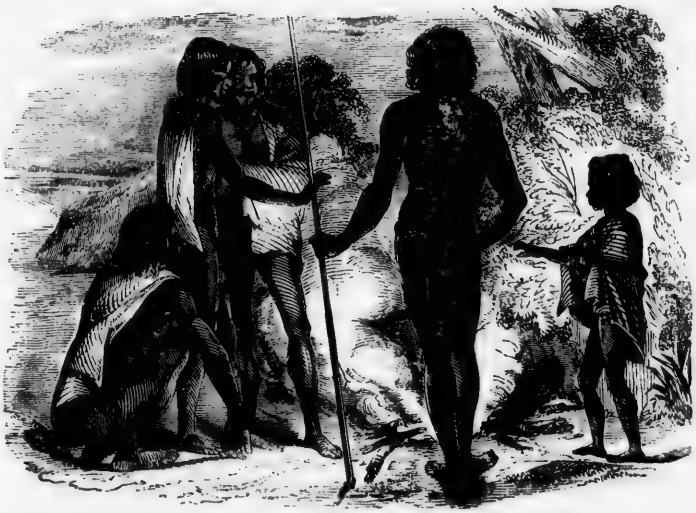
SPEAR-HEADS.

Having reimbarked in our boat, we deposited our lances on board the ship, and then went over to the north point of the bay, where we had seen several of the inhabitants when we

were entering it, but which we now found totally deserted. Here, however, we found fresh water, which trickled down from the top of the rocks, and stood in pools among the hollows at the bottom; but it was situated so as not to be procured for our use without difficulty.

In the morning, therefore, I sent a party of men to that part of the shore where we first landed, with orders to dig holes in the sand where the water might gather; but going ashore myself with the gentlemen soon afterwards, we found, upon a more diligent search, a small stream, more than sufficient for our purpose. Upon visiting the hut where we had seen the children, we were greatly mortified to find that the beads and ribbons which we had left there the night before had not been moved from their places, and that not an Indian was to be seen. Having sent some empty water-casks on shore, and left a party of men to cut wood, I went myself in the pinnace to sound, and examine the bay; during my excursion I saw several of the natives, but they all fled at my approach. In one of the places where I landed, I found several small fires, and fresh muscles broiling upon them; here also I found some of the largest oyster-shells I had ever seen.

As soon as the wooders and waterers came on board to dinner, ten or twelve of the natives came down to the place, and looked with great attention and curiosity at the casks, but did not touch them: they took away, however, the canoes which lay near the landing-place, and again disappeared. In the afternoon, when our people were again ashore, sixteen or eighteen Indians, all armed, came boldly within about a hundred yards of them, and then stopped: two of them advanced somewhat nearer; and Mr. Hicks, who commanded the party on shore, with another, advanced to meet them, holding out presents to them as he approached, and expressing kindness and amity by every sign he could think of, but all without effect; for before he could get up with them they retired, and it would have answered no purpose to pursue. In the evening I went with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander to a sandy cove on the



NATIVES OF NEW HOLLAND.

north side of the bay, where, in three or four hauls with the seine, we took above three hundred-weight of fish, which was equally divided among the ship's company. The next morning, before day-break, the Indians came down to the houses that were abreast of the ship, and were heard frequently to shout very loud. As soon as it was light, they were seen walking along the beach; and soon after they retired to the woods, where, at the distance of about a mile from the shore, they kindled several fires.

Our people went ashore as usual, and with them Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, who, in search of plants, repaired to the woods. Our men, who were employed in cutting grass, being the farthest removed from the main body of the people, a company of fourteen or fifteen Indians advanced towards them, having sticks in their hands, which, according to the report of the serjeant of marines, shone like a musket. The grass-cutters, upon seeing them approach, drew together, and repaired to the main body. The Indians, being encouraged by this appearance of a flight, pursued them; they stopped, however, when they were within about a furlong of them, and after shouting several times, went back into the woods. In the evening they came again in the same manner, stopped at the same distance, shouted, and retired. I followed them myself, alone and unarmed, for a considerable way along the shore, but I could not prevail upon them to stop. This day Mr. Green took the sun's meridian altitude a little within the south entrance of the bay, which gave the latitude 34° S.; the variation of the needle was 11° 3′ E.

Early the next morning, the body of Forby Sutherland, one of our seamen, who died the evening before, was buried near the watering-place; and from this incident I called the south point of this bay Sutherland Point. This day we resolved to make an excursion into the country. Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, myself, and seven others, properly accoutred for the expedition, set out, and repaired first to the huts near the watering-place, whither some of the natives continued every day to resort; and though the little presents which we had left there before had not yet been taken away, we left others of somewhat more value, consisting of cloth, looking-glasses, combs, and beads, and then went up into the country. We found the soil to be either swamp or light sand, and the face of the country finely diversified by wood and lawn. The trees are tall, straight, and without underwood, standing at such a distance from each other, that the whole country, at least where the swamps do not render it incapable of cultivation, might be cultivated without cutting down one of them. Between the trees the ground is covered with grass, of which there is great abundance, growing in tufts about as big as can well be grasped in the hand, which stand very close to each other. We saw many houses of the inhabitants, and places where they had slept upon the grass without any shelter; but we saw only one of the people, who, the moment he discovered us, ran away. At all these places we left presents, hoping that at length they might produce confidence and good-will. We had a transient and imperfect view of a quadruped, about as big as a rabbit. Mr. Banks's greyhound, which was with us, got sight of it, and would probably have caught it, but the moment he set off he lamed himself against a stump which lay concealed in the long grass. We afterwards saw the dung of an animal which fed upon grass, and which we judged could not be less than a deer; and the footsteps of another, which was clawed like a dog, and seemed to be about as big as a wolf. We also tracked a small animal, whose foot resembled that of a polecat or weasel. The trees over our head abounded with birds of various kinds, among which were many of exquisite beauty, particularly loriquets and cockatoos, which flew in flocks of several scores together. We found some wood which had been felled by the natives with a blunt instrument, and some that had been barked. The trees were not of many species; among others there was a large one which yielded a gum not unlike the *sanguis draconis*; and in some of them steps had been cut at about three feet distant from each other, for the convenience of climbing them.

From this excursion we returned between three and four o'clock, and having dined on board, we went ashore again at the watering-place, where a party of men were filling casks. Mr. Gore, the second lieutenant, had been sent out in the morning with a boat to dredge for oysters at the head of the bay; when he had performed this service, he went ashore, and having taken a midshipman with him, and sent the boat away, set out to join the waterers by land. In his way he fell in with a body of two-and-twenty Indians, who followed him, and were often not more than twenty yards distant. When Mr. Gore perceived them so near, he stopped, and faced about, upon which they stopped also; and when he went on again, continued their pursuit. They did not, however, attack him, though they were all armed with lances, and he and the midshipman got in safety to the watering-place. The Indians, who had slackened their pursuit when they came in sight of the main body of our people, halted at about the distance of a quarter of a mile, where they

stood still. Mr. Monkhouse and two or three of the waterers took it into their head to march up to them; but seeing the Indians keep their ground till they came pretty near them, they were seized with a sudden fear very common to the rash and fool-hardy, and made a hasty retreat. This step, which insured the danger that it was taken to avoid, encouraged the Indians, and four of them running forward, discharged their lances at the fugitives, with such force, that flying no less than forty yards, they went beyond them. As the Indians did not pursue, our people, recovering their spirits, stopped to collect the lances when they came up to the place where they lay; upon which the Indians, in their turn, began to retire. Just at this time I came up, with Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia; and being desirous to convince the Indians that we were neither afraid of them, nor intended them any mischief, we advanced towards them, making signs of expostulation and entreaty; but they could not be persuaded to wait till we could come up. Mr. Gore told us, that he had seen some of them up the bay, who had invited him by signs to come on shore, which he, certainly with great prudence, declined.

The morning of the next day was so rainy, that we were all glad to stay on board. In the afternoon, however, it cleared up, and we made another excursion along the sea-coast to the southward: we went ashore, and Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander gathered many plants; but besides these we saw nothing worthy of notice. At our first entering the woods, we met with three of the natives, who instantly ran away: more of them were seen by some of the people, but they all disappeared, with great precipitation, as soon as they found that they were discovered. By the boldness of these people at our first landing, and the terror that seized them at the sight of us afterwards, it appears that they were sufficiently intimidated by our fire-arms: not that we had any reason to think the people much hurt by the small-shot which we were obliged to fire at them, when they attacked us at our coming out of the boat; but they had probably seen the effects of them, from their lurking-places, upon the birds that we had shot. Tupia, who was now become a good marksman, frequently strayed from us to shoot parrots; and he had told us, that while he was thus employed, he had once met with nine Indians, who, as soon as they perceived he saw them, ran from him, in great confusion and terror.

The next day, twelve canoes, in each of which was a single Indian, came towards the watering-place, and were within half a mile of it a considerable time: they were employed in striking fish, upon which, like others that we had seen before, they were so intent, that they seemed to regard nothing else. It happened, however, that a party of our people were out a-shooting near the place, and one of the men, whose curiosity might at length, perhaps, be roused by the report of the fowling-pieces, was observed by Mr. Banks to haul up his canoe upon the beach, and go towards the shooting-party. In something more than a quarter of an hour, he returned, launched his canoe, and went off in her to his companions. This incident makes it probable that the natives acquired a knowledge of the destructive power of our fire-arms, when we knew nothing of the matter; for this man was not seen by any of the party whose operations he had reconnoitred.

While Mr. Banks was gathering plants near the watering-place, I went with Dr. Solander and Mr. Monkhouse to the head of the bay, that I might examine that part of the country, and make farther attempts to form some connexion with the natives. In our way we met with eleven or twelve small canoes, with each a man in it, probably the same that were afterwards abreast of the shore, who all made into shoal water upon our approach. We met other Indians on shore the first time we landed, who instantly took to their canoes, and paddled away. We went up the country to some distance, and found the face of it nearly the same with that which has been described already, but the soil was much richer; for, instead of sand, I found a deep black mould, which I thought very fit for the production of grain of any kind. In the woods we found a tree which bore fruit that in colour and shape resembled a cherry: the juice had an agreeable tartness, though but little flavour. We found also interspersed some of the finest meadows in the world: some places, however, were rocky, but these were comparatively few: the stone is sandy, and might be used with advantage for building. When we returned to the boat, we saw some smoke upon another part of the coast, and went thither in hopes of meeting with the people, but at our approach,

these also ran away. We found six small canoes, and six fires very near the beach, with some muscles roasting upon them, and a few oysters lying near: by this we judged that there had been one man in each canoe, who having picked up some shell-fish, had come ashore to eat it, and made his separate fire for that purpose. We tasted of their cheer, and left them in return some strings of beads, and other things which we thought would please them. At the foot of a tree in this place we found a small well of fresh water, supplied by a spring; and the day being now far spent, we returned to the ship. In the evening, Mr. Banks made a little excursion with his gun, and found such a number of quails resembling those in England, that he might have shot as many as he pleased; but his object was variety and not number.

The next morning, as the wind would not permit me to sail, I sent out several parties into the country to try again whether some intercourse could not be established with the natives. A midshipman, who belonged to one of these parties, having straggled a long way from his companions, met with a very old man and woman, and some little children; they were sitting under a tree by the water-side, and neither party saw the other till they were close together. The Indians showed signs of fear, but did not attempt to run away. The man happened to have nothing to give them but a parrot that he had shot; this he offered, but they refused to accept it, withdrawing themselves from his hand either through fear or aversion. His stay with them was but short, for he saw several canoes near the beach fishing, and being alone, he feared they might come ashore and attack him. He said, that these people were very dark-coloured, but not black; that the man and woman appeared to be very old, being both grey-headed; that the hair of the man's head was bushy, and his beard long and rough; that the woman's hair was cropped short; and both of them were stark-naked. Mr. Monkhouse, the surgeon, and one of the men, who were with another party near the watering-place, also strayed from their companions, and as they were coming out of a thicket, observed six Indians standing together, at the distance of about fifty yards. One of them pronounced a word very loud, which was supposed to be a signal, for a lance was immediately thrown at him out of the wood, which very narrowly missed him. When the Indians saw that the weapon had not taken effect, they ran away with the greatest precipitation; but on turning about towards the place whence the lance had been thrown, he saw a young Indian, whom he judged to be about nineteen or twenty years old, come down from a tree, and he also ran away with such speed as made it hopeless to follow him. Mr. Monkhouse was of opinion that he had been watched by these Indians in his passage through the thicket, and that the youth had been stationed in the tree to discharge the lance at him, upon a signal, as he should come by; but however this be, there could be no doubt but that he was the person who threw the lance.

In the afternoon, I went myself with a party over to the north shore; and while some of our people were hauling the seine, we made an excursion a few miles into the country, proceeding afterwards in the direction of the coast. We found this place without wood, and somewhat resembling our moors in England; the surface of the ground, however, was covered with a thin brush of plants about as high as the knees. The hills near the coast are low, but others rise behind them, increasing by a gradual ascent to a considerable distance, with marshes and morasses between. When we returned to the boat, we found that our people had caught with the seine a great number of small fish, which are well known in the West Indies, and which our sailors call leather-jackets, because their skin is remarkably thick. I had sent the second-lieutenant out in the yawl a-striking, and when we got back to the ship, we found that he also had been very successful. He had observed that the large sting-rays, of which there is great plenty in the bay, followed the flowing tide into very shallow water; he therefore took the opportunity of flood, and struck several in not more than two or three feet water: one of them weighed no less than two hundred and forty pounds after his entrails were taken out. The next morning, as the wind still continued northerly, I sent out the yawl again, and the people struck one still larger; for when his entrails were taken out, he weighed three hundred and thirty-six pounds.

The great quantity of plants which Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander collected in this place, induced me to give it the name of BOTANY BAY. It is situated in the latitude of 34° S.,

longitude 208° 37′ W. It is capacious, safe, and convenient, and may be known by the land on the sea-coast, which is nearly level, and of a moderate height; in general higher than it is farther inland, with steep rocky cliffs next the sea, which have the appearance of a long island lying close under the shore. The harbour lies about the middle of this land, and in approaching it from the southward, is discovered before the ship comes abreast of it; but from the northward it is not discovered so soon. The entrance is a little more than a quarter of a mile broad, and lies in W.N.W. To sail into it, the southern shore should be kept on board till the ship is within a small bare island which lies close under the north shore; within this island the deepest water on that side is seven fathom, shallowing to five a good way up. At a considerable distance from the south shore there is a shoal reaching from the inner south point quite to the head of the harbour; but over towards the north and north-west shore there is a channel of twelve or fourteen feet at low-water for three or four leagues up, to a place where there is three or four fathom; but here I found very little fresh

BOTANY BAY.

water. We anchored near the south shore, about a mile within the entrance, for the convenience of sailing with a southerly wind, and because I thought it the best situation for watering; but I afterwards found a very fine stream on the north shore, in the first sandy cove within the island, before which a ship might lie almost land-locked, and procure wood as well as water in great abundance. Wood, indeed, is everywhere plenty, but I saw only two kinds which may be considered as timber. These trees are as large or larger than the English oak, and one of them has not a very different appearance; this is the same that yields the reddish gum like *sanguis draconis*, and the wood is heavy, hard, and dark-coloured, like *lignum vitæ:* the other grows tall and straight, something like the pine; and the wood of this, which has some resemblance to the live-oak of America, is also hard and heavy. There are a few shrubs, and several kinds of the palm; mangroves also grow in great plenty near the head of the bay. The country in general is level, low, and woody, as far as we could see. The woods, as I have before observed, abound with birds of exquisite beauty, particularly of the parrot kind; we found also crows here, exactly the same with those in England. About the head of the harbour, where there are large flats of sand and mud, there is great plenty of water-fowl, most of which were altogether unknown to us: one of the most remarkable was black and white, much larger than a swan, and in shape somewhat resembling a pelican. On these banks of sand and mud there are great quantities of oysters, muscles, cockles, and other shell-fish, which seem to be the principal subsistence of the inhabitants, who go into shoal-

water with their little canoes, and pick them out with their hands. We did not observe that they eat any of them raw, nor do they always go on shore to dress them, for they have frequently fires in their canoes for that purpose. They do not, however, subsist wholly upon this food, for they catch a variety of other fish, some of which they strike with gigs, and some they take with hook and line. All the inhabitants that we saw were stark-naked; they did not appear to be numerous, nor to live in societies, but, like other animals, were scattered about along the coast, and in the woods. Of their manner of life, however, we could know but little, as we were never able to form the least connexion with them. After the first contest at our landing, they would never come near enough to parley; nor did they touch a single article of all that we had left at their huts, and the places they frequented, on purpose for them to take away.

During my stay in this harbour I caused the English colours to be displayed on shore every day, and the ship's name and the date of the year to be inscribed upon one of the trees near the watering-place. It is high-water here, at the full and change of the moon, about eight o'clock, and the tide rises and falls perpendicularly between four and five feet

---

CHAPTER IX.—THE RANGE FROM BOTANY BAY TO TRINITY BAY; WITH A FARTHER ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTRY, ITS INHABITANTS, AND PRODUCTIONS.

AT day-break, on Sunday, the 6th of May, 1770, we set sail from Botany Bay, with a light breeze at N.W., which soon after coming to the southward, we steered along the shore N.N.E.; and at noon, our latitude, by observation, was 33° 50′ S. At this time we were between two and three miles distant from the land, and abreast of a bay or harbour, in which there appeared to be good anchorage, and which I called PORT JACKSON *. This harbour lies three leagues to the northward of Botany Bay: the variation, by several azimuths, appeared to be 8° E. At sunset, the northernmost land in sight bore N. 26 E., and some broken land, that seemed to form a bay, bore N. 40 W., distant four leagues. This bay, which lies in latitude 33° 42′, I called BROKEN BAY. We steered along the shore N.N.E. all night, at the distance of about three leagues from the land, having from thirty-two to thirty-six fathom water, with a hard sandy bottom.

Soon after sunrise on the 7th, I took several azimuths, with four needles belonging to the azimuth compass, the mean result of which gave the variation 7° 56′ E. At noon our latitude, by observation, was 33° 22′ S.: we were about three leagues from the shore, the northernmost land in sight bore N. 19 E., and some lands which projected in three bluff points, and which, for that reason, I called CAPE THREE POINTS, bore S.W., distant five leagues. Our longitude from BOTANY BAY was 19′ E. In the afternoon, we saw smoke in several places upon the shore, and in the evening, found the variation to be 8° 25′ E. At this time we were between two and three miles from the shore, in twenty-eight fathom; and at noon, the next day, we had not advanced one step to the northward. We stood off shore, with the winds northerly, till twelve at night, and at the distance of about five leagues, had seventy fathom; at the distance of six leagues we had eighty fathom, which is the extent of the soundings; for at the distance of ten leagues, we had no ground with 150 fathom.

The wind continuing northerly till the morning of the 10th, we continued to stand in and off the shore, with very little change of situation in other respects; but a gale then springing up at S.W., we made the best of our way along the shore to the northward. At sunrise, our latitude was 33° 2′ S., and the variation 8° E. At nine in the forenoon, we passed a remarkable hill, which stood a little way inland, and somewhat resembled the crown of a hat; and at noon our latitude, by observation, was 32° 53′ S., and our longitude 208° W. We were about two leagues distant from the land, which extended from N. 41 E. to S. 41

* It is almost unnecessary to point out Port Jackson as the site of the first English settlement in New Holland, now the well-known town of Sydney. The first convoy of convicts arrived at Botany Bay on the 20th of January, 1788, after a voyage of *eight* months and one week; but that spot not affording all the accommodations needed, Port Jackson was fixed on as the position of the future capital of Australia.—ED.

W., and a small round rock, or island, which lay close under the land, bore S. 82 W., distant between three and four leagues. At four in the afternoon, we passed, at the distance of about a mile, a low rocky point, which I called Point Stephens; on the north side of which is an inlet, which I called Port Stephens: this inlet appeared to me, from the masthead, to be sheltered from all winds. It lies in latitude 32° 40′, longitude 207° 51′, and at the entrance are three small islands, two of which are high; and on the main near the shore are some high round hills, which at a distance appear like islands. In passing this bay, at the distance of two or three miles from the shore, our soundings were from thirty-three to twenty-seven fathom, from which I conjectured that there must be a sufficient depth of water within it. At a little distance within land, we saw smoke in several places; and at half an hour past five, the northernmost land in sight bore N. 36 E., and Point Stephens S.W., distant four leagues. Our soundings in the night were from forty-eight to sixty-two fathom, at the distance of between three and four leagues from the shore, which made in two hillocks. This point I called Cape Hawke: it lies in the latitude of 32° 14′ S., longitude 207° 30′ W.; and at four o'clock in the morning bore W., distant about eight miles; at the same time the northernmost land in sight bore N. 6 E. and appeared like an island. At noon, this land bore N. 8 E., the northernmost land in sight N. 13 E., and Cape Hawke S. 37 W. Our latitude, by observation, was 32° 2′ S., which was twelve miles to the southward of that given by the log; so that probably we had a current setting that way: by the morning amplitude and azimuth, the variation was 9° 10′ E. During our run along the shore, in the afternoon, we saw smoke in several places, at a little distance from the beach, and one upon the top of a hill, which was the first we had seen upon elevated ground since our arrival upon the coast. At sunset, we had twenty-three fathom, at the distance of a league and a half from the shore: the northernmost land then bore N. 13 E., and three hills, remarkably large and high, lying contiguous to each other, and not far from the beach, N.N.W. As these hills bore some resemblance to each other, we called them The Three Brothers. They lie in latitude 31° 40′, and may be seen fourteen or sixteen leagues. We steered N.E. by N. all night, having from twenty-seven to sixty-seven fathom, at the distance of between two and six leagues from the shore.

At daybreak, we steered north, for the northernmost land in sight. At noon, we were four leagues from the shore, and, by observation, in latitude 31° 18′ S., which was fifteen miles to the southward of that given by the log; our longitude 206° 58′ W. In the afternoon, we stood in for the land, where we saw smoke in several places, till six in the evening, when, being within three or four miles of it, and in twenty-four fathom of water, we stood off with a fresh breeze at N. and N.N.W. till midnight, when we had 118 fathom, at the distance of eight leagues from the land, and then tacked. At three in the morning, the wind veered to the westward, when we tacked and stood to the northward. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was 30° 43′ S., and our longitude 206° 45′ W. At this time we were between three and four leagues from the shore, the northernmost part of which bore from us N. 13 W. and a point, or headland, on which we saw fires that produced a great quantity of smoke, bore W., distant four leagues. To this point I gave the name of Smoky Cape*; it is of a considerable height, and over the pitch of the point is a round hillock; within it are two others, much higher and larger, and within them the land is very low. Our latitude was 30° 31′ S., longitude 206° 54′ W.: this day the observed latitude was only five miles south of the log. We saw smoke in several parts along the coast, besides that seen upon Smoky Cape.

In the afternoon, the wind being at N.E., we stood off and on, and at three or four miles distance from the shore had thirty fathom water; the wind afterwards coming cross off land, we stood to the northward, having from thirty to twenty-one fathom, at the distance of four or five miles from the shore. At five in the morning, the wind veered to the north, and blew fresh, attended with squalls: at eight it began to thunder and rain, and in about an hour it fell calm, which gave us an opportunity to sound, and we had eighty-six fathom at between four and five leagues from the shore. Soon after this we had a gale from the southward, with which we steered N. by W. for the northernmost land in sight. At noon

* Smoky Cape lies a little to the north of the present penal settlement of Port Macquarrie.—Ed.

we were about four leagues from the shore, and by observation, in latitude 30° 22′, which was nine miles to the southward of our reckoning, longitude 206° 39′ W. Some lands near the shore, of a considerable height, bore W.

As we advanced to the northward from Botany Bay, the land gradually increased in height, so that in this latitude it may be called a hilly country. Between this latitude and the Bay, it exhibits a pleasing variety of ridges, hills, valleys, and plains, all clothed with wood, of the same appearance with that which has been particularly described. The land near the shore is in general low and sandy, except the points, which are rocky, and over many of them are high hills, which, at their first rising out of the water, have the appearance of islands. In the afternoon, we had some small rocky islands between us and the land, the southernmost of which lies in latitude 30° 10′, and the northernmost in 29° 58′, and somewhat more than two leagues from the land: about two miles without the northernmost island we had thirty-three fathom water. Having the advantage of a moon, we steered along the shore all night, in the direction of N. and N. by E., keeping at the distance of about three leagues from the land, and having from twenty to twenty-five fathom water. As soon as it was light, having a fresh gale, we made all the sail we could; and at nine o'clock in the morning, being about a league from the shore, we discovered smoke in many places, and having recourse to our glasses, we saw about twenty of the natives, who had each a large bundle upon his back, which we conjectured to be palm-leaves for covering their houses. We continued to observe them above an hour, during which they walked upon the beach, and up a path that led over a hill of a gentle ascent, behind which we lost sight of them: not one of them was observed to stop and look towards us, but they trudged along, to all appearance without the least emotion, either of curiosity or surprise, though it is impossible they should not have seen the ship by a casual glance as they walked along the shore; and though she must, with respect to every other object they had yet seen, have been little less stupendous and unaccountable than a floating mountain with all its woods would have been to us. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was 28° 39′ S., and longitude 206° 27′ W. A high point of land, which I named CAPE BYRON, bore N.W. by W., at the distance of three miles. It lies in latitude 28° 37′ 30″ S., longitude 206° 30′ W., and may be known by a remarkable sharp-peaked mountain, which lies inland, and bears from it N.W. by W. From this point the land trends N. 13 W.: inland it is high and hilly, but low near the shore: to the southward of the point it is also low and level. We continued to steer along the shore with a fresh gale, till sunset, when we suddenly discovered breakers ahead, directly in the ship's course, and also on our larboard bow. At this time we were about five miles from the land, and had twenty fathom water: we hauled up east till eight, when we had run eight miles, and increased our depth of water to forty-four fathom; we then brought to, with the ship's head to the eastward, and lay upon this tack till ten, when, having increased our sounding to seventy-eight fathom, we wore and lay with the ship's head to the land till five in the morning, when we made sail, and, at daylight, were greatly surprised to find ourselves farther to the southward than we had been the evening before, though the wind had been southerly, and blown fresh all night. We now saw the breakers again within us, and passed them at the distance of one league. They lie in latitude 28° 8′ S., stretching off east two leagues from a point of land, under which is a small island. Their situation may always be known by the peaked mountain which has been just mentioned, and which bears from them S.W. by W.: for this reason I have named it MOUNT WARNING. It lies seven or eight leagues inland, in latitude 28° 22′ S. The land about it is high and hilly, but it is of itself sufficiently conspicuous to be at once distinguished from every other object. The point off which these shoals lie I have named POINT DANGER. To the northward of this point the land is low, and trends N.W. by N.; but it soon turns again more to the northward.

At noon we were about two leagues from the land, and, by observation, in latitude 27° 46′ S., which was seventeen miles to the southward of the log: our longitude was 206° 26′ W. Mount Warning bore S. 26 W., distant fourteen leagues, and the northernmost land in sight bore N. We pursued our course along the shore, at the distance of about two leagues, in the direction of N. ¾ E. till between four and five in the afternoon, when we discovered breakers on our larboard bow. Our depth of water was thirty-seven

fathom; and at sunset the northernmost land bore N. by W., the breakers N.W. by W., distant four miles, and the northernmost land set at noon, which formed a point, and to which I gave the name of POINT LOOK-OUT, W., distant five or six miles, in the latitude of 27° 6′. On the north side of this point, the shore forms a wide open bay, which I called MORETON'S BAY, in the bottom of which the land is so low, that I could but just see it from the topmast head. The breakers lie between three or four miles from Point Look-out; and at this time we had a great sea from the southward, which broke upon them very high. We stood on N.N.E. till eight o'clock, when having passed the breakers, and deepened our water to fifty-two fathom, we brought to till midnight, when we made sail again to the N.N.E. At four in the morning we had 135 fathom; and when the day broke, I perceived that during the night I had got much farther northward, and from the shore, than I expected from the course we steered, for we were distant at least seven leagues; I therefore hauled in N.W. by W., with a fresh gale at S.S.W. The land that was farthest to the north the night before now bore S.S.W., distant six leagues; and I gave it the name of CAPE MORETON, it being the north point of Moreton's Bay; its latitude is 26° 56′, and its longitude is 206° 28′. From Cape Moreton the land trends away west, farther than can be seen, for there is a small space, where at this time no land is visible; and some on board having also observed that the sea looked paler than usual, were of opinion that the bottom of Moreton's Bay opened into a river *. We had here thirty-four fathom water, and a fine sandy bottom: this alone would have produced the change that had been observed in the colour of the water; and it was by no means necessary to suppose a river to account for the land at the bottom of the bay not being visible; for supposing the land there to be as low as we knew it to be in a hundred other parts of the coast, it would have been impossible to see it from the station of the ship; however, if any future navigator should be disposed to determine the question, whether there is or is not a river in this place, which the wind would not permit us to do, the situation may always be found by three hills which lie to the northward of it, in the latitude of 26° 53′. These hills lie but a little way inland, and not far from each other: they are remarkable for the singular form of their elevation, which very much resembles a glass-house, and for which reason I called them the GLASS-HOUSES. The northernmost of the three is the highest and largest: there are also several other peaked hills inland to the northward of these, but they are not nearly so remarkable. At noon our latitude was, by observation, 26° 28′ S., which was ten miles to the northward of the log, a circumstance which had never before happened upon this coast; our longitude was 206° 46′. At this time we were between two and three leagues from the land, and had twenty-four fathom water. A low bluff point, which was the south head of a sandy bay, bore N. 62 W., distant three leagues, and the northernmost point of land in sight bore N. ¼ E. This day we saw smoke in several places, and some at a considerable distance inland.

In steering along the shore at the distance of two leagues, our soundings were from twenty-four to thirty-two fathom, with a sandy bottom. At six in the evening the northernmost point of the land bore N. ¼ W., distant four leagues; at ten it bore N.W. by W. ½ W.; and as we had seen no land to the northward of it, we brought to, not well knowing which way to steer. At two in the morning, however, we made sail with the wind at S.W., and at daylight we saw the land extending as far as N. ¾ E.: the point we had set the night before bore S.W. by W., distant between three and four leagues. It lies in latitude 25° 58, longitude 206° 48′ W.: the land within it is of a moderate and equal height, but the point itself is so unequal, that it looks like two small islands lying under the land, for which reason I gave it the name of DOUBLE ISLAND POINT: it may also be known by the white cliffs on the north side of it. Here the land trends to the N.W., and forms a large open bay, the bottom of which is so low a flat, that from the deck it could scarcely be seen. In crossing this bay, our depth of water was from thirty to twenty-two fathom, with a white sandy bottom. At noon we were about three leagues from the shore, in latitude 25° 34′ S., longitude 206° 45′ W.: Double Island Point bore S. ¾ W., and the northernmost land in sight N. ¾ E. This part of the coast, which is of a moderate height,

* Brisbane River empties itself into Moreton's Bay.—ED.

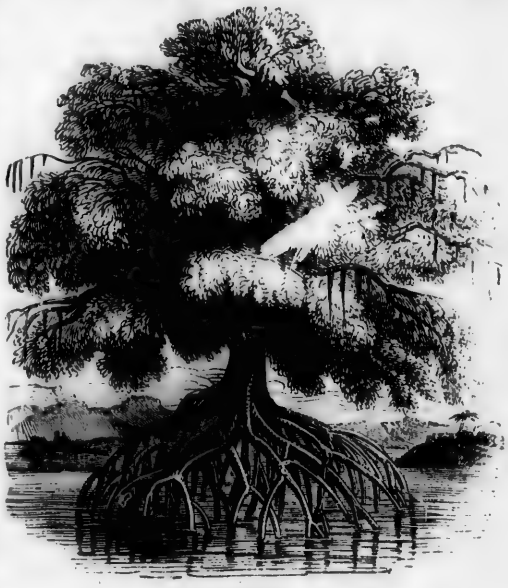
is more barren than any we had seen, and the soil more sandy. With our glasses we could discover that the sands, which lay in great patches of many acres, were moveable, and that some of them had not been long in the place they possessed; for we saw in several parts trees half buried, the tops of which were still green; and in others, the naked trunks of such as the sand had surrounded long enough to destroy. In other places the woods appeared to be low and shrubby, and we saw no signs of inhabitants. Two water-snakes swam by the ship; they were beautifully spotted, and in every respect like land snakes, except that their tails were broad and flat, probably to serve them instead of fins in swimming. In the morning of this day the variation was 8° 20′ E., and in the evening 8° 36′. During the night we continued our course to the northward, with a light breeze from the land, being distant from it between two and three leagues, and having from twenty-three to twenty-seven fathom, with a fine sandy bottom.

At noon on the 19th we were about four miles from the land, with only thirteen fathom Our latitude was 25° 4′, and the northernmost land in sight bore N. 21 W., distant eight miles. At one o'clock, being still four miles distant from the shore, but having seventeen fathom water, we passed a black bluff head, or point of land, upon which a great number of the natives were assembled, and which therefore I called INDIAN HEAD: it lies in latitude 25° 3′. About four miles N. by W. of this head is another very like it, from whence the land trends away somewhat more to the westward: next to the sea it is low and sandy; and behind it nothing was to be seen, even from the mast-head. Near Indian Head we saw more of the natives, and upon the neighbouring shore fires by night, and smoke by day. We kept to the northward all night, at the distance of from four miles to four leagues from the shore, and with a depth of water from seventeen to thirty-four fathom. At daybreak the northernmost land bore from us W.S.W., and seemed to end in a point, from which we discovered a reef running out to the northward as far as we could see. We had hauled our wind to the westward before it was light, and continued the course till we saw the breakers upon our lee-bow. We now edged away N.W. and N.N.W. along the east side of the shoal, from two to one mile distant, having regular soundings from thirteen to seven fathom, with a fine sandy bottom. At noon our latitude, by observation, was 20° 26′, which was thirteen miles to the northward of the log: we judged the extreme point of the shoal to bear from us about N.W., and the point from which it seemed to run out bore S. ¾ W., distant twenty miles. This point I named SANDY CAPE, from two very large patches of white sand which lay upon it. It is sufficiently high to be seen at the distance of twelve leagues, in clear weather, and lies in latitude 24° 45′, longitude 206° 51′: the land trends from it S.W. as far as can be seen. We kept along the east side of the shoal till two in the afternoon, when, judging that there was a sufficient depth of water upon it to allow passage for the ship, I sent the boat ahead to sound, and upon her making the signal for more than five fathom, we hauled our wind, and stood over the tail of it in six fathom. At this time we were in latitude 24° 22′, and Sandy Cape bore S. ½ E., distant eight leagues; but the direction of the shoal is nearest N.N.W. and S.S.E. It is remarkable that when on board the ship we had six fathom, the boat, which was scarcely a quarter of a mile to the southward, had little more than five, and that immediately after six fathom we had thirteen, and then twenty, as fast as the man could cast the lead: from these circumstances I conjectured that the west side of the shoal was steep. This shoal I called the BREAK SEA SPIT, because we had now smooth water, and to the southward of it we had always a high sea from the S.E. At six in the evening the land of Sandy Cape extended from S. 17 E. to S. 27 E., at the distance of eight leagues; our depth of water was twenty-three fathom: with the same soundings we stood to the westward all night. At seven in the morning we saw from the mast-head the land of Sandy Cape bearing S.E. ½ E., distant about thirteen leagues: at nine we discovered land to the westward, and soon after saw smoke in several places. Our depth of water was now decreased to seventeen fathom, and by noon we had no more than thirteen, though we were seven leagues from the land, which extended from S. by W. to W.N.W. Our latitude at this time was 24° 28′ S. For a few days past we had seen several of the sea-birds called boobies, not having met with any of them before; last night a small flock of them passed the ship, and went away to the N.W.; and in the

morning, from about half an hour before sunrise to half an hour after, flights of them were continually coming from the N.N.W., and flying to the S.S.E.; nor was one of them seen to fly in any other direction; we therefore conjectured that there was a lagoon, river, or inlet of shallow water, in the bottom of the deep bay, to the southward of us, whither these birds resorted to feed in the day, and that not far to the northward there were some islands, to which they repaired in the night. To this bay I gave the name of Hervey's Bay, in honour of Captain Hervey. In the afternoon we stood in for the land, steering S.W., with a gentle breeze at S.E. till four o'clock, when, being in latitude 24° 36′, about two leagues from the shore, and having nine fathom water, we bore away along the coast N.W. by W., and at the same time could see land extending to the S.S.E. about eight leagues. Near the sea the land is very low, but within there are some lofty hills, all thickly clothed with wood. While we were running along the shore, we shallowed our water from nine to seven fathom, and at one time we had but six, which determined us to anchor for the night.

At six in the morning we weighed, with a gentle breeze from the southward, and steered N.W. ¼ W., edging in for the land, till we got within two miles of it, with water from seven to eleven fathom; we then steered N.N.W. as the land lay, and at noon our latitude was 24° 19′. We continued in the same course, at the same distance, with from twelve fathom to seven, till five in the evening, when we were abreast of the south point of a large open bay, in which I intended to anchor. During this course, we discovered with our glasses that the land was covered with palm-nut trees, which we had not seen from the time of our leaving the islands within the tropic: we also saw two men walking along the shore, who did not condescend to take the least notice of us. In the evening, having hauled close upon a wind, and made two or three trips, we anchored about eight o'clock in five fathom, with a fine sandy bottom. The south point of the bay bore E. ¾ S., distant two miles, the north point N.W. ¼ N., and about the same distance from the shore.

Early the next morning I went ashore, with a party of men, in order to examine the country, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, the other gentlemen, and Tupia: the wind blew fresh, and we found it so cold, that being at some distance from the shore, we took our cloaks as a necessary equipment for the voyage. We landed a little within the south point of the bay, where we found a channel leading into a large lagoon: this channel I proceeded to examine, and found three fathom water till I got about a mile up it, where I met with a shoal, upon which there was little more than one fathom, but having passed over it, I had three fathom again. The entrance of this channel lies close to the south point of the bay, being formed by the shore on the east, and on the west by a large spit of sand: it is about a quarter of a mile broad, and lies in S. by W. In this place there is room for a few ships to lie in great security, and a small stream of fresh water: I would have rowed into the lagoon, but was prevented by shallows. We found several bogs, and swamps of salt water, upon which, and by the sides of the lagoon, grows the true mangrove, such as is found in the West Indies, and the first of the kind that we had met with. In the branches of these mangroves there were many nests of a remarkable kind



MANGROVE TREE.

of ant, that was as green as grass: when the branches were disturbed they came out in great numbers, and punished the offender by a much sharper bite than ever we had felt from the same kind of animal before. Upon these mangroves also we saw small green caterpillars in great numbers: their bodies were thick-set with hairs, and they were ranged upon the leaves side by side like a file of soldiers, to the number of twenty or thirty together: when we touched them, we found that the hair of their bodies had the quality of a nettle, and gave us a much more acute, though less durable pain. The country here is manifestly worse than about Botany Bay: the soil is dry and sandy, but the sides of the hills are covered with trees, which grow separately, without underwood. We found here the tree that yields a gum like the *sanguis draconis;* but it is somewhat different from the trees of the same kind which we had seen before, for the leaves are longer, and hang down like those of the weeping-willow. We found also much less gum upon them, which is contrary to the established opinion, that the hotter the climate the more gums exude. Upon a plant also, which yielded a yellow gum, there was less than upon the same kind of plant in Botany Bay. Among the shoals and sand-banks we saw many large birds, some in particular of the same kind that we had seen in Botany Bay, much bigger than swans, which we judged to be pelicans; but they were so shy that we could not get within gunshot of them. Upon the shore we saw a species of the bustard, one of which we shot: it was as large as a turkey, and weighed seventeen pounds and a half.* We all agreed that this was the best bird we had eaten since we left England; and in honour of it we called this inlet BUSTARD BAY. It lies in latitude 24° 4′, longitude 208° 18′. The sea seemed to abound with fish; but, unhappily, we tore our seine all to pieces at the first haul. Upon the mud-banks, under the mangroves, we found innumerable oysters of various kinds; among others, the hammer-oyster, and a large proportion of small pearl-oysters: if in deeper water there is equal plenty of such oysters at their full growth, a pearl fishery might certainly be established here to very great advantage.

The people who were left on board the ship said, that while we were in the woods about twenty of the natives came down to the beach, abreast of her, and having looked at her some time, went away; but we that were ashore, though we saw smoke in many places, saw no people; the smoke was at places too distant for us to get to them by land, except one, to which we repaired: we found ten small fires still burning within a few paces of each other; but the people were gone. We saw near them several vessels of bark, which we supposed to have contained water, and some shells and fish-bones, the remains of a recent meal. We saw also, lying upon the ground, several pieces of soft bark, about the length and breadth of a man, which we imagined might be their beds; and, on the windward side of the fires, a small shade about a foot and a half high, of the same substance. The whole was in a thicket of close trees, which afforded good shelter from the wind. The place seemed to be much trodden, and as we saw no house, nor any remains of a house, we were inclined to believe that, as these people had no clothes, they had no dwelling, but spent their nights, among the other commoners of nature, in the open air; and Tupia himself, with an air of superiority and compassion, shook his head, and said, that they were *Taata Enos*, "poor wretches." I measured the perpendicular height of the last tide, and found it to be eight feet above low water-mark, and from the time of low-water this day, I found that it must be high-water at the full and change of the moon at eight o'clock.

At four o'clock in the morning we weighed, and with a gentle breeze at south, made sail out of the bay. In standing out, our soundings were from five to fifteen fathom; and at daylight, when we were in the greatest depth, and abreast of the north head of the bay, we discovered breakers stretching out from it N.N.E. between two and three miles, with a rock at the outermost point of them, just above water. While we were passing these rocks, at the distance of about half a mile, we had from fifteen to twenty fathom, and as soon as we had passed them, we hauled along shore W.N.W. for the farthest land we had in sight. At noon our latitude, by observation, was 23° 52′ S.; the north part of Bustard Bay bore S. 62 E., distant ten miles, and the northernmost land in sight N. 60 W.; the longitude was 208° 37′, and our distance from the nearest shore six miles, with fourteen fathom water. Till five in the afternoon it was calm, but afterwards we steered before the wind N.W. as

* This bird, a species of the lesser *Otis*, is abundant in the country.—ED.

the land lay till ten at night, and then brought to, having had all along fourteen and fifteen fathom. At five in the morning we made sail; and at daylight the northernmost point of the main bore N 70 W. Soon after we saw more land, making like islands, and bearing N.W. by N. At nine we were abreast of the point, at the distance of one mile, with fourteen fathom water. This point I found to lie directly under the tropic of Capricorn; and for that reason I called it Cape Capricorn: its longitude is 208° 58′ W.: it is of a considerable height, looks white and barren, and may be known by some islands which lie to the N.W. of it, and some small rocks at the distance of about a league S.E. On the west side of the Cape there appeared to be a lagoon, and on the two spits which formed the entrance, we saw an incredible number of the large birds that resemble a pelican. The northernmost land now in sight bore from Cape Capricorn N. 24 W., and appeared to be an island; but the mainland trended W. by N. ½ N., which course we steered, having from fifteen to six fathom, and from six to nine, with a hard sandy bottom. At noon our latitude, by observation, was 23° 24′ S.; Cape Capricorn bore S. 60 E., distant two leagues; and a small island N. by E. two miles: in this situation we had nine fathom, being about four miles from the main, which, next the sea, is low and sandy, except the points which are high and rocky. The country inland is hilly, but by no means of a pleasing aspect. We continued to stand to the N.W. till four o'clock in the afternoon, when it fell calm; and we soon after anchored in twelve fathom, having the mainland and islands in a manner all round us, and Cape Capricorn bearing S. 54 E., distant four leagues. In the night we found the tide rise and fall near seven feet; and the flood to set to the westward, and the ebb to the eastward, which is just contrary to what we found when we were at anchor to the eastward of Bustard Bay.

At six in the morning we weighed, with a gentle breeze at south, and stood away to the N.W., between the outermost range of islands and the main, leaving several small islands between the main and the ship, which we passed at a very little distance; our soundings being irregular, from twelve to four fathom, I sent a boat ahead to sound. At noon we were about three miles from the main, and about the same distance from the islands without us; our latitude, by observation, was 23° 7′ S. The mainland here is high and mountainous; the islands which lie off it are also most of them high, and of a small circuit, having an appearance rather of barrenness than fertility. At this time we saw smoke in many places at a considerable distance inland, and therefore conjectured that there might be a lagoon, river, or inlet, running up the country, the rather as we had passed two places which had the appearance of being such; but our depth of water was too little to encourage us to venture where I should probably have less. We had not stood to the northward above an hour, before we suddenly fell into three fathom; upon which I anchored, and sent away the master to sound the channel which lay to leeward of us, between the northernmost island and the main: it appeared to be pretty broad, but I suspected that it was shallow, and so indeed it was found; for the master reported at his return that in many places he had only two fathom and a half, and where we lay at anchor we had only sixteen feet, which was not two feet more than the ship drew. While the master was sounding the channel, Mr. Banks tried to fish from the cabin windows with hook and line. The water was too shallow for fish; but the ground was almost covered with crabs, which readily took the bait, and sometimes held it so fast in their claws, that they did not quit their hold till they were considerably above water. These crabs were of two sorts, and both of them such as we had not seen before: one of them was adorned with the finest blue that can be imagined, in every respect equal to the ultramarine, with which all his claws and every joint was deeply tinged: the under part of him was white, and so exquisitely polished, that in colour and brightness it exactly resembled the white of old china. The other was also marked with the ultramarine upon his joints and his toes, but somewhat more sparingly; and his back was marked with three brown spots, which had a singular appearance. The people who had been out with the boat to sound, reported, that, upon an island where we had observed two fires, they had seen several of the inhabitants, who called to them, and seemed very desirous that they should land. In the evening the wind veered to E.N.E., which gave us an opportunity to stretch three or four miles back by the way we came; after which, the wind shifted to the south, and obliged us again to anchor in six fathom.

At five in the morning I sent away the master to search for a passage between the islands, while we got the ship under sail; and as soon as it was light we followed the boat, which made a signal that a passage had been found. As soon as we had got again into deep water, we made sail to the northward, as the land lay, with soundings from nine fathom to fifteen, and some small islands still without us. At noon we were about two leagues distant from the main; and, by observation, in latitude 22° 53′ S. The northernmost point of land in sight now bore N.N.W., distant ten miles. To this point I gave the name of CAPE MANIFOLD, from the number of high hills which appeared over it: it lies in latitude 22° 43′ S., and distant about seventeen leagues from Cape Capricorn, in the direction of N. 26 W. Between these capes the shore forms a large bay, which I called KEPPEL BAY; and I also distinguished the islands by the name of KEPPEL'S ISLANDS. In this bay there is good anchorage; but what refreshments it may afford I know not: we caught no fish, though we were at anchor; but probably there is fresh water in several places, as both the islands and the main are inhabited. We saw smoke and fires upon the main; and upon the islands we saw people. At three in the afternoon we passed Cape Manifold, from which the land trends N.N.W. The land of the cape is high, rising in hills directly from the sea; and may be known by three islands which lie off it, one of them near the shore, and the other two eight miles out at sea. One of these islands is low and flat, and the other high and round. At six o'clock in the evening we brought to, when the northernmost part of the main in sight bore N.W., and some islands which lie off it N. 31 W. Our soundings after twelve o'clock were from twenty to twenty-five fathom, and in the night from thirty to thirty-four.

At daybreak we made sail, Cape Manifold bearing S. by E., distant eight leagues, and the islands which I had set the night before were distant four miles in the same direction. The farthest visible point of the main bore N. 67 W., at the distance of twenty-two miles; but we could see several islands to the northward of this direction. At nine o'clock in the forenoon we were abreast of the point, which I called CAPE TOWNSHEND. It lies in latitude 22° 15′, longitude 209° 43′: the land is high and level, and rather naked than woody. Several islands lie to the northward of it, at the distance of four or five miles out at sea; three or four leagues to the S.E. the shore forms a bay, in the bottom of which there appeared to be an inlet or harbour. To the westward of the cape the land trends S.W. ½ S., and there forms a very large bay, which turns to the eastward, and probably communicates with the inlet, and makes the land of the cape an island. As soon as we got round this cape, we hauled our wind to the westward, in order to get within the islands, which lie scattered in the bay in great numbers, and extend out to sea as far as the eye could reach even from the mast-head. These islands vary, both in height and circuit, from each other; so that, although they are very numerous, no two of them are alike. We had not stood long upon a wind before we came into shoal water, and were obliged to tack at once to avoid it. Having sent a boat ahead, I bore away W. by N., many small islands, rocks, and shoals, lying between us and the main, and many of a larger extent without us. Our soundings till near noon were from fourteen to seventeen fathom, when the boat made the signal for meeting with shoal water. Upon this we hauled close upon a wind to the eastward, but suddenly fell into three fathom and a quarter: we immediately dropped an anchor, which brought the ship up with all her sails standing. When the ship was brought up we had four fathom, with a coarse sandy bottom, and found a strong tide setting to the N.W. by W. ½ W., at the rate of near three miles an hour, by which we were so suddenly carried upon the shoal. Our latitude by observation was 22° 8′ S.; Cape Townshend bore E. 16 S., distant thirteen miles; and the westernmost part of the main in sight W. ¾ N. At this time a great number of islands lay all round us.

In the afternoon, having sounded round the ship, and found that there was water sufficient to carry her over the shoal, we weighed, and about three o'clock made sail and stood to the westward, as the land lay, having sent a boat ahead to sound. At six in the evening we anchored in ten fathom, with a sandy bottom, at about two miles' distance from the main; the westernmost part of which bore W.N.W., and a great number of islands, lying a long way without us, were still in sight.

At five o'clock the next morning I sent away the master with two boats to sound the entrance of an inlet which bore from us west, at about the distance of a league, into which I intended to go with the ship, that I might wait a few days till the moon should increase, and in the mean time examine the country. As soon as the ship could be got under sail, the boats made the signal for anchorage; upon which we stood in, and anchored in five fathom water, about a league within the entrance of the inlet; which, as I observed a tide to flow and ebb considerably, I judged to be a river that ran up the country to a considerable distance. In this place I had thoughts of laying the ship ashore, and cleaning her bottom; I therefore landed with the master in search of a convenient place for that purpose, and was accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander. We found walking here exceedingly troublesome, for the ground was covered with a kind of grass, the seeds of which were very sharp, and bearded backwards; so that whenever they stuck into our clothes, which, indeed, was at every step, they worked forwards by means of the beard, till they got at the flesh; and at the same time we were surrounded by a cloud of mosquitoes, which incessantly tormented us with their stings. We soon met with several places where the ship might conveniently be laid ashore; but to our great disappointment we could find no fresh water. We proceeded, however, up the country, where we found gum-trees like those that we had seen before, and observed that here also the gum was in very small quantities. Upon the branches of these trees, and some others, we found ants' nests, made of clay, as big as a bushel, something like those described in Sir Hans Sloane's Natural History of Jamaica, vol. ii., p. 221, tab. 258, but not so smooth: the ants which inhabited these nests were small, and their bodies white. But upon another species of the tree we found a small black ant, which perforated all the twigs, and having worked out the pith, occupied the pipe which had contained it; yet the parts in which these insects had thus formed a lodgment, and in which they swarmed in amazing numbers, bore leaves and flowers, and appeared to be in as flourishing a state as those that were sound. We found also an incredible number of butterflies, so that for the space of three or four acres the air was so crowded with them, that millions were to be seen in every direction, at the same time that every branch and twig was covered with others that were not upon the wing *. We found here also a small fish of a singular kind; it was about the size of a minnow, and had two very strong breast fins: we found it in places that were quite dry, where we supposed it might have been left by the tide; but it did not seem to have become languid by the want of water; for upon our approach it leaped away, by the help of the breast fins, as nimbly as a frog: neither, indeed, did it seem to prefer water to land; for when we found it in the water, it frequently leaped out, and pursued its way upon dry ground: we also observed, that when it was in places where small stones were standing above the surface of the water at a little distance from each other, it chose rather to leap from stone to stone, than to pass through the water;

* The *butterflies* here mentioned, appear to have been a singular species of moth, called Bugong by the natives, with whom it is a favourite article of food. Captain King (in his survey of the coasts of Australia, vol. i., p. 195) mentions it, and states that it is a new species, and had been described by his friend Mr. W. S. Macleay, under the name of *Euplœa hamata*.

Mr. George Bennett, in his "Wanderings in New South Wales," gives a particular description of it. They are found congregating at certain months of the year about masses of granite, in various parts of a range of mountain land, named from that circumstance the "Bugong Mountain." The months of November, December, and January, are quite a season of festivity among the native blacks, who assemble from far and near to collect the Bugong; the bodies of these insects contain a quantity of oil, and they are sought after as a luscious and fattening food. They are confined to particular places "on insulated and peculiar masses of granite;" on the surface and in the crevices of these masses they collect in incredible quantities; to procure them with greater facility, the natives make smothered fires underneath those rocks about which they are collected, and suffocate them with smoke, at the same time sweeping them off frequently in bushels-full at a time. When they have collected a sufficient quantity, a circular space is cleared upon the ground, and a fire lighted and kept burning until the earth is considered sufficiently heated, when "on the fire being removed, and the ashes cleared away, the moths are placed upon the heated ground, and stirred about until the down and wings are removed from them; they are then placed on pieces of bark, and winnowed to separate the dust and wings mixed with the bodies; they are then eaten, or placed in a wooden vessel called a *walbun* or *culibun*, and pounded by a piece of wood into masses or cakes resembling lumps of fat, and may be compared in colour and consistence to dough made from smutty wheat mixed with fat. The bodies of the moths are large, and filled with a yellowish oil, resembling in taste a sweet nut. These masses will not keep above a week, and seldom even for that time; but by smoking they are able to preserve them for a much longer period. The first time this diet is used by the native tribes, violent vomiting and other debilitating effects are produced; but after a few days, they become accustomed to its use, and then thrive and fatten exceedingly upon it."—Ed.

and we saw several of them pass entirely over puddles in this manner, till they came to dry ground, and then leap away.

In the afternoon, we renewed our search after fresh water, but without success; and therefore I determined to make my stay here but short: however, having observed from an eminence that the inlet penetrated a considerable way into the country, I determined to trace it in the morning. At sunrise I went ashore, and climbing a considerable hill, I took a view of the coast and the islands that lie off it, with their bearings, having an azimuth compass with me for that purpose; but I observed that the needle differed very considerably in its position, even to thirty degrees, in some places more, in others less; and once I found it differ from itself no less than two points in the distance of fourteen feet. I took up some of the loose stones that lay upon the ground, and applied them to the needle, but they produced no effect; and I therefore concluded that there was iron ore in the hills, of which I had remarked other indications both here and in the neighbouring parts. After I had made my observations upon the hill, I proceeded with Dr. Solander up the inlet; I set out with the first of the flood, and long before high-water I had advanced above eight leagues. Its breadth thus far was from two to five miles, upon a S.W. by S. direction; but here it opened everyway, and formed a large lake, which to the N.W. communicated with the sea; and I not only saw the sea in this direction, but found the tide of flood coming strongly in from that point: I also observed an arm of this lake extending to the eastward, and it is not improbable that it may communicate with the sea in the bottom of the bay, which lies to the westward of Cape Townshend. On the south side of the lake is a ridge of high hills, which I was very desirous to climb; but it being high-water, and the day far spent, I was afraid of being bewildered among the shoals in the night, especially as the weather was dark and rainy; and therefore I made the best of my way to the ship. In this excursion I saw only two people, and they were at a distance; they followed the boat along the shore a good way, but the tide running strongly in my favour, I could not prudently wait for them; I saw, however, several fires in one direction, and smoke in another, but they also were at a distance. While I was tracing the inlet with Dr. Solander, Mr. Banks was endeavouring to penetrate into the country, where several of the people who had leave to go ashore were also rambling about. Mr. Banks and his party found their course obstructed by a swamp, covered with mangroves, which, however, they resolved to pass; the mud was almost knee-deep, yet they resolutely went on; but before they got half way, they repented of their undertaking: the bottom was covered with branches of trees interwoven with each other, sometimes they kept their footing upon them, sometimes their feet slipped through, and sometimes they were so entangled among them, that they were forced to free themselves by groping in the mud and slime with their hands. In about an hour, however, they crossed it, and judged it might be about a quarter of a mile over. After a short walk, they came up to a place where there had been four small fires, and near them some shells and bones of fish that had been roasted: they found also heaps of grass laid together, where four or five people appeared to have slept. The second lieutenant, Mr. Gore, who was at another place, saw a little water lying in the bottom of a gulley, and near it the track of a large animal: some bustards were also seen, but none of them shot, nor any other bird except a few of the beautiful loriquets which we had seen in Botany Bay. Mr. Gore, and one of the midshipmen, who were in different places, said that they had heard the voices of Indians near them, but had seen none: the country in general appeared sandy and barren, and being destitute of fresh water, it cannot be supposed to have any settled inhabitants. The deep gulleys, which were worn by torrents from the hills, prove, that at certain seasons the rains here are very copious and heavy.

The inlet in which the ship lay, I called Thirsty Sound, because it afforded us no fresh water. It lies in latitude 22° 10′ S., and longitude 210° 18′ W.; and may be known by a group of small islands lying under the shore, from two to five leagues distant, in the direction of N.W., and by another group of islands that lie right before it, between three and four leagues out at sea. Over each of the points that form the entrance is a high round hill, which, on the N.W., is a peninsula that at high-water is surrounded by the sea: they

are bold to both the shores, and the distance between them is about two miles. In this inlet is good anchorage in seven, six, five, and four fathom; and places very convenient for laying a ship down, where, at spring-tides, the water does not rise less than sixteen or eighteen feet. The tide flows at the full and change of the moon about eleven o'clock. I have already observed that here is no fresh water, nor could we procure refreshment of any other kind: we saw two turtles, but we were not able to take either of them: neither did we catch either fish or wild-fowl, except a few small land birds: we saw indeed the same sorts of water-fowl as in Botany Bay, but they were so shy that we could not get a shot at them.

As I had not therefore a single inducement to stay longer in this place, I weighed anchor at six o'clock in the morning of Thursday the 31st of May, and put to sea. We stood to the N.W. with a fresh breeze at S.S.E., and kept without the group of islands that lie in shore, and to the N.W. of Thirsty Sound, as there appeared to be no safe passage between them and the main; at the same time we had a number of islands without us, extending as far as we could see: during our run in this direction, our depth of water was ten, eight, and nine fathom. At noon, the west point of Thirsty Sound, which I have called Pier Head, bore S. 36 E., distant five leagues; the east point of the other inlet, which communicates with the Sound, bore S. by W., distant two leagues; the group of islands just mentioned lay between us and the point, and the farthest part of the main in sight, on the other side of the inlet, bore N.W. Our latitude by observation was 21° 53′. At half an hour after twelve, the boat, which was sounding ahead, made the signal for shoal-water, and we immediately hauled our wind to the N.E. At this time we had seven fathom, at the next cast five, and at the next three, upon which we instantly dropped an anchor, that brought the ship up. Pier-head, the north-west point of Thirsty Sound, bore S.E. distant six leagues, being half-way between the islands which lie off the east point of the western inlet, and three small islands which lie directly without them. It was now the first of the flood, which we found to set N.W. by W. ½ W.; and having sounded about the shoal, upon which we had three fathom, and found deep water all round it, we got under sail, and having hauled round the three islands that have been just mentioned, came to an anchor under the lee of them, in fifteen fathom water; and the weather being dark, hazy, and rainy, we remained there till seven o'clock in the morning. At this time we got again under sail, and stood to the N.W. with a fresh breeze at S.S.E.; having the mainland in sight, and a number of islands all round us, some of which lay out at sea as far as the eye could reach. The western inlet, which, in the chart, is distinguished by the name of Broad Sound, we had now all open; at the entrance, it is at least nine or ten leagues wide: in it, and before it, lie several islands, and probably shoals also; for our soundings were very irregular, varying suddenly from ten to four fathom. At noon, our latitude by observation was 21° 29′ S.; a point of land which forms the north-west entrance into Broad Sound and which I have named Cape Palmerston, lying in latitude 21° 30′, longitude 210° 54′ W. bore W. by N. distant three leagues. Our latitude was 21° 27′, our longitude 210° 57′. Between this Cape and Cape Townshend lies the bay which I have called the Bay of Inlets. We continued to stand to the N.W. and N.W. by N., as the land lay, under an easy sail, having a boat ahead to sound: at first the soundings were very irregular, from nine to four fathom; but afterwards they were regular, from nine to eleven. At eight in the evening, being about two leagues from the main land, we anchored in eleven fathom, with a sandy bottom; and soon after, we found the tide setting with a slow motion to the westward. At one o'clock, it was slack, or low water; and at half an hour after two, the ship tended to the eastward, and rode so till six in the morning, when the tide had risen eleven feet. We now got under sail, and stood away in the direction of the coast, N.N.W. From what we had observed of the tide during the night, it is plain, that the flood came from the N.W.; whereas, the preceding day, and several days before, it came from the S.E.; nor was this the first, or even second time, that we had remarked the same thing. At sunrise this morning, we found the variation to be 6° 45′ E.; and in steering along the shore, between the island and the main, at the distance of about two leagues from the main, and three or four from the island, our soundings were regular from twelve to nine fathom; but

about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, we were again embarrassed with shoal water, having at one time not more than three fathom; yet we got clear, without casting anchor. At noon we were about two leagues from the main, and four from the islands without us. Our latitude by observation was 20° 56′, and a high promontory, which I named CAPE HILLSBOROUGH, bore W. ½ N., distant seven miles. The land here is diversified by mountains, hills, plains, and valleys, and seems to be well clothed with herbage and wood: the islands which lie parallel to the coast, and from five to eight or nine miles distant, are of various height and extent; scarcely any of them are more than five leagues in circumference, and many are not four miles: besides this chain of islands, which lies at a distance from the coast, there are others much less, which lie under the land, from which we saw smoke rising in different places. We continued to steer along the shore at the distance of about two leagues, with regular soundings from nine to ten fathom. At sunset, the farthest point of the main bore N. 48 W., and to the northward of this lay some high land, which I took to be an island, and of which the north-west point bore 41 W.; but not being sure of a passage, I came to an anchor about eight o'clock in the evening, in ten fathom water, with a muddy bottom. About ten we had a tide setting to the northward, and at two it had fallen nine feet; after this it began to rise, and the flood came from the northward, in the direction of the islands which lay out to sea; a plain indication that there was no passage to the N.W. This however, had not appeared at daybreak, when we got under sail and stood to the N.W. At eight o'clock in the morning, we discovered low land quite across what we took for an opening, which proved to be a bay, about five or six leagues deep; upon this we hauled our wind to the eastward round the north point of the bay, which at this time bore from us N.E. by N., distant four leagues: from this point we found the land trend away N. by W. ½ W., and a strait or passage between it and a large island, or islands, lying parallel to it. Having the tide of ebb in our favour, we stood for this passage, and at noon were just within the entrance: our latitude by observation was 20° 26′ S.; Cape Hillsborough bore S. by E., distant ten leagues; and the north point of the bay S. 19 W., distant four miles. This point, which I named CAPE CONWAY, lies in latitude 26° 36′ S., longitude 211° 23′ W.; and the bay which lies between this Cape and Cape Hillsborough, I called REPULSE BAY. The greatest depth of water which we found in it was thirteen fathom, and the least eight. In all parts there was safe anchorage, and I believe that, upon proper examination, some good harbours would be found in it; especially at the north side within Cape Conway; for just within that Cape, there lie two or three small islands, which alone would shelter that side of the bay from the southerly and south-easterly winds, that seem to prevail here as a Trade. Among the many islands that lie upon this coast, there is one more remarkable than the rest; it is of a small circuit, very high and peaked, and lies E. by S. ten miles from Cape Conway, at the south end of the passage. In the afternoon, we steered through this passage, which we found to be from three to seven miles broad, and eight or nine leagues in length, N. by W. ½ W., S. by E. ½ E. It is formed by the main on the west, and by the islands on the east, one of which is at least five leagues in length: our depth of water in running through was from twenty to five-and-twenty fathom, with good anchorage, everywhere, and the whole passage may be considered as one safe harbour, exclusive of the small bays and coves which abound on each side, where ships might lie as in a basin. The land, both upon the main and islands, is high, and diversified by hill and valley, wood and lawn, with a green and pleasant appearance. On one of the islands, we discovered with our glasses two men and a woman, and a canoe with an outrigger, which appeared to be larger, and of a construction very different from those of bark tied together at the ends, which we had seen upon other parts of the coast; we hoped therefore that the people here had made some farther advances beyond mere animal life than those that we had seen before. At six o'clock in the evening, we were nearly the length of the north end of the passage; the north-westernmost point of the main in sight bore N. 54 W., and the north end of the island N.N.E., with an open sea between the two points. As this passage was discovered on Whitsunday, I called it WHITSUNDAY'S PASSAGE; and I called the islands that form it CUMBERLAND ISLANDS, in honour of his Royal Highness the Duke. We kept under an easy sail, with the lead going all night, being at the distance of about

three leagues from the shore, and having from twenty-one to twenty-three fathom water. At daybreak we were abreast of the point which had been the farthest in sight to the north-west the evening before, which I named CAPE GLOUCESTER*. It is a lofty promontory, in latitude 19° 59′ S., longitude 211° 49′ W., and may be known by an island which lies out at sea N. by W. ½ W. at the distance of five or six leagues from it, and which I called HOLBORNE ISLE; there are also islands lying under the land between Holborne Isle and Whitsunday's Passage. On the west side of Cape Gloucester the land trends away S.W. and S.S.W., and forms a deep bay, the bottom of which I could but just see from the mast-head: it is very low, and a continuation of the low land which we had seen at the bottom of Repulse Bay. This bay I called EDGECUMBE BAY, but without staying to look into it, we continued our course to the westward, for the farthest land we could see in that direction, which bore W. by N. ½ N. and appeared very high. At noon, we were about three leagues from the shore, by observation in latitude 19° 47′ S., and Cape Gloucester bore S. 63 E., distant seven leagues and a half. At six in the evening, we were abreast of the westernmost point just mentioned, at about three miles distance; and because it rises abruptly from the low lands which surround it, I called it CAPE UPSTART. It lies in latitude 19° 39′ S., longitude 212° 32′ W., fourteen leagues W.N.W. from Cape Gloucester, and is of a height sufficient to be seen at the distance of twelve leagues: inland there are some high hills or mountains, which, like the Cape, afford but a barren prospect. Having passed this Cape, we continued standing to the W.N.W. as the land lay, under an easy sail, having from sixteen to ten fathom, till two o'clock in the morning, when we fell into seven fathom; upon which we hauled our wind to the northward, judging ourselves to be very near land: at daybreak, we found our conjecture to be true, being within little more than two leagues of it In this part of the coast, the land, being very low, is nearer than it appears to be, though it is diversified with here and there a hill. At noon, we were about four leagues from the land, in fifteen fathom water and our latitude, by observation, was 19° 12′ S., Cape Upstart bearing S. 32° 30′ E., distant twelve leagues. About this time some very large columns of smoke were seen rising from the lowlands. At sunset, the preceding night, when we were close under Cape Upstart, the variation was nearly 9° E., and at sunrise this day it was no more than 5° 35′; I judged therefore that it had been influenced by iron ore, or other magnetical matter, contained under the surface of the earth†.

We continued to steer W.N.W. as the land lay, with twelve or fourteen fathom water, till noon on the 6th, when our latitude by observation was 19° 1′ S. and we had the mouth of a bay all open, extending from S. ½ E. to S.W. ½ S. distant two leagues. This bay, which I named CLEVELAND BAY, appeared to be about five or six miles in extent every way: the east point I named CAPE CLEVELAND, and the west, which had the appearance of an island, MAGNETICAL ISLE, as we perceived that the compass did not traverse well when we were near it‡: they are both high, and so is the mainland within them, the whole forming a surface the most rugged, rocky, and barren of any we had seen upon the coast; it was not however without inhabitants, for we saw smoke in several parts of the bottom of the bay. The northernmost land that was in sight at this time bore N.W., and it had the appearance of an island, for we could not trace the mainland farther than W. by N. We steered W.N.W. keeping the mainland on board, the outermost part of which, at sunset, bore W. by N.; but without it lay high land, which we judged not to be part of it. At

* This is in reality an island (now known as Gloucester Island) of five miles long. It is separated from the real Cape by a strait, a mile and a half wide. See King's Survey of the coasts of Australia.—ED.

† "The variation observed by Captain Cook off Mount Upstart was 9° E.; but by an azimuth observed by me close to the Cape, it was found not more than 6° 16′ E. The result of Captain Cook's observation must therefore be attributed to some other cause than, as he supposed, to a magnetical power in the hills of this promontory."—King's Survey of the Coast of Australia, vol. i. p. 190.

‡ In reference to this passage, Captain King remarks that in taking some bearings when on shore in Cleveland Bay, "a remarkable observation was here made upon the magnetic influence of this land; the variation was observed to be 10° 32′ W.; but on removing the compass eight yards off, it only gave 2° 50′ E. This in some degree corresponds with Captain Cook's record of the irregularity of his compass when he passed near this part of the coast, in consequence of which, he called the peaked island to the westward of the cape, Magnetical Island: this irregularity, however, was not noticed by me in my observations near the same spot; and the difference observed by him may very probably have been occasioned by the ship's local attraction, which in those days was unknown."—E.

daybreak, we were abreast of the eastern part of this land, which we found to be a group of islands, lying about five leagues from the main: at this time, being between the two shores, we advanced slowly to the N.W. till noon, when our latitude, by observation, was 18° 49′ S. and our distance from the main about five leagues: the north-west part of it bore from us N. by W. ½ W., the islands extending from N. to E., and the nearest being distant about two miles: Cape Cleveland bore S. 50 E. distant eighteen leagues. Our soundings, in the course that we had sailed between this time and the preceding noon, were from fourteen to eleven fathom.

In the afternoon, we saw several large columns of smoke upon the main; we saw also some people and canoes, and upon one of the islands what had the appearance of cocoa-nut trees. As a few of these nuts would now have been very acceptable, I sent Lieutenant Hicks ashore, and with him went Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, to see what refreshment could be procured, while I kept standing in for the island with the ship. About seven o'clock in the evening they returned, with an account that what we had taken for cocoa-nut trees were a small kind of cabbage-palm, and that, except about fourteen or fifteen plants, they had met with nothing worth bringing away. While they were ashore they saw none of the people; but just as they had put off, one of them came very near the beach, and shouted with a loud voice. It was so dark that they could not see him; however, they turned towards the shore; but when he heard the boat putting back, he ran away or hid himself, for they could not get a glimpse of him; and though they shouted, he made no reply. After the return of the boats, we stood away N. by W. for the northernmost land in sight, of which we were abreast at three o'clock in the morning, having passed all the islands three or four hours before. This land, on account of its figure, I named Point Hillock; it is of a considerable height, and may be known by a round hillock, or rock, which joins to the point, but appears to be detached from it. Between this cape and Magnetical Isle, the shore forms a large bay, which I called Halifax Bay: before it lay the group of islands which has been just mentioned, and some others at a less distance from the shore. By these islands the bay is sheltered from all winds, and it affords good anchorage. The land near the beach, in the bottom of the bay, is low and woody; but farther back it is one continued ridge of high land, which appeared to be barren and rocky. Having passed Point Hillock, we continued standing to the N.N.W., as the land trended, having the advantage of a light moon. At six, we were abreast of a point of land which lies N. by W. ½ W., distant eleven miles from Point Hillock, which I named Cape Sandwich. Between these two points the land is very high, and the surface is craggy and barren. Cape Sandwich may be known not only by the high craggy land over it, but by a small island which lies east of it, at the distance of a mile, and some others that lie about two leagues to the northward. From Cape Sandwich the land trends W., and afterwards N., forming a fine large bay, which I called Rockingham Bay, where there appears to be good shelter and good anchorage, but I did not stay to examine it. I kept ranging along the shore to the northward for a cluster of small islands which lie off the northern point of the bay. Between the three outermost of these islands, and those near the shore, I found a channel of about a mile broad, through which I passed; and, upon one of the nearest islands, we saw with our glasses about thirty of the natives, men, women, and children, all standing together, and looking with great attention at the ship,—the first instance of curiosity that we had seen among them. They were all stark naked, with short hair, and of the same complexion with those that we had seen before. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was 17° 59′, and we were abreast of the north point of Rockingham Bay, which bore from us W., at the distance of about two miles. This boundary of the bay is formed by an island of considerable height, which in the chart is distinguished by the name of Dunk Isle, and which lies so near the shore as not to be easily distinguished from it. Our longitude was 213° 57′ W.; Cape Sandwich bore S. by E. ½ E., distant nineteen miles; and the northernmost land in sight, N. ½ W. Our depth of water for the last ten hours had not been more than sixteen, nor less than seven, fathom. At sunset, the northern extremity of the land bore N. 25 W., and we kept our course N. by W. along the coast, at the distance of between three and four leagues, with an easy sail all night, having from twelve to fifteen fathom water.

At six o'clock in the morning, we were abreast of some small islands, which we called FRANKLAND'S ISLES, and which lie about two leagues distant from the mainland. The most distant point in sight to the northward bore N. by W. ½ W., and we thought it was part of the main, but afterwards found it to be an island of considerable height, and about four miles in circuit. Between this island and a point on the main, from which it is distant about two miles, I passed with the ship. At noon, we were in the middle of the channel, and, by observation, in the latitude of 16° 57′ S., with twenty fathom water. The point on the main, of which we were now abreast, I called CAPE GRAFTON; its latitude is 16° 57′ S., and longitude 214° 6′ W.; and the land here, as well as the whole coast for about twenty leagues to the southward, is high, has a rocky surface, and is thinly covered with wood. During the night we had seen several fires, and about noon some people. Having hauled round Cape Grafton, we found the land trend away N.W. by W.; and three miles to the westward of the cape we found a bay, in which we anchored about two miles from the shore, in four fathom water, with an oozy bottom. The east point of the bay bore S. 74 E., the west point S. 83 W., and a low, green, woody island, which lies in the offing, N. 35 E. This island, which lies N. by E. ½ E., distant three or four leagues from Cape Grafton, is called in the chart GREEN ISLAND.

As soon as the ship was brought to an anchor, I went ashore, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander. As my principal view was to procure some fresh water, and as the bottom of the bay was low land covered with mangroves, where it was not probable fresh water was to be found, I went out towards the cape, and found two small streams, which, however, were rendered very difficult of access by the surf and rocks upon the shore I saw also, as I came round the cape, a small stream of water run over the beach in a sandy cove; but I did not go in with the boat, because I saw that it would not be easy to land. When we got ashore, we found the country everywhere rising into steep rocky hills; and as no fresh water could conveniently be procured, I was unwilling to lose time by going in search of lower land elsewhere. We therefore made the best of our way back to the ship; and about midnight we weighed, and stood to the N.W., having but little wind, with some showers of rain. At four in the morning, the breeze freshened at S. by E., and the weather became fair. We continued steering N.N.W. ½ W. as the land lay, at about three leagues distance, with ten, twelve, and fourteen fathom water. At ten, we hauled off north, in order to get without a small low island, which lay at about two leagues distance from the main, and great part of which at this time, it being high-water, was overflowed. About three leagues to the north-west of this island, close under the mainland, is another island, the land of which rises to a greater height, and which at noon bore from us N. 55 W., distant seven or eight miles. At this time our latitude was 16° 20′ S.; Cape Grafton bore S. 29 E., distant forty miles; and the northernmost point of land in sight, N. 20 W.: our depth of water was fifteen fathom. Between this point and Cape Grafton, the shore forms a large, but not a very deep bay, which being discovered on Trinity Sunday, I called TRINITY BAY.

CHAPTER III.—DANGEROUS SITUATION OF THE SHIP IN HER COURSE FROM TRINITY BAY TO ENDEAVOUR RIVER.

HITHERTO we had safely navigated this dangerous coast, where the sea in all parts conceals shoals that suddenly project from the shore, and rocks that rise abruptly like a pyramid from the bottom, for an extent of two-and-twenty degrees of latitude, more than one thousand three hundred miles; and therefore hitherto none of the names which distinguish the several parts of the country that we saw, are memorials of distress; but here we became acquainted with misfortune, and we therefore called the point which we had just seen farthest to the northward, CAPE TRIBULATION.

This cape lies in latitude 16° 6′ S., and longitude 214° 39′ W. We steered along the shore N. by W., at the distance of between three and four leagues, having from fourteen to twelve, and ten fathom water: in the offing we saw two islands, which lie in latitude 16° S., and about six or seven leagues from the main. At six in the evening the northernmost land

in sight bore N. by W. ½ W., and two low woody islands, which some of us took to be rocks above water, bore N. ½ W. At this time we shortened sail, and hauled off shore E.N.E. and N.E. by E. close upon a wind; for it was my design to stretch off all night, as well to avoid the danger we saw ahead, as to see whether any islands lay in the offing, especially as we were now near the latitude assigned to the islands which were discovered by Quiros, and which some geographers, for what reason I know not, have thought fit to join to this land. We had the advantage of a fine breeze, and a clear moonlight night, and in standing off from six till near nine o'clock, we deepened our water from fourteen to twenty-one fathom; but while we were at supper, it suddenly shoaled, and we fell into twelve, ten, and eight fathom, within the space of a few minutes; I immediately ordered everybody to their station, and all was ready to put about and come to an anchor, but meeting at the next cast of the lead with deep water again, we concluded that we had gone over the tail of the shoals which we had seen at sunset, and that all danger was past: before ten we had twenty and one-and-twenty fathom, and the depth continuing, the gentlemen left the deck in great tranquillity, and went to rest; but a few minutes before eleven, the water shallowed at once from twenty to seventeen fathom, and before the lead could be cast again, the ship struck, and remained immoveable, except by the heaving of the surge that beat her against the crags of the rock upon which she lay. In a few moments everybody was upon the deck, with countenances which sufficiently expressed the horrors of our situation. We had stood off the shore three hours and a half, with a pleasant breeze, and therefore knew that we could not be very near it, and we had too much reason to conclude that we we were upon a rock of coral, which is more fatal than any other, because the points of it are sharp, and every part of the surface so rough, as to grind away whatever is rubbed against it, even with the gentlest motion. In this situation all the sails were immediately taken in, and the boats hoisted out to examine the depth of water round the ship: we soon discovered that our fears had not aggravated our misfortune, and that the vessel had been lifted over a ledge of the rock, and lay in a hollow within it: in some places there was from three to four fathom, and in others not so many feet. The ship lay with her head to the N.E.; and at the distance of about thirty yards on the starboard side, the water deepened to eight, ten, and twelve fathom. As soon as the long-boat was out, we struck our yards and topmasts, and carried out the stream anchor on the starboard bow, got the coasting-anchor and cable into the boat, and were going to carry it out the same way; but upon sounding a second time round the ship, the water was found to be deepest astern: the anchor, therefore, was carried out from the starboard quarter instead of the starboard bow,—that is, from the stern instead of the head,—and having taken ground, our utmost force was applied to the capstan, hoping that if the anchor did not come home, the ship would be got off; but, to our great misfortune and disappointment, we could not move her: during all this time she continued to beat with great violence against the rock, so that it was with the utmost difficulty that we kept upon our legs; and to complete the scene of distress, we saw by the light of the moon the sheathing-boards from the bottom of the vessel floating away all round her, and at last her false keel, so that every moment was making way for the sea to rush in which was to swallow us up. We had now no chance but to lighten her, and we had lost the opportunity of doing that to the greatest advantage, for unhappily we went on shore just at high water, and by this time it had considerably fallen, so that after she should be lightened so as to draw as much less water as the water had sunk, we should be but in the same situation as at first; and the only alleviation of this circumstance was, that as the tide ebbed the ship settled to the rocks, and was not beaten against them with so much violence. We had indeed some hope from the next tide, but it was doubtful whether she would hold together so long, especially as the rock kept grating her bottom under the starboard bow with such force as to be heard in the fore store-room. This, however, was no time to indulge conjecture, nor was any effort remitted in despair of success: that no time might be lost, the water was immediately started in the hold, and pumped up; six of our guns, being all we had upon the deck, our iron and stone ballast, casks, hoop-staves, oil-jars, decayed stores, and many other things that lay in the way of heavier materials, were thrown overboard with the utmost expedition, every one exerting himself with an alacrity almost approaching to

cheerfulness, without the least repining or discontent; yet the men were so far impressed with a sense of their situation, that not an oath was heard among them, the habit of profaneness, however strong, being instantly subdued by the dread of incurring guilt when death seemed to be so near.

While we were thus employed day broke upon us, and we saw the land at about eight leagues distance, without any island in the intermediate space, upon which, if the ship should have gone to pieces, we might have been set ashore by the boats, and from which they might have taken us by different turns to the main: the wind, however, gradually died away, and early in the forenoon it was a dead calm; if it had blown hard the ship must inevitably have been destroyed. At eleven in the forenoon we expected high water, and anchors were got out, and everything made ready for another effort to heave her off if she should float, but to our inexpressible surprise and concern, she did not float by a foot and a half, though we had lightened her near fifty ton; so much did the day-tide fall short of that in the night. We now proceeded to lighten her still more, and threw overboard everything that it was possible for us to spare: hitherto she had not admitted much water, but as the tide fell, it rushed in so fast, that two pumps, incessantly worked, could scarcely keep her free. At two o'clock she lay heeling two or three streaks to starboard, and the pinnace, which lay under her bows, touched the ground: we had now no hope but from the tide at midnight, and to prepare for it we carried out our two bower-anchors, one on the starboard quarter, and the other right astern, got the blocks and tackles which were to give us a purchase upon the cables in order, and brought the falls, or ends of them, in abaft, straining them tight, that the next effort might operate upon the ship, and by shortening the length of the cable between that and the anchors, draw her off the ridge upon which she rested, towards the deep water. About five o'clock in the afternoon, we observed the tide begin to rise, but we observed at the same time that the leak increased to a most alarming degree, so that two more pumps were manned, but unhappily only one of them would work. Three of the pumps, however, were kept going, and at nine o'clock the ship righted; but the leak had gained upon us so considerably, that it was imagined she must go to the bottom as soon as she ceased to be supported by the rock. This was a dreadful circumstance, so that we anticipated the floating of the ship not as an earnest of deliverance, but as an event that would probably precipitate our destruction. We well knew that our boats were not capable of carrying us all on shore, and that when the dreadful crisis should arrive, as all command and subordination would be at an end, a contest for preference would probably ensue, that would increase even the horrors of shipwreck, and terminate in the destruction of us all by the hands of each other; yet we knew that if any should be left on board to perish in the waves, they would probably suffer less upon the whole than those who should get on shore, without any lasting or effectual defence against the natives, in a country where even nets and fire-arms would scarcely furnish them with food: and where, if they should find the means of subsistence, they must be condemned to languish out the remainder of life in a desolate wilderness, without the possession, or even hope, of any domestic comfort, and cut off from all commerce with mankind, except the naked savages who prowled the desert, and who perhaps were some of the most rude and uncivilised upon the earth.

To those only who have waited in a state of such suspense, death has approached in all his terrors; and as the dreadful moment that was to determine our fate came on, every one saw his own sensations pictured in the countenances of his companions: however, the capstan and windlass were manned with as many hands as could be spared from the pumps, and the ship floating about twenty minutes after ten o'clock, the effort was made, and she was heaved into deep water. It was some comfort to find that she did not now admit more water than she had done upon the rock; and though, by the gaining of the leak upon the pumps, there was no less than three feet nine inches water in the hold, yet the men did not relinquish their labour, and we held the water as it were at bay; but having now endured excessive fatigue of body and agitation of mind for more than four-and-twenty hours, and having but little hope of succeeding at last, they began to flag: none of them could work at the pump more than five or six minutes together, and then, being totally exhausted, they threw themselves down upon the deck, though a stream of water was running over it from

the pumps, between three and four inches deep; when those who succeeded them had worked their spell, and were exhausted in their turn, they threw themselves down in the same manner, and the others started up again, and renewed their labour: thus relieving each other till an accident was very near putting an end to their efforts at once. The planking which lines the inside of the ship's bottom is called the ceiling, and between this and the outside planking there is a space of about eighteen inches: the man who till this time had attended the well to take the depth of water, had taken it only to the ceiling, and gave the measure accordingly; but he being now relieved, the person who came in his stead reckoned the depth to the outside planking, by which it appeared in a few minutes to have gained upon the pumps eighteen inches, the difference between the planking without and within. Upon this, even the bravest was upon the point of giving up his labour with his hope, and in a few minutes everything would have been involved in all the confusion of despair. But this accident, however dreadful in its first consequences, was eventually the cause of our preservation: the mistake was soon detected, and the sudden joy which every man felt upon finding his situation better than his fears had suggested, operated like a charm, and seemed to possess him with a strong belief that scarcely any real danger remained. New confidence and new hope, however founded, inspired new vigour; and though our state was the same as when the men first began to slacken in their labour through weariness and despondency, they now renewed their efforts with such alacrity and spirit, that before eight o'clock in the morning the leak was so far from having gained upon the pumps, that the pumps had gained considerably upon the leak. Everybody now talked of getting the ship into some harbour as a thing not to be doubted, and as hands could be spared from the pumps, they were employed in getting up the anchors: the stream-anchor and best bower we had taken on board; but it was found impossible to save the little bower, and therefore it was cut away at a whole cable: we lost also the cable of the stream-anchor among the rocks; but in our situation these were trifles which scarcely attracted our notice. Our next business was to get up the fore-topmast and fore-yard, and warp the ship to the south-east, and at eleven, having now a breeze from the sea, we once more got under sail and stood for the land.

It was, however, impossible long to continue the labour by which the pumps had been made to gain upon the leak; and as the exact situation of it could not be discovered, we had no hope of stopping it within. In this situation Mr. Monkhouse, one of my midshipmen, came to me, and proposed an expedient that he had once seen used on board a merchant-ship, which sprung a leak that admitted above four feet water an hour, and which, by this expedient, was brought safely from Virginia to London; the master having such confidence in it, that he took her out of harbour, knowing her condition, and did not think it worth while to wait till the leak could be otherwise stopped. To this man, therefore, the care of the expedient, which is called fothering the ship, was immediately committed, four or five of the people being appointed to assist him, and he performed it in this manner: he took a lower studdingsail, and having mixed together a large quantity of oakum and wool, chopped pretty small, he stitched it down in handfuls upon the sail, as lightly as possible, and over this he spread the dung of our sheep and other filth; but horse-dung, if we had had it, would have been better. When the sail was thus prepared, it was hauled under the ship's bottom by ropes, which kept it extended, and when it came under the leak, the suction which carried in the water, carried in with it the oakum and wool from the surface of the sail, which in other parts the water was not sufficiently agitated to wash off. By the success of this expedient our leak was so far reduced, that instead of gaining upon three pumps, it was easily kept under with one. This was a new source of confidence and comfort; the people could scarcely have expressed more joy if they had been already in port; and their views were so far from being limited to running the ship ashore in some harbour, either of an island or the main, and building a vessel out of her materials to carry us to the East Indies, which had so lately been the utmost object of our hope, that nothing was now thought of but ranging along the shore in search of a convenient place to repair the damage she had sustained, and then prosecuting the voyage upon the same plan as if nothing had happened. Upon this occasion I must observe, both in justice and gratitude to the ship's company, and

the gentlemen on board, that although in the midst of our distress every one seemed to have a just sense of his danger, yet no passionate exclamations or frantic gestures were to be heard or seen; every one appeared to have the perfect possession of his mind; and every one exerted himself to the uttermost, with a quiet and patient perseverance, equally distant from the tumultuous violence of terror, and the gloomy inactivity of despair. In the mean time, having light airs at E.S.E., we got up the main-top-mast and main-yard, and kept edging in for the land, till about six o'clock in the evening, when we came to an anchor in seventeen fathom water, at the distance of seven leagues from the shore, and one from the ledge of rocks upon which we had struck.

This ledge or shoal lies in latitude 15° 45′ S., and between six and seven leagues from the main. It is not, however, the only shoal on this part of the coast, especially to the northward; and at this time we saw one to the southward, the tail of which we passed over, when we had uneven soundings about two hours before we struck. A part of this shoal is always above water, and has the appearance of white sand: a part also of that upon which we had lain is dry at low water, and in that place consists of sandstones; but all the rest of it is a coral rock.

While we lay at anchor for the night, we found that the ship made about fifteen inches water an hour, from which no immediate danger was to be apprehended; and at six o'clock in the morning, we weighed and stood to the N.W., still edging in for the land with a gentle breeze at S.S.E. At nine we passed close without two small islands that lie in latitude 15° 41′ S., and about four leagues from the main: to reach these islands had, in the height of our distress, been the object of our hope, or perhaps rather of our wishes, and therefore I called them Hope Islands. At noon we were about three leagues from the land, and in latitude 15° 37′ S.; the northernmost part of the main in sight bore N. 30 W.; and Hope Islands extended from S. 30 E to S. 40 E. In this situation we had twelve fathom water, and several sand-banks without us. At this time the leak had not increased; but that we might be prepared for all events, we got the sail ready for another fothering. In the afternoon, having a gentle breeze at S.E. by E., I sent out the master with two boats, as well to sound ahead of the ship, as to look out for a harbour where we might repair our defects, and put the ship in a proper trim. At three o'clock, we saw an opening that had the appearance of a harbour, and stood off and on while the boats examined it; but they soon found that there was not depth of water in it sufficient for the ship. When it was near sunset, there being many shoals about us, we anchored in four fathom, at the distance of about two miles from the shore, the land extending from N. ½ E. to S. by E. ½ E. The pinnace was still out with one of the mates; but at nine o'clock she returned, and reported, that about two leagues to leeward she had discovered just such a harbour as we wanted, in which there was a sufficient rise of water, and every other convenience that could be desired, either for laying the ship ashore, or heaving her down.

In consequence of this information, I weighed at six o'clock in the morning, and having sent two boats ahead, to lie upon the shoals that we saw in our way, we ran down to the place; but notwithstanding our precaution, we were once in three fathom water. As soon as these shoals were passed, I sent the boats to lie in the channel that led to the harbour, and by this time it began to blow. It was happy for us that a place of refuge was at hand; for we soon found that the ship would not work, having twice missed stays: our situation, however, though it might have been much worse, was not without danger; we were entangled among shoals, and I had great reason to fear being driven to leeward, before the boats could place themselves so as to prescribe our course. I therefore anchored in four fathom, about a mile from the shore, and then made the signal for the boats to come on board. When this was done, I went myself and buoyed the channel, which I found very narrow; the harbour also I found smaller than I expected, but most excellently adapted to our purpose; and it is remarkable, that in the whole course of our voyage we had seen no place which, in our present circumstances, could have afforded us the same relief. At noon, our latitude was 15° 26′ S. During all the rest of this day, and the whole night, it blew too fresh for us to venture from our anchor and run into the harbour; and for our farther security, we got down the topgallant yards, unbent the mainsail and some of the small sails; got down the fore-

topgallant-mast, and the jib-boom, and spritsail, with a view to lighten the ship forwards as much as possible, in order to come at her leak, which we supposed to be somewhere in that part; for in all the joy of our unexpected deliverance, we had not forgot that at this time there was nothing but a lock of wool between us and destruction. The gale continuing, we kept our station all the 15th. On the 16th, it was somewhat more moderate; and about six o'clock in the morning, we hove the cable short, with a design to get under sail, but were obliged to desist, and veer it out again. It is remarkable that the sea-breeze, which blew fresh when we anchored, continued to do so almost every day while we stayed here; it was calm only while we were upon the rock, except once; and even the gale that afterwards wafted us to the shore, would then certainly have beaten us to pieces. In the evening of the preceding day, we had observed a fire near the beach over against us; and as it would be necessary for us to stay some time in this place, we were not without hope of making an acquaintance with the people. We saw more fires upon the hills to-day, and with our glasses discovered four Indians going along the shore, who stopped and made two fires; but for what purpose it was impossible we should guess.

The scurvy now began to make its appearance among us, with many formidable symptoms. Our poor Indian, Tupia, who had some time before complained that his gums were sore and swelled, and who had taken plentifully of our lemon juice by the surgeon's direction, had now livid spots upon his legs, and other indubitable testimonies that the disease had made a rapid progress, notwithstanding all our remedies, among which the bark had been liberally administered. Mr. Green, our astronomer, was also declining; and these, among other circumstances, embittered the delay which prevented our going ashore.

In the morning of the 17th, though the wind was still fresh, we ventured to weigh, and push in for the harbour; but in doing this we twice ran the ship aground: the first time she went off without any trouble, but the second time she stuck fast. We now got down the fore-yard, fore-top-masts, and booms, and taking them overboard, made a raft of them alongside of the ship. The tide was happily rising, and about one o'clock in the afternoon she floated. We soon warped her into the harbour, and having moored her alongside of a steep beach to the south, we got the anchors, cables, and all the hawsers on shore before night.

CHAPTER IV.—TRANSACTIONS WHILE THE SHIP WAS REFITTING IN ENDEAVOUR RIVER: A DESCRIPTION OF THE ADJACENT COUNTRY, ITS INHABITANTS, AND PRODUCTIONS.

IN the morning of Monday the 18th, a stage was made from the ship to the shore, which was so bold that she floated at twenty feet distance: two tents were also set up, one for the sick, and the other for stores and provisions, which were landed in the course of the day. We also landed all the empty water-casks, and part of the stores. As soon as the tent for the sick was got ready for their reception, they were sent ashore to the number of eight or nine, and the boat was despatched to haul the seine, in hopes of procuring some fish for their refreshment; but she returned without success. In the mean time, I climbed one of the highest hills among those that overlooked the harbour, which afforded by no means a comfortable prospect: the lowland near the river is wholly overrun with mangroves, among which the salt-water flows every tide; and the highland appeared to be everywhere stony and barren. In the mean time, Mr. Banks had also taken a walk up the country, and met with the frames of several old Indian houses, and places where they had dressed shell-fish; but they seemed not to have been frequented for some months. Tupia, who had employed himself in angling, and lived entirely upon what he caught, recovered in a surprising degree; but Mr. Green still continued to be extremely ill.

The next morning I got the four remaining guns out of the hold, and mounted them upon the quarter-deck; I also got a spare anchor and anchor-stock ashore, and the remaining part of the stores and ballast that were in the hold; set up the smith's forge, and employed the armourer and his mate to make nails and other necessaries for the repair of the ship. In the afternoon, all the officers' stores and the ground tier of water were got out; so that nothing remained in the fore and main hold, but the coals, and a small quantity of stone ballast. This

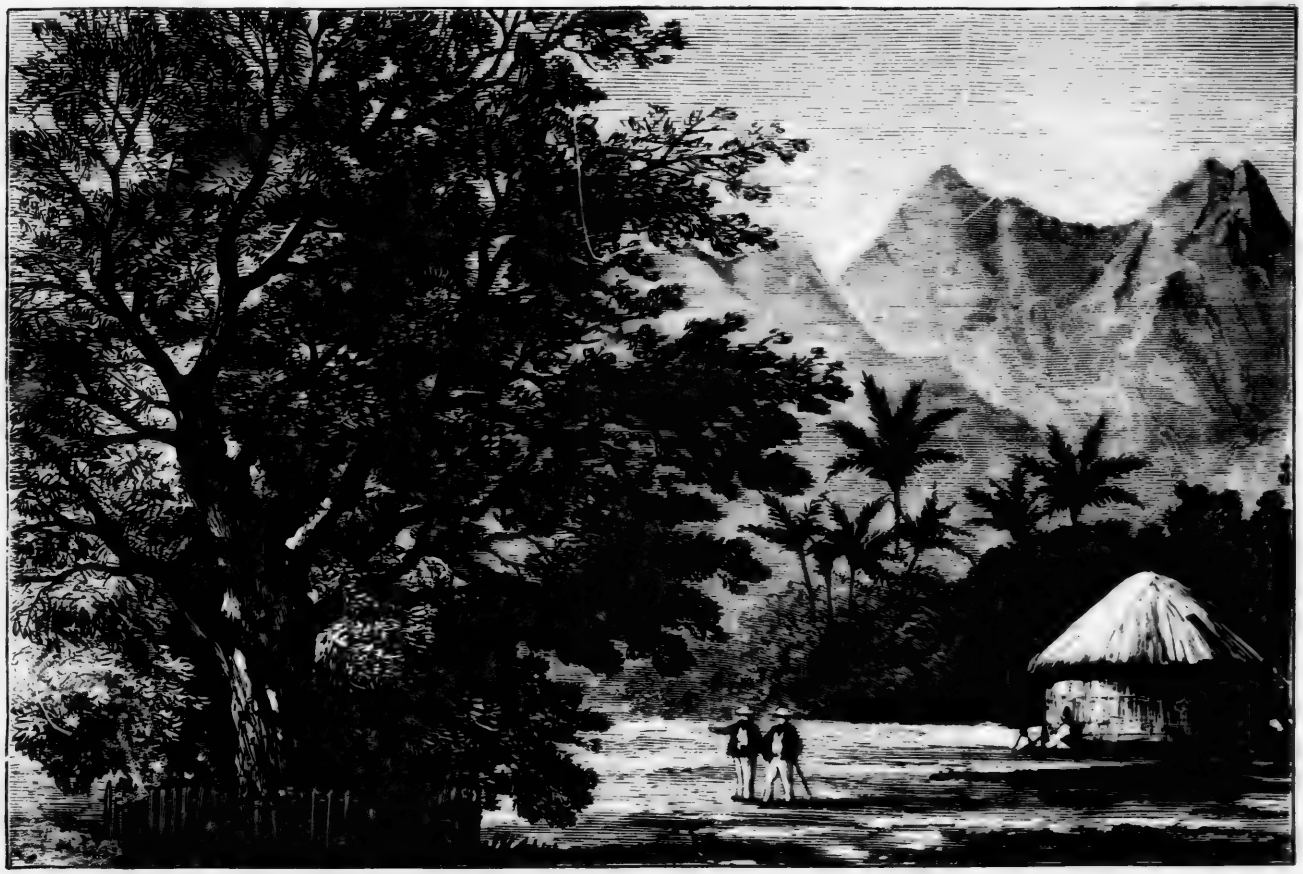


Plate VII.] TAMARIND TREE, PLANTED BY CAPTAIN COOK AT OTAHEITE. [*Cook's Voyages.*

day Mr.
it consis
been ver
the pige
exactly

On th
the ship
I thoug
cient; f
but as s
a little
hold ent
large qu
whither
there co

The
out all t
to a plac
Her dra
inches.
stern afl
of her a

At tw
to exam
fore-cha
the timb
was ver
whole h
close, a
But afte
the hole
and bee
ment of
water, w
tween t
the foth
stopped
we foun
part of
false ke
the vess
conditio
damage
received
as but
has alre
her, whi
people
return
a mouse
stream

The
three fi
center fi
the even

day Mr. Banks crossed the river to take a view of the country on the other side: he found it consist principally of sand hills, where he saw some Indian houses, which appeared to have been very lately inhabited. In this walk, he met with vast flocks of pigeons and crows: of the pigeons, which were exceedingly beautiful, he shot several; but the crows, which were exactly like those in England, were so shy that he could not get within reach of them.

On the 20th, we landed the powder, and got out the stone ballast and wood, which brought the ship's draught of water to eight feet ten inches forward, and thirteen feet abaft; and this, I thought, with the difference that would be made by trimming the coals aft, would be sufficient; for I found that the water rose and fell perpendicularly eight feet at the spring-tides: but as soon as the coals were trimmed from over the leak, we could hear the water rush in a little abaft the foremast, about three feet from the keel: this determined me to clear the hold entirely. This evening Mr. Banks observed that in many parts of the inlet there were large quantities of pumice stones, which lay at a considerable distance above high-water mark; whither they might have been carried either by the freshes or extraordinary high tides, for there could be no doubt but that they came from the sea.

The next morning we went early to work, and by four o'clock in the afternoon had got out all the coals, cast the moorings loose, and warped the ship a little higher up the harbour, to a place which I thought most convenient for laying her ashore, in order to stop the leak. Her draught of water forward was now seven feet nine inches, and abaft thirteen feet six inches. At eight o'clock, it being high-water, I hauled her bow close ashore; but kept her stern afloat, because I was afraid of neaping her: it was however necessary to lay the whole of her as near the ground as possible.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 22d, the tide left her, and gave us an opportunity to examine the leak, which we found to be at her floor heads, a little before the starboard fore-chains. In this place the rocks had made their way through four planks, and even into the timbers; three more planks were much damaged, and the appearance of these breaches was very extraordinary: there was not a splinter to be seen, but all was as smooth as if the whole had been cut away by an instrument: the timbers in this place were happily very close, and if they had not, it would have been absolutely impossible to have saved the ship. But after all, her preservation depended upon a circumstance still more remarkable: one of the holes, which was big enough to have sunk us, if we had had eight pumps instead of four, and been able to keep them incessantly going, was in great measure plugged up by a fragment of the rock, which, after having made the wound, was left sticking in it; so that the water, which at first had gained upon our pumps, was what came in at the interstices, between the stone and the edges of the hole that received it. We found also several pieces of the fothering, which had made their way between the timbers, and in a great measure stopped those parts of the leak which the stone had left open. Upon further examination, we found that, besides the leak, considerable damage had been done to the bottom: great part of the sheathing was gone from under the larboard bow; a considerable part of the false keel was also wanting; and these indeed we had seen swim away in fragments from the vessel, while she lay beating against the rock: the remainder of it was in so shattered a condition that it had better have been gone; and the fore foot and main keel were also damaged, but not so as to produce any immediate danger: what damage she might have received abaft could not yet be exactly known, but we had reason to think it was not much, as but little water made its way into her bottom, while the tide kept below the leak which has already been described. By nine o'clock in the morning the carpenters got to work upon her, while the smiths were busy in making bolts and nails. In the mean time, some of the people were sent on the other side of the water to shoot pigeons for the sick, who at their return reported that they had seen an animal as large as a greyhound, of a slender make, a mouse colour, and extremely swift; they discovered also many Indian houses, and a fine stream of fresh water.

The next morning, I sent a boat to haul the seine; but at noon it returned with only three fish, and yet we saw them in plenty leaping about the harbour. This day the carpenter finished the repairs that were necessary on the starboard side; and at nine o'clock in the evening, we heeled the ship the other way, and hauled her off about two feet for fear of

neaping. This day almost everybody had seen the animal which the pigeon-shooters had brought an account of the day before; and one of the seamen, who had been rambling in the woods, told us at his return, that he verily believed he had seen the devil: we naturally inquired in what form he had appeared, and his answer was in so singular a style that I shall set down his own words: "He was," says John, "as large as a one-gallon keg, and very like it; he had horns and wings, yet he crept so slowly through the grass, that if I had not been *afeard* I might have touched him." This formidable apparition we afterwards discovered to have been a bat; and the bats here must be acknowledged to have a frightful appearance, for they are nearly black, and full as large as a partridge; they have indeed no horns, but the fancy of a man who thought he saw the devil might easily supply that defect.

Early on the 24th, the carpenters began to repair the sheathing under the larboard bow, where we found two planks cut about half through; and in the mean time I sent a party of men, under the direction of Mr. Gore, in search of refreshments for the sick: this party returned about noon, with a few palm cabbages, and a bunch or two of wild plantain; the plantains were the smallest I had ever seen, and the pulp, though it was well tasted, was full of small stones. As I was walking this morning at a little distance from the ship, I saw, myself, one of the animals which had been so often described: it was of a light mouse colour, and in size and shape very much resembling a greyhound; it had a long tail also, which it carried like a greyhound; and I should have taken it for a wild dog, if, instead of running, it had not leapt like a hare or deer: its legs were said to be very slender, and the print of its foot to be like that of a goat; but where I saw it, the grass was so high that the legs were concealed, and the ground was too hard to receive the track. Mr. Banks also had an imperfect view of this animal, and was of opinion that its species was hitherto unknown.

After the ship was hauled ashore, all the water that came into her of course went backwards; so that although she was dry forwards, she had nine feet water abaft: as in this part therefore her bottom could not be examined on the inside, I took the advantage of the tide being out this evening to get the master and two of the men to go under her, and examine her whole larboard side without. They found the sheathing gone about the floor-heads abreast of the mainmast, and part of a plank a little damaged; but all agreed that she had received no other material injury. The loss of her sheathing alone was a great misfortune, as the worm would now be let into her bottom, which might expose us to great inconvenience and danger; but as I knew no remedy for the mischief but heaving her down, which would be a work of immense labour and long time, if practicable at all in our present situation, I was obliged to be content. The carpenters, however, continued to work under her bottom in the evening till they were prevented by the tide; the morning tide did no ebb out far enough to permit them to work at all, for we had only one tolerable high and low tide in four-and-twenty hours, as indeed we had experienced when we lay upon the rock. The position of the ship, which threw the water in her abaft, was very near depriving the world of all the knowledge which Mr. Banks had endured so much labour, and so many risks, to procure; for he had removed the curious collection of plants which he had made during the whole voyage, into the bread-room, which lies in the after-part of the ship, as a place of the greatest security; and nobody having thought of the danger to which laying her head so much higher than the stern would expose them, they were this day found under water. Most of them however were, by indefatigable care and attention, restored to a state of preservation, but some were entirely spoilt and destroyed.

The 25th was employed in filling water and overhauling the rigging; and at low water the carpenters finished the repairs under the larboard bow, and every other place which the tide would permit them to come at: some casks were then lashed under her bows to facilitate her floating; and at night, when it was high water, we endeavoured to heave her off, but without success, for some of the casks that were lashed to her gave way.

The morning of the 26th was employed in getting more casks ready for the same purpose, and in the afternoon we lashed no less than eight-and-thirty under the ship's bottom, but to our great mortification these also proved ineffectual, and we found ourselves reduced to the necessity of waiting till the next spring-tide.

This day, some of our gentlemen who had made an excursion into the woods, brought home the leaves of a plant, which was thought to be the same that in the West Indies is called cocco; but upon trial, the roots proved too acrid to be eaten; the leaves however were little inferior to spinage. In the place where these plants were gathered, grew plenty of the cabbage trees which have occasionally been mentioned before, a kind of wild plantain, the fruit of which was so full of stones as scarcely to be eatable; another fruit was also found about the size of a small golden pippin, but flatter, and of a deep purple colour: when first gathered from the tree, it was very hard and disagreeable, but after being kept a few days became soft, and tasted very much like an indifferent damson.

The next morning we began to move some of the weight from the after-part of the ship forward, to ease her; in the mean time the armourer continued to work at the forge, the carpenter was busy in calking the ship, and the men employed in filling water and overhauling the rigging: in the forenoon, I went myself in the pinnace up the harbour, and made several hauls with the seine, but caught only between twenty and thirty fish, which were given to the sick and convalescent.

On the 28th, Mr. Banks went with some of the seamen up the country, to show them the plant which in the West Indies is called Indian kale, and which served us for greens. Tupia had much meliorated the root of the coccos, by giving them a long dressing in his country oven; but they were so small that we did not think them an object for the ship. In their walk they found one tree which had been notched for the convenience of climbing it, in the same manner with those we had seen in Botany Bay: they saw also many nests of white ants, which resemble those of the East Indies, the most pernicious insects in the world. The nests were of a pyramidical figure, from a few inches to six feet high, and very much resembled the stones in England which are said to be monuments of the Druids. Mr. Gore, who was also this day four or five miles up the country, reported that he had seen the footsteps of men, and tracked animals of three or four different sorts, but had not been fortunate enough to see either man or beast.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 29th, I observed, in conjunction with Mr. Green, an emersion of Jupiter's first satellite; the time here was $2^h\ 18'\ 53''$, which gave the longitude of this place 214° 42′ 30″ W.: its latitude is 15° 26′ S. At break of day, I sent the boat out again with the seine, and, in the afternoon it returned with as much fish as enabled me to give every man a pound and a half. One of my midshipmen, an American, who was this day abroad with his gun, reported that he had seen a wolf, exactly like those which he had been used to see in his own country, and that he had shot at it, but did not kill it*.

The next morning, encouraged by the success of the day before, I sent the boat again to haul the seine, and another party to gather greens: I sent also some of the young gentlemen to take a plan of the harbour, and went myself upon a hill, which lies over the south point, to take a view of the sea. At this time it was low water, and I saw, with great concern, innumerable sandbanks and shoals lying all along the coast in every direction. The innermost lay about three or four miles from the shore, the outermost extended as far as I could see with my glass, and many of them did but just rise above water. There was some appearance of a passage to the northward, and I had no hope of getting clear but in that direction, for, as the wind blows constantly from the S. E., it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to return back to the southward.

Mr. Gore reported, that he had this day seen two animals like dogs, of a straw colour, that they ran like a hare, and were about the same size. In the afternoon, the people returned from hauling the seine, with still better success than before, for I was now able to distribute two pounds and a half to each man: the greens that had been gathered I ordered to be boiled among the pease, and they made an excellent mess, which, with two copious supplies of fish, afforded us unspeakable refreshment.

The next day, July the 1st, being Sunday, everybody had liberty to go ashore, except

* This was probably a "dingo," or native dog, the *Warragul* of the aborigines, (*Canis Australiæ*, Dem.) as no species of the wolf is found throughout the country. The dingo is remarkable for its extreme tenacity of life, some singular instances of which are related by Mr. Bennett, in his Wanderings in New South Wales; which may account for the bad success of the American marksman.—Ed.

one from each mess, who were again sent out with the seine. The seine was again equally successful, and the people who went up the country gave an account of having seen several animals, though none of them were to be caught. They saw a fire also about a mile up the river, and Mr. Gore, the second lieutenant, picked up the husk of a cocoa-nut, which had been cast upon the beach, and was full of barnacles: this probably might come from some island to windward, perhaps from the Terra del Espirito Santo of Quiros, as we were now in the latitude where it is said to lie*. This day the thermometer in the shade rose to 87, which was higher than it had been on any day since we came upon this coast.

Early the next morning, I sent the master in the pinnace out of the harbour, to sound about the shoals in the offing, and look for channel to the northward: at this time we had a breeze from the land, which continued till about nine o'clock, and was the first we had since our coming into the river. At low water we lashed some empty casks under the ship's bows, having some hope that, as the tides were rising, she would float the next high water. We still continued to fish with great success, and at high water we again attempted to heave the ship off, but our utmost efforts were still ineffectual.

The next day at noon, the master returned, and reported, that he had found a passage out to sea between the shoals, and described its situation. The shoals, he said, consisted of coral rocks, many of which were dry at low water, and upon one of which he had been ashore. He found here some cockles of so enormous a size, that one of them was more than two men could eat, and a great variety of other shell-fish, of which he brought us a plentiful supply: in the evening, he had also landed in a bay about three leagues to the northward of our station, where he disturbed some of the natives who were at supper: they all fled with the greatest precipitation at his approach, leaving some fresh sea eggs, and a fire ready kindled behind them, but there was neither house nor hovel near the place. We observed, that although the shoals that lie just within sight of the coast abound with shell-fish, which may be easily caught at low water, yet we saw no such shells about the fireplaces on shore. This day an alligator was seen to swim about the ship for some time, and at high water we made another effort to float her, which happily succeeded: we found however that by lying so long with her head aground and her stern afloat, she had sprung a plank between decks, abreast of the main chains, so that it was become necessary to lay her ashore again.

The next morning was employed in trimming her upon an even keel, and in the afternoon, having warped her over, and waited for high-water, we laid her ashore on the sand-bank on the south side of the river, for the damage she had received already from the great descent of the ground made me afraid to lay her broadside to the shore in the same place from which we had just floated her. I was now very desirous to make another trial to come at her bottom, where the sheathing had been rubbed off; but though she had scarcely four feet water under her when the tide was out, yet that part was not dry.

On the 5th, I got one of the carpenter's crew, a man in whom I could confide, to go down again to the ship's bottom, and examine the place. He reported, that three streaks of the sheathing, about eight feet long, were wanting, and that the main plank had been a little rubbed; this account perfectly agreed with the report of the master, and others, who had been under her bottom before: I had the comfort however to find the carpenter of opinion that this would be of little consequence, and therefore the other damage being repaired, she was again floated at high-water, and moored alongside the beach, where the stores had been deposited; we then went to work to take the stores on board, and put her in a condition for the sea. This day, Mr. Banks crossed to the other side of the harbour, where, as he walked along a sandy beach, he found innumerable fruits, and many of them such as no plants which he had discovered in this country produced: among others were some cocoa-nuts, which Tupia said had been opened by a kind of crab, which from his description we judged to be the same that the Dutch call *Bears Krabbe*, and which we had not seen in these seas. All the vegetable substances which he found in this place were encrusted with

* Captain King remarks upon this passage: "From the prevailing winds, it would appear more likely to have drifted from New Caledonia, which island was at that time unknown to Cook: the fresh appearance of the cocoa-nut seen by us (at Cape Cleveland) renders, however, even this conclusion doubtful. Captain Flinders also found one as far to the south as Shoalwater Bay."

marine productions, and covered with barnacles; a sure sign that they must have come far by sea, and, as the trade-wind blows right upon the shore, probably from Terra del Espirito Santo, which has been mentioned already.

The next morning, Mr. Banks, with Lieutenant Gore, and three men, set out in a small boat up the river, with a view to spend two or three days in an excursion, to examine the country, and kill some of the animals which had been so often seen at a distance.

On the 7th, I sent the master again out to sound about the shoals, the account which he had brought me of the channel being by no means satisfactory; and we spent the remainder of this day, and the morning of the next, in fishing, and other necessary occupations.

About four o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Banks and his party returned, and gave us an account of their expedition. Having proceeded about three leagues among swamps and mangroves, they went up into the country, which they found to differ but little from what they had seen before: they pursued their course therefore up the river, which at length was contracted into a narrow channel, and was bounded, not by swamps and mangroves, but by steep banks, that were covered with trees of a most beautiful verdure, among which was that which in the West Indies is called Mohoe, or the bark-tree, the *Hibiscus tiliaceus;* the land within was in general low, and had a thick covering of long grass: the soil seemed to be such as promised great fertility, to any who should plant and improve it. In the course of the day, Tupia saw an animal, which, by his description, Mr. Banks judged to be a wolf: they also saw three other animals, but could neither catch nor kill one of them, and a kind of bat, as large as a partridge, but this also eluded all their diligence and skill. At night, they took up their lodging close to the banks of the river, and made a fire, but the mosquitoes swarmed about them in such numbers, that their quarters were almost untenable; they followed them into the smoke, and almost into the fire, which, hot as the climate was, they could better endure than the stings of these insects, which were an intolerable torment. The fire, the flies, and the want of a better bed than the ground, rendered the night extremely uncomfortable, so that they passed it, not in sleep, but in restless wishes for the return of day. With the first dawn they set out in search of game, and in a walk of many miles they saw four animals of the same kind, two of which Mr. Banks's greyhound fairly chased, but they threw him out at a great distance, by leaping over the long thick grass, which prevented his running: this animal was observed, not to run upon four legs, but to bound or hop forward upon two, like the *Jerboa*, or *Mus Jaculus*. About noon, they returned to the boat, and again proceeded up the river, which was soon contracted into a fresh-water brook, where, however, the tide rose to a considerable height: as evening approached, it became low-water, and it was then so shallow that they were obliged to get out of the boat and drag her along, till they could find a place in which they might, with some hope of rest, pass the night. Such a place at length offered, and while they were getting the things out of the boat, they observed a smoke at the distance of about a furlong: as they did not doubt but that some of the natives, with whom they had so long and earnestly desired to become personally acquainted, were about the fire, three of the party went immediately towards it, hoping that so small a number would not put them to flight: when they came up to the place, however, they found it deserted, and therefore they conjectured, that before they had discovered the Indians, the Indians had discovered them. They found the fire still burning, in the hollow of an old tree that was become touchwood, and several branches of trees newly broken down, with which children appeared to have been playing: they observed also many footsteps upon the sand, below high-water mark, which were certain indications that the Indians had been recently upon the spot. Several houses were found at a little distance, and some ovens dug in the ground, in the same manner as those of Otaheite, in which victuals appeared to have been dressed since the morning, and scattered about them lay some shells of a kind of clam, and some fragments of roots, the refuse of the meal. After regretting their disappointment, they repaired to their quarters, which was a broad sandbank, under the shelter of a bush. Their beds were plantain leaves, which they spread upon the sand, and which were as soft as a mattress; their cloaks served them for bed-clothes, and some bunches of grass for pillows: with these accommodations they hoped to pass a better night than the last, especially as, to their great comfort, not

a mosquito was to be seen. Here then they lay down, and, such is the force of habit, they resigned themselves to sleep, without once reflecting upon the probability and danger of being found by the Indians in that situation. If this appears strange, let us for a moment reflect, that every danger, and every calamity, after a time, becomes familiar, and loses its effect upon the mind. If it were possible that a man should first be made acquainted with his mortality, or even with the inevitable debility and infirmities of old age, when his understanding had arrived at its full strength, and life was endeared by the enjoyments of youth, and vigour, and health, with what an agony of terror and distress would the intelligence be received! yet, being gradually acquainted with these mournful truths, by insensible degrees, we scarce know when, they lose all their force, and we think no more of the approach of old age and death, than these wanderers of an unknown desert did of a less obvious and certain evil,—the approach of the native savages, at a time when they must have fallen an easy prey to their malice or their fears. And it is remarkable, that the greater part of those who have been condemned to suffer a violent death, have slept the night immediately preceding their execution, though there is perhaps no instance of a person accused of a capital crime having slept the first night of his confinement. Thus is the evil of life in some degree a remedy for itself, and though every man at twenty deprecates fourscore, almost every man is as tenacious of life at fourscore as at twenty; and if he does not suffer under any painful disorder, loses as little of the comforts that remain by reflecting that he is upon the brink of the grave, where the earth already crumbles under his feet, as he did of the pleasures of his better days, when his dissolution, though certain, was supposed to be at a distance.

Our travellers having slept, without once awaking till the morning, examined the river, and finding the tide favoured their return, and the country promised nothing worthy of a farther search, they re-embarked in their boat, and made the best of their way to the ship.

Soon after the arrival of this party, the master also returned, having been seven leagues out to sea; and he was now of opinion that there was no getting out where before he thought there had been a passage. His expedition, however, was by no means without its advantage; for having been a second time upon the rock where he had seen the large cockles, he met with a great number of turtle, three of which he caught, that together weighed seven hundred and ninety-one pounds, though he had no better instrument than a boat-hook.

The next morning, therefore, I sent him out again, with proper instruments for taking them, and Mr. Banks went with him; but the success did not at all answer our expectations; for, by the unaccountable conduct of the officer, not a single turtle was taken, nor could he be persuaded to return: Mr. Banks, however, went ashore upon the reef, where he saw several of the large cockles, and having collected many shells and marine productions, he returned at eleven o'clock at night in his own small boat, the master still continuing with the large one upon the rock. In the afternoon, seven or eight of the natives had appeared on the south side of the river, and two of them came down to the sandy point opposite to the ship; but upon seeing me put off in a boat to speak with them, they all ran away with the greatest precipitation.

As the master continued absent with the boat all night, I was forced to send the second lieutenant for him, early the next morning in the yawl; and soon after four of the natives appeared upon the sandy point, on the north side of the river, having with them a small wooden canoe, with out-riggers: they seemed for some time to be busily employed in striking fish: some of our people were for going over to them in a boat; but this I would by no means permit, repeated experience having convinced me that it was more likely to prevent than procure an interview. I was determined to try what could be done by a contrary method, and accordingly let them alone, without appearing to take the least notice of them: this succeeded so well, that at length two of them came in the canoe within a musket-shot of the ship, and there talked a great deal in a very loud tone: we understood nothing that they said, and therefore could answer their harangue only by shouting, and making all the signs of invitation and kindness that we could devise. During this conference they came insensibly nearer and nearer, holding up their lances, not in a threatening manner, but as if to intimate that if we offered them any injury, they had weapons to revenge it. When they

were almost alongside of us, we threw them some cloth, nails, beads, paper, and other trifles, which they received without the least appearance of satisfaction: at last one of the people happened to throw them a small fish; at this they expressed the greatest joy imaginable, and intimating by signs that they would fetch their companions, immediately paddled away towards the shore. In the mean time, some of our people, and among them Tupia, landed on the opposite side of the river: the canoe, with all the four Indians, very soon returned to the ship, and came quite alongside, without expressing any fear or distrust. We distributed some more presents among them, and soon after they left us, and landed on the same side of the river where our people had gone ashore: every man carried in his hand two lances, and a stick, which is used in throwing them, and advanced to the place where Tupia and the rest of our people were sitting. Tupia soon prevailed upon them to lay down their arms, and come forward without them: he then made signs that they should sit down by him, with which they complied, and seemed to be under no apprehension or constraint: several more of us then going ashore, they expressed some jealousy lest we should get between them and their arms; we took care, however, to show them that we had no such intention, and having joined them, we made them some more presents, as a farther testimony of our good-will, and our desire to obtain theirs. We continued together, with the utmost cordiality, till dinner-time, and then giving them to understand that we were going to eat, we invited them by signs to go with us: this, however, they declined, and as soon as we left them, they went away in their canoe. One of these men was somewhat above the middle age, the other three were young; they were in general of the common stature, but their limbs were remarkably small; their skin was of the colour of wood-soot, or what would be called a dark chocolate colour; their hair was black, but not woolly; it was short cropped, in some lank, and in others curled. Dampier says that the people whom he saw on the western coast of this country wanted two of their fore teeth, but these had no such defect: some part of their bodies had been painted red, and the upper lip and breast of one of them was painted with streaks of white, which he called *Carbanda*.* Their features were far from disagreeable, their eyes were lively, and their teeth even and white; their voices were soft and tunable, and they repeated many words after us with great facility. In the night, Mr. Gore and the master returned with the long-boat, and brought one turtle and a few shell-fish. The yawl had been left upon the shoal with six men, to make a farther trial for turtle.

The next morning we had another visit from four of the natives; three of them had been with us before, but the fourth was a stranger, whose name, as we learnt from his companions who introduced him, was YAPARICO. This gentleman was distinguished by an ornament of a very striking appearance: it was the bone of a bird, nearly as thick as a man's finger, and five or six inches long, which he had thrust into a hole, made in the gristle that divides the nostrils; of this we had seen one instance, and only one, in New Zealand; but, upon examination, we found that among all these people this part of the nose was perforated, to receive an ornament of the same kind: they had also holes in their ears, though nothing was then hanging to them, and had bracelets upon the upper part of their arms, made of platted hair, so that, like the inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, they seem to be fond of ornament, though they are absolutely without apparel; and one of them, to whom I had given part of an old shirt, instead of throwing it over any part of his body, tied it as a fillet round his head. They brought with them a fish, which they gave us, as we supposed, in return for the fish that we had given them the day before. They seemed to be much pleased, and in no haste to leave us; but seeing some of our gentlemen examine their canoe with great curiosity and attention, they were alarmed, and jumping immediately into it, paddled away without speaking a word.

About two the next morning, the yawl, which had been left upon the shoal, returned with

* This mode of painting is a sign of mourning. The practice of striking out one or more of the front teeth on arriving at the age of puberty, and being admitted into the society of men, is still prevalent among many of the tribes, but does not appear ever to have been universal, nor has the origin of the practice been accounted for. It is probably regarded as a propitiatory sacrifice to some supernatural power, whose evil influence is dreaded; such as their *Buckee-buckee*, or devil-devil a spirit they are in great fear of.—ED.

three turtles and a large skate. As it seemed now probable that this fishery might be prosecuted with advantage, I sent her out again after breakfast, for a further supply. Soon after, three Indians ventured down to Tupia's tent, and were so well pleased with their reception, that one of them went with the canoe to fetch two others whom we had never seen: when he returned, he introduced the strangers by name, a ceremony which, upon such occasions, was never omitted. As they had received the fish that was thrown into their canoe, when they first approached the ship, with so much pleasure, some fish was offered to them now, and we were greatly surprised to see that it was received with the greatest indifference: they made signs, however, to some of the people that they should dress it for them, which was immediately done; but after eating a little of it, they threw the rest to Mr. Banks's dog. They staid with us all the forenoon, but would never venture above twenty yards from their canoe. We now perceived that the colour of their skin was not so dark as it appeared, what we had taken for their complexion being the effects of dirt and smoke, in which we imagined they contrived to sleep, notwithstanding the heat of the climate, as the only means in their power to keep off the mosquitoes. Among other things that we had given them when we first saw them were some medals, which we had hung round their necks by a riband; and these ribands were so changed by smoke, that we could not easily distinguish of what colour they had been: this incident led us more narrowly to examine the colour of their skin. While these people were with us, we saw two others on the point of land that lay on the opposite side of the river, at the distance of about two hundred yards, and by our glasses discovered them to be a woman and a boy; the woman, like the rest, being stark naked. We observed that all of them were remarkably clean-limbed, and exceedingly active and nimble. One of these strangers had a necklace of shells, very prettily made, and a bracelet upon his arm, formed of several strings, so as to resemble what in England is called gymp: both of them had a piece of bark tied over the forehead, and were disfigured by the bone in the nose. We thought their language more harsh than that of the islanders in the South Sea, and they were continually repeating the word *chercau*, which we imagined to be a term expressing admiration, by the manner in which it was uttered: they also cried out, when they saw anything new, *cher, tut, tut, tut, tut!* which probably had a similar signification. Their canoe was not above ten feet long, and very narrow, but it was fitted with an outrigger, much like those of the islands, though in every respect very much inferior: when it was in shallow water, they set it on with poles; and when in deep, they worked it with paddles about four feet long: it contained just four people; so that the people who visited us to-day went away at two turns. Their lances were like those that we had seen in Botany Bay, except that they had but a single point, which in some of them was the sting of the ray, and barbed with two or three sharp bones of the same fish: it was indeed a most terrible weapon, and the instrument which they used in throwing it seemed to be formed with more art than any we had seen before. About twelve o'clock next day the yawl returned with another turtle, and a large sting-ray, and in the evening was sent out again.

The next morning two of the Indians came on board, but, after a short stay, went along the shore, and applied themselves with great diligence to the striking of fish. Mr. Gore, who went out this day with his gun, had the good fortune to kill one of the animals which had been so much the subject of our speculation: an idea of it will best be conceived by the cut, *Kanguroo*, without which the most accurate verbal description would answer very little purpose, as it has not similitude enough to any animal already known to admit of illustration by reference. In form, it is most like the Jerboa, which it also resembles in its motion, as has been observed already; but it greatly differs in size, the Jerboa not being larger than a common rat, and this animal, when full grown, being as big as a sheep: this individual was a young one, much under its full growth, weighing only thirty-eight pounds. The head, neck, and shoulders are very small in proportion to the other parts of the body; the tail is nearly as long as the body, thick near the rump, and tapering towards the end: the fore-legs of this individual were only eight inches long, and the hind-legs two-and-twenty: its progress is by successive leaps or hops, of a great length, in an erect posture; the fore-legs are kept bent close to the breast, and seemed to be of use only for

digging: the skin is covered with a short fur, of a dark mouse or grey colour, excepting the head and ears, which bear a slight resemblance to those of a hare. This animal is called by the natives *Kanguroo* *.

The next day our kanguroo was dressed for dinner, and proved most excellent meat; we might now indeed be said to fare sumptuously every day; for we had turtle in great plenty, and we all agreed that they were much better than any we had tasted in England, which we imputed to their being eaten fresh from the sea, before their natural fat had been wasted, or their juices changed by a diet and situation so different from what the sea affords them, as garbage and a tub. Most of those that we caught here were of the kind called green turtle, and weighed from two to three hundred weight, and when these were killed, they were always found to be full of turtle grass, which our naturalists took to be a kind of *Conferva:* two of them were logger-heads, the flesh of which was much less delicious, and in their stomachs nothing was to be found but shells.

KANGUROO.

In the morning of the 16th, while the people were employed as usual in getting the ship ready for the sea, I climbed one of the hills on the north side of the river, from which I had an extensive view of the inland country, and found it agreeably diversified by hills, valleys, and large plains, which in many places were richly covered with wood. This evening we observed an emersion of Jupiter's first satellite, which gave 214° 53′ 45″ of longitude. The observation which was made on the 29th of June gave 214° 42′ 30″, the mean is 214° 48′ 7½″, the longitude of this place west of Greenwich.

On the 17th, I sent the master and one of the mates in the pinnace to look for a channel to the northward; and I went myself with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander into the woods on the other side of the water. Tupia, who had been thither by himself, reported that he had seen three Indians who had given him some roots about as thick as a man's finger, in shape not much unlike a radish, and of a very agreeable taste. This induced us to go over, hoping that we should be able to improve our acquaintance with the natives; in a very little time we discovered four of them in a canoe, who, as soon as they saw us come ashore, and though they were all strangers, walked up to us without any signs of suspicion or fear. Two of these had necklaces of shells, which we could not persuade them to part with for anything we could give them: we presented them, however, with some beads, and after a short stay they departed. We attempted to follow them, hoping that they would conduct us to some place where we should find more of them, and have an opportunity of seeing their women; but they made us understand, by signs, that they did not desire our company.

At eight o'clock the next morning, we were visited by several of the natives, who were now become quite familiar. One of them, at our desire, threw his lance, which was about eight feet long: it flew with a swiftness and steadiness that surprised us, and though it was never more than four feet from the ground, it entered deeply into a tree at fifty paces' distance. After this they ventured on board, where I left them, to all appearance much

* This seems to have been a mistake. See *note* page 269.—ED.

entertained, and went again with Mr. Banks to take a view of the country; but chiefly to indulge an anxious curiosity by looking round us upon the sea, of which our wishes almost persuaded us we had formed an idea more disadvantageous than the truth. After having walked about seven or eight miles along the shore to the northward, we ascended a very high hill, and were soon convinced that the danger of our situation was at least equal to our apprehensions; for in whatever direction we turned our eyes, we saw rocks and shoals without number, and no passage out to sea but through the winding channels between them, which could not be navigated without the last degree of difficulty and danger. We returned therefore to the ship, not in better spirits than when we left it: we found several natives still on board, and we were told that the turtles, of which we had no less than twelve upon the deck, had fixed their attention more than anything else in the ship.

On the 19th, in the morning, we were visited by ten of the natives, the greater part from the other side of the river, where we saw six or seven more, most of them women, and, like all the rest of the people we had seen in this country, they were stark naked. Our guests brought with them a greater number of lances than they had ever done before, and having laid them up in a tree, they set a man and a boy to watch them: the rest then came on board, and we soon perceived that they had determined to get one of our turtle, which was probably as great a dainty to them as to us. They first asked us by signs to give them one; and being refused, they expressed, both by looks and gestures, great disappointment and anger. At this time we happened to have no victuals dressed, but I offered one of them some biscuit, which he snatched and threw overboard with great disdain. One of them renewed his request to Mr. Banks, and upon a refusal stamped with his foot, and pushed him from him in a transport of resentment and indignation. Having applied by turns to almost every person who appeared to have any command in the ship, without success, they suddenly seized two of the turtles and dragged them towards the side of the ship where their canoe lay: our people soon forced them out of their hands, and replaced them with the rest. They would not however relinquish their enterprise, but made several other attempts of the same kind, in all which being equally disappointed, they suddenly leaped into their canoe in a rage, and began to paddle towards the shore. At the same time, I went into the boat with Mr. Banks and five or six of the ship's crew, and we got ashore before them, where many more of our people were already engaged in various employments. As soon as they landed, they seized their arms, and before we were aware of their design, they snatched a brand from under a pitch-kettle which was boiling, and making a circuit to the windward of the few things we had on shore, they set fire to the grass in their way, with surprising quickness and dexterity: the grass, which was five or six feet high, and as dry as stubble, burnt with amazing fury; and the fire made a rapid progress towards a tent of Mr. Banks's, which had been set up for Tupia when he was sick, taking in its course a sow and pigs, one of which it scorched to death. Mr. Banks leaped into a boat, and fetched some people from on board, just time enough to save his tent, by hauling it down upon the beach; but the smith's forge, at least such part of it as would burn, was consumed. While this was doing, the Indians went to a place at some distance, where several of our people were washing, and where our nets, among which was the seine and a great quantity of linen, were laid out to dry; here they again set fire to the grass, entirely disregarding both threats and entreaties. We were therefore obliged to discharge a musket, loaded with small shot, at one of them, which drew blood at the distance of about forty yards, and thus putting them to flight, we extinguished the fire at this place before it had made much progress; but where the grass had been first kindled, it spread into the woods to a great distance. As the Indians were still in sight, I fired a musket, charged with ball, abreast of them among the mangroves, to convince them that they were not yet out of our reach: upon hearing the ball they quickened their pace, and we soon lost sight of them. We thought they would now give us no more trouble; but soon after we heard their voices in the woods, and perceived that they came nearer and nearer. I set out, therefore, with Mr. Banks and three or four more to meet them. When our parties came in sight of each other, they halted, except one old man, who came forward to meet us: at length he stopped, and having uttered some words, which we were very sorry we could not understand, he went back to his companions, and

the whole body slowly retreated. We found means, howe r, to seize some of their darts, and continued to follow them about a mile: we then sat dow upon some rocks, from which we could observe their motions, and they also sat down at about a hundred yards' distance. After a short time, the old man again advanced towards us, carrying in his hand a lance without a point: he stopped several times, at different distances, and spoke; we answered by beckoning, and making such signs of amity as we could devise; upon which the messenger of peace, as we supposed him to be, turned and spoke aloud to his companions, who then set up their lances against a t d advanced towards us in a friendly manner: when they came up, we returned the darts or lances that we had taken from them, and we perceived with great satisfaction that this rendered the reconciliation complete. We found in this party four persons whom we had never seen before, who as usual were introduced to us by name; but the man who had been wounded in the attempt to burn our nets and linen was not among them; we knew, however, that he could not be dangerously hurt, by the distance at which the shot reached him. We made all of them presents of such trinkets as we had about us, and they walked back with us towards the ship. As we went along, they told us, by signs, that they would not set fire to the grass any more; and we distributed among them some musket-balls, and endeavoured to make them understand their use and effect. When they came abreast of the ship they sat down, but could not be prevailed upon to come on board; we therefore left them, and in about two hours they went away, soon after which we perceived the woods on fire at about two miles' distance. If this accident had happened a very little while sooner, the consequence might have been dreadful; for our powder had been aboard but a few days, and the store-tent, with many valuable things which it contained, had not been removed many hours. We had no idea of the fury with which grass would burn in this hot climate, nor consequently of the difficulty of extinguishing it; but we determined that if it should ever again be necessary for us to pitch our tents in such a situation, our first measure should be to clear the ground round us.

In the afternoon, we got everything on board the ship, new berthed her, and let her swing with the tide; and at night the master returned with the discouraging account that there was no passage for the ship to the northward.

The next morning, at low water, I went and sounded and buoyed the bar, the ship being now ready for sea. We saw no Indians this day, but all the hills round us for many miles were on fire, which at night made a most striking and beautiful appearance.

The 21st passed without our getting sight of any of the inhabitants, and, indeed, without a single incident worth notice. On the 22nd we killed a turtle for the day's provision, upon opening which we found a wooden harpoon or turtle-peg, about as thick as a man's finger, near fifteen inches long, and bearded at the end, such as we had seen among the natives, sticking through both shoulders: it appeared to have been struck a considerable time, for the wound had perfectly healed up over the weapon.

Early in the morning of the 23rd I sent some people into the country to gather a supply of the greens which have been before mentioned by the name of Indian kale; one of them having straggled from the rest, suddenly fell in with four Indians, three men and a boy, whom he did not see till, by turning short in the wood, he found himself among them. They had kindled a fire, and were broiling a bird of some kind, and part of a kanguroo, the remainder of which, and a cockatoo, hung at a little distance upon a tree. The man, being unarmed, was at first greatly terrified; but he had the presence of mind not to run away, judging, very rightly, that he was most likely to incur danger by appearing to apprehend it; on the contrary, he went and sat down by them, and, with an air of cheerfulness and good-humour, offered them his knife, the only thing he had about him which he thought would be acceptable to them; they received it, and having handed it from one to the other, they gave it him again: he then made an offer to leave them, but this they seemed not disposed to permit; still, however, he dissembled his fears, and sat down again; they considered him with great attention and curiosity, particularly his clothes, and then felt his hands and face, and satisfied themselves that his body was of the same texture with their own. They treated him with the greatest civility, and having kept him about half an hour, they made signs that he might depart: he did not wait for a second dismission, but when

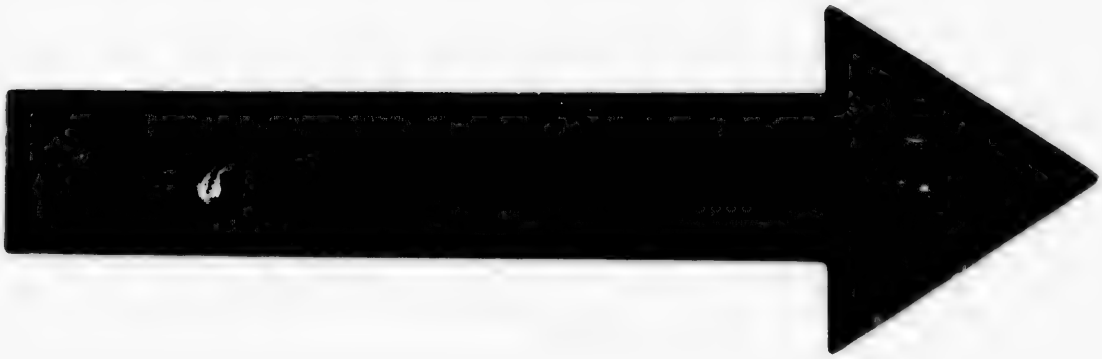
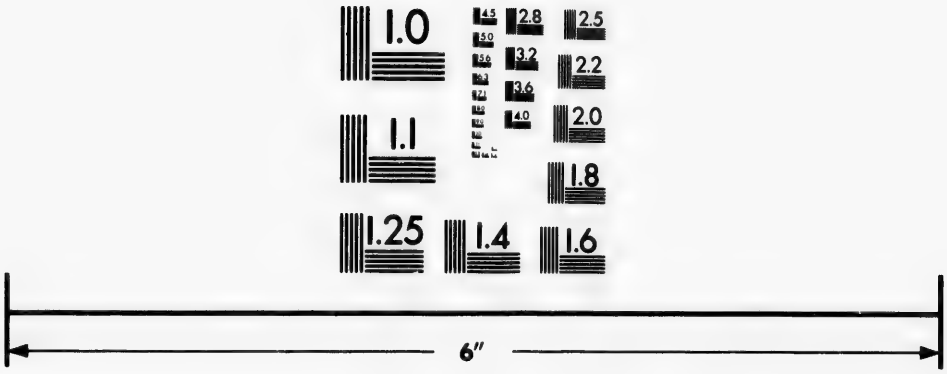


IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)



Photographic
Sciences
Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

2.8
2.5
3.2
2.2
3.6
2.0
1.8
1.0

he left them, not taking the direct way to the ship, they came from their fire and directed him, so that they well knew whence he came.

In the mean time, Mr. Banks, having made an excursion on the other side of the river to gather plants, found the greatest part of the cloth that had been given to the Indians lying in a heap together, probably as useless lumber, not worth carrying away; and perhaps, if he had sought further, he might have found the other trinkets; for they seemed to set very little value upon anything we had, except our turtle, which was a commodity that we were least able to spare.

The blowing weather, which prevented our attempt to get out to sea, still continuing, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went out again on the 24th to see whether any new plant could be picked up: they traversed the woods all day without success; but as they were returning through a deep valley, the sides of which, though almost as perpendicular as a wall, were covered with trees and bushes, they found lying upon the ground several marking nuts, the *Anacardium orientale;* these put them upon a new scent, and they made a most diligent search after the tree that bore them, which perhaps no European botanist ever saw, but to their great mortification they could not find it: so that, after spending much time, and cutting down four or five trees, they returned quite exhausted with fatigue to the ship.

On the 25th, having made an excursion up the river, I found a canoe belonging to our friends the Indians, whom we had not seen since the affair of the turtle; they had left it tied to some mangroves, about a mile distant from the ship and I could see by their fires that they were retired at least six miles directly inland.

As Mr. Banks was again gleaning the country for his Natural History, on the 26th he had the good fortune to take an animal of the Opossum tribe: it was a female, and with it he took two young ones: it was found much to resemble the remarkable animal of the kind, which Mons. de Buffon has described in his Natural History by the name of *Phalanger*, but it was not the same. Mons. Buffon supposes this tribe to be peculiar to America, but in this he is certainly mistaken; and, probably, as Pallas has observed in his Zoology, the Phalanger itself is a native of the East Indies, as the animal which was caught by Mr. Banks resembled it in the extraordinary conformation of the feet, in which it differs from animals of every other tribe.

On the 27th, Mr. Gore shot a kanguroo, which, with the skin, entrails, and head, weighed eighty-four pounds. Upon examination, however, we found that this animal was not at its full growth, the innermost grinders not being yet formed. We dressed it for dinner the next day, but, to our great disappointment, we found it had a much worse flavour than that we had eaten before.

The wind continued in the same quarter, and with the same violence, till five o'clock in the morning of the 29th, when it fell calm; soon after a light breeze sprung up from the land, and it being about two hours' ebb, I sent a boat to see what water was upon the bar; in the mean time we got the anchor up, and made all ready to put to sea. But when the boat came back, the officer reported that there was only thirteen feet water upon the bar, which was six inches less than the ship drew. We were therefore obliged to come to, and the sea-breeze setting in again about eight o'clock, we gave up all hope of sailing that day.

We had fresh gales at S.E., with hazy weather and rain, till two in the morning of the 31st, when the weather being something more moderate, I had thoughts of trying to warp the ship out of the harbour; but upon going out myself first in the boat, I found it still blow too fresh for the attempt. During all this time the pinnace and yawl continued to ply the net and hook with tolerable success; sometimes taking a turtle, and frequently bringing in from two to thee hundred weight of fish.

On the 1st of August the carpenter examined the pumps, and, to our great mortification, found them all in a state of decay, owing, as he said, to the sap having been left in the wood; one of them was so rotten, as, when hoisted up, to drop to pieces, and the rest were little better; so that our chief trust was now in the soundness of our vessel, which happily did not admit more than one inch of water in an hour.

At six o'clock in the morning of Friday, the 3rd, we made another unsuccessful attempt to warp the ship out of the harbour; but at five o'clock in the morning of the 4th, our efforts had a better effect, and about seven we got once more under sail, with a light air from the land, which soon died away, and was followed by the sea-breezes from S.E. by S., with which we stood off to sea E. by N., having the pinnace a-head, which was ordered to keep sounding continually. The yawl had been sent to the turtle bank, to take up the net which had been left there; but as the wind freshened, we got out before her. A little before noon we anchored in fifteen fathom water, with a sandy bottom; for I did not think it safe to run in among the shoals till I had well viewed them at low water from the mast-head, which might determine me which way to steer; for, as yet, I was in doubt whether I should beat back to the southward, round all the shoals, or seek a passage to the eastward or the northward, all which at present appeared to be equally difficult and dangerous. When we were at anchor, the harbour from which we sailed bore S. 70 W., distant about five leagues; the northernmost point of the main in sight, which I named Cape Bedford, and which lies in latitude 15° 16′ S., longitude 214° 45′ W., bore N. 20 W., distant three leagues and a half; but to the N.E. of this cape we could see land which had the appearance of two high islands: the turtle banks bore east, distant one mile: our latitude, by observation, was 15° 32′ S., and our depth of water in standing off from the land was from three and a half to fifteen fathom.

CHAPTER V.—DEPARTURE FROM ENDEAVOUR RIVER; A PARTICULAR DESCRIPTION OF THE HARBOUR THERE IN WHICH THE SHIP WAS REFITTED; THE ADJACENT COUNTRY, AND SEVERAL ISLANDS NEAR THE COAST.—THE RANGE FROM ENDEAVOUR RIVER TO THE NORTHERN EXTREMITY OF THE COUNTRY, AND THE DANGERS OF THAT NAVIGATION.

To the harbour which we had now left, I gave the name of Endeavour River. It is only a small bar harbour, or creek, which runs in a winding channel three or four leagues inland, and at the head of which there is a small brook of fresh water. There is not depth of water for shipping above a mile within the bar, and at this distance only on the north side, where the bank is so steep for near a quarter of a mile that a ship may lie afloat at low water, so near the shore as to reach it with a stage, and the situation is extremely convenient for heaving down; but at low water, the depth upon the bar is not more than nine or ten feet, nor more than seventeen or eighteen at the height of the tide; the difference between high and low water at spring-tides being about nine feet. At the new and full of the moon, it is high water between nine and ten o'clock. It must also be remembered, that this part of the coast is so barricaded with shoals as to make the harbour still more difficult of access: the safest approach is from the southward, keeping the main land close upon the board all the way. Its situation may always be found by the latitude, which has been very accurately laid down. Over the south point is some high land, but the north point is formed by a low sandy beach, which extends about three miles to the northward, where the land begins again to be high.

The chief refreshment that we procured here was turtle; but as they were not to be had without going five leagues out to sea, and the weather was frequently tempestuous, we did not abound with this dainty. What we caught, as well as the fish, was always equally divided among us all by weight, the meanest person on board having the same share as myself; and I think every commander, in such a voyage as this, will find it his interest to follow the same rule. In several parts of the sandy beaches, and sand-hills near the sea, we found purslain, and a kind of bean that grows upon a stalk, which creeps along the ground. The purslain we found very good when it was boiled; and the beans are not to be despised, for we found them of great service to our sick. The best greens, however, that could be procured here were the tops of the cocos, which have been mentioned already, as known in the West Indies by the name of *Indian kale:* these were, in our opinion, not much inferior to spinnage, which in taste they somewhat resemble; the roots, indeed, are not good, but they might probably be meliorated by proper cultivation. They are found here chiefly in

boggy ground. The few cabbage-palms that we met with were in general small, and yielded so little cabbage that they were not worth seeking.

Besides the kanguroo, and the opossum, that have been already mentioned, and a kind of polecat, there are wolves upon this part of the coast, if we were not deceived by the tracks upon the ground, and several species of serpents: some of the serpents are venomous, and some harmless. There are no tame animals here except dogs, and of these we saw but two or three, which frequently came about the tents to pick up the scraps and bones that happened to lie scattered near them. There does not, indeed, seem to be many of any animal, except the kanguroo; we scarcely saw any other above once, but this we met with almost every time we went into the woods. Of land fowls, we saw crows, kites, hawks; cockatoos of two sorts, one white and the other black; a very beautiful kind of loriquets, some parrots, pigeons of two or three sorts, and several small birds not known in Europe. The water-fowls are, herns, whistling ducks—which perch, and, I believe, roost upon trees,—wild geese, curlews, and a few others; but these do not abound. The face of the country, which has been occasionally mentioned before, is agreeably diversified by hill and valley, lawn and wood. The soil of the hills is hard, dry, and stony, yet it produces coarse grass besides wood. The soil of the plains and valleys is in some places sand, and in some, clay; in some also it is rocky and stony, like the hills; in general, however, it is well clothed, and has at least the appearance of fertility. The whole country, both hill and valley, wood and plain, abounds with ant-hills, some of which are six or eight feet high, and twice as much in circumference. The trees here are not of many sorts: the gum-tree, which we found on the southern part of the coast, is the most common, but here it is not so large. On each side of the river, through its whole course, there are mangroves in great numbers, which in some places extend a mile within the coast. The country is in all parts well watered, there being several fine rivulets at a small distance from each other, but none in the place where we lay,—at least not during the time we were there, which was the dry season; we were, however, well supplied with water by springs which were not far off.

In the afternoon of the 4th, we had a gentle breeze at S.E., and clear weather; but as I did not intend to sail till the morning, I sent all the boats to the reef to get what turtle and shell-fish they could. At low-water I went up to the mast-head, and took a view of the shoals, which made a very threatening appearance: I could see several at a remote distance, and part of many of them was above water. The sea appeared most open to the north-east of the turtle reef, and I came to a resolution to stretch out that way close upon a wind, because, if we should find no passage, we could always return the way we went. In the evening, the boats brought in a turtle, a sting-ray, and as many large cockles as came to about a pound and a half a man, for in each of them there was not less than two pounds of meat. In the night, also, we caught several sharks, which, though not a dainty, were an acceptable increase of our fresh provision.

In the morning I waited till half ebb before I weighed, because at that time the shoals begin to appear, but the wind then blew so hard that I was obliged to remain at anchor: in the afternoon, however, the gale becoming more moderate, we got under sail, and stood out upon a wind N. E. by E., leaving the turtle reef to windward, and having the pinnace sounding a-head. We had not kept this course long, before we discovered shoals before us, and upon both the bows; and at half an hour after four, having run about eight miles, the pinnace made the signal for shoal water, where we little expected it: upon this we tacked, and stood on and off, while the pinnace stretched farther to the eastward, and night approaching, I came to an anchor in twenty fathom water, with a muddy bottom. Endeavour River then bore S. 52 W.; Cape Bedford W. by N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N., distant five leagues; the northernmost land in sight, which had the appearance of an island N.; and a shoal, a small sandy part of which appeared above water, bore N.E., distant between two and three miles: in standing off from turtle reef to this place, we had from fourteen to twenty fathom water, but when the pinnace was about a mile farther to the E. N. E. there was no more than four or five feet water, with rocky ground; and yet this did not appear to us in the ship. In the morning of the 6th we had a strong gale, so that instead of weighing, we were obliged to veer away more cable, and strike our top-gallant yards. At low water, myself, with

several of the officers, kept a look-out at the mast-head, to see if any passage could be discovered between the shoals, but nothing was in view except breakers, extending from the S. round by the E. as far as N. W., and out to sea beyond the reach of our sight; these breakers, however, did not appear to be caused by one continued shoal, but by several which lay detached from each other: on that which lay farthest to the eastward the sea broke very high, which made me think it was the outermost, for upon many of these within, the breakers were inconsiderable, and from about half ebb to half flood, they were not to be seen at all, which makes sailing among them still more dangerous, especially as the shoals here consist principally of coral rocks, which are as steep as a wall; upon some of them, however, and generally at the north end, there are patches of sand, which are covered only at high water, and which are to be discerned at some distance. Being now convinced that there was no passage to sea, but through the labyrinth formed by these shoals, I was altogether at a loss which way to steer, when the weather should permit us to get under sail. It was the master's opinion, that we should beat back the way we came, but this would have been an endless labour, as the wind blew strongly from that quarter, almost without intermission; on the other hand, if no passage could be found to the northward, we should be compelled to take that measure at last. These anxious deliberations engaged us till eleven o'clock at night, when the ship drove, and obliged us to veer away to a cable and one-third, which brought her up; but in the morning, the gale increasing, she drove again, and we therefore let go the small bower, and veered away to a whole cable upon it, and two cables on the other anchors, yet she still drove, though not so fast; we then got down top-gallant masts, and struck the yards and top-masts close down, and at last had the satisfactiou to find that she rode. Cape Bedford now bore W. S. W. distant three leagues and a half, and in this situation we had shoals to the eastward, extending from the S. E. by S. to the N. N. W., the nearest of which was about two miles distant. As the gale continued, with little remission, we rode till seven o'clock in the morning of the 10th, when, it being more moderate, we weighed, and stood in for the land, having at length determined to seek a passage along the shore to the northward, still keeping the boat ahead: during our run in we had from nineteen to twelve fathom: after standing in about an hour, we edged away for three small islands that lay N. N. E. ½ E., three leagues from Cape Bedford, which the master had visited while we were in port. At nine o'clock we were abreast of them, and between them and the main: between us and the main there was another low island, which lies N. N. W. four miles from the three islands; and in this channel we had fourteen fathom water. The northernmost point of land in sight now bore N.N. W. ½ W., distant about two leagues. Four or five leagues to the north of this head-land we saw three islands, near which lay some that were still smaller, and we could see the shoals and reefs without us, extending to the northward, as far as these islands: between these reefs and the head-land we directed our course, leaving to the eastward a small island, which lies N. by E., distant four miles from the three islands. At noon we were got between the head-land and the three islands: from the head-land we were distant two leagues, and from the islands four; our latitude, by observation, was 14° 51′. We now thought we saw a clear opening before us, and hoped that we were once more out of danger; in this hope, however, we soon found ourselves disappointed, and for that reason I called the head-land CAPE FLATTERY. It lies in latitude 14° 56′ S., longitude 214° 43′ W., and is a lofty promontory, making next the sea in two hills, which have a third behind them, with low sandy ground on each side: it may however be still better known by the three islands out at sea: the northernmost and largest lies about five leagues from the cape, in the direction of N. N. E. From Cape Flattery the land trends away N. W., and N. W. by W. We steered along the shore N. W. by W. till one o'clock, for what we thought the open channel, when the petty officer at the mast-head cried out that he saw land ahead, extending quite round to the islands that lay without us, and a large reef between us and them: upon this I ran up to the mast-head myself, from whence I very plainly saw the reef, which was now so far to windward, that we could not weather it, but the land ahead, which he had supposed to be the main, appeared to me to be only a cluster of small islands. As soon as I got down from the mast-head, the master and some others went up, who all insisted that the land

ahead was not islands, but the main, and to make their report still more alarming, they said that they saw breakers all round us. In this dilemma we hauled upon a wind in for the land, and made the signal for the boat that was sounding ahead to come on board, but as she was far to leeward, we were obliged to edge away to take her up, and soon after we came to an anchor, under a point of the main, in somewhat less than five fathom, and at about the distance of a mile from the shore. Cape Flattery now bore S. E., distant three leagues and a half. As soon as the ship was at anchor, I went ashore upon the point, which is high, and afforded me a good view of the sea-coast, trending away N.W. by W. eight or ten leagues, which, the weather not being very clear, was as far as I could see. Nine or ten small low islands, and some shoals, appeared off the coast; I saw also some large shoals between the main and the three high islands, without which I was clearly of opinion there were more islands, and not any part of the main. Except the point I was now upon, which I called Point Look-out, and Cape Flattery, the main land, to the northward of Cape Bedford, is low, and chequered with white sand and green bushes, for ten or twelve miles inland, beyond which it rises to a considerable height. To the northward of Point Look-out the coast appeared to be shoal and flat for a considerable distance, which did not encourage the hope that the channel we had hitherto found in with the land would continue. Upon this point, which was narrow, and consisted of the finest white sand we had ever seen, we discovered the footsteps of people, and we saw also smoke and fire at a distance up the country.

In the evening I returned to the ship, and resolved the next morning to visit one of the high islands in the offing, from the top of which, as they lay five leagues out to sea, I hoped to discover more distinctly the situation of the shoals, and the channel between them.

In the morning therefore of the 11th I set out in the pinnace, accompanied by Mr. Banks, (whose fortitude and curiosity made him a party in every expedition,) for the northernmost and largest of the three islands, and at the same time I sent the master in the yawl to leeward, to sound between the low islands and the main. In my way I passed over a reef of coral rock and sand, which lies about two leagues from the island, and I left another to leeward, which lies about three miles from it: on the north part of the reef, to the leeward, there is a low sandy island, with trees upon it; and upon the reef which we passed over, we saw several turtle: we chased one or two, but having little time to spare, and the wind blowing fresh, we did not take any.

About one o'clock we reached the island, and immediately ascended the highest hill, with a mixture of hope and fear, proportioned to the importance of our business, and the uncertainty of the event. When I looked round, I discovered a reef of rocks lying between two and three leagues without the islands, and extending in a line N.W. and S.E. farther than I could see, upon which the sea broke in a dreadful surf; this, however, made me think that there were no shoals beyond them, and I conceived hopes of getting without these, as I perceived several breaks or openings in the reef, and deep water between that and the islands. I continued upon this hill till sunset, but the weather was so hazy during the whole time, that I came down much disappointed. After reflecting upon what I had seen, and comparing the intelligence I had gained with what I expected, I determined to stay upon the island all night, hoping that the morning might be clearer, and afford me a more distinct and comprehensive view. We therefore took up our lodging under the shelter of a bush which grew upon the beach, and at three in the morning, having sent the pinnace with one of the mates whom I had brought out with me, to sound between the island and the reefs, and examine what appeared to be a channel through them, I climbed the hill a second time, but to my great disappointment found the weather much more hazy than it had been the day before. About noon the pinnace returned, having been as far as the reef, and found between fifteen and twenty-eight fathom of water; but it blew so hard, that the mate did not dare to venture into one of the channels, which he said appeared to him to be very narrow: this, however, did not discourage me, for I judged from his description of the place he had been at, that he had seen it to disadvantage. While I was busy in my survey, Mr. Banks was attentive to his favourite pursuit, and picked up several plants which he had

. 1770.

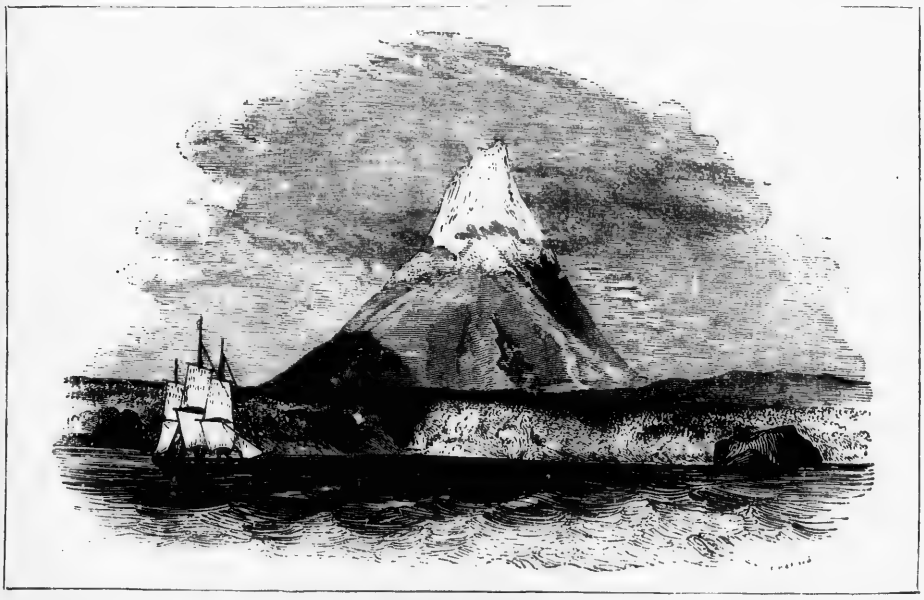
cy said
for the
but as
ter we
and at
t three
which
or ten
or ten
shoals
there
which
Bed-
les in-
ok-out
ourage
Upon
en, we
up the

of the
sea, I
tween

Banks,
nmost
awl to
a reef
her to
ward,
over,
wind

with
ncer-
two
than
that
as I
the
the
seen,
stay
more
of a
with
the
cond
been
und
did
very
the
rey,
had

VIEW IN HUAHEIME.



MOUNT EGMONT—NEW ZEALAND.

Plate VIII.] [*Cook's Voyages.*

not before seen. We found the island, which is visible at twelve leagues' distance, to be about eight leagues in circumference, and in general very rocky and barren. On the north-west side, however, there are some sandy bays, and some low land, which is covered with long thin grass, and trees of the same kind with those upon the main: this part also abounded with lizards of a very large size, some of which we took. We found also fresh water in two places: one was a running stream, but that was a little brackish where I tasted it, which was close to the sea; the other was a standing pool, close behind the sandy beach, and this was perfectly sweet and good. Notwithstanding the distance of this island from the main, we saw, to our great surprise, that it was sometimes visited by the natives; for we found seven or eight frames of their huts, and vast heaps of shells, the fish of which we supposed had been their food. We observed that all these huts were built upon eminences, and entirely exposed to the S.E., contrary to those which we had seen upon the main; for they were all built either upon the side of a hill, or under some bushes, which afforded them shelter from the wind. From these huts, and their situation, we concluded that at some seasons of the year the weather here is invariably calm and fine; for the inhabitants have no boat which can navigate the sea to so great a distance, in such weather as we had from the time of our first coming upon the coast. As we saw no animals upon this place but lizards, I called it Lizard Island. The other two high islands, which lie at the distance of four or five miles from it, are comparatively small; and near them lie three others smaller still, and low, with several shoals or reefs, especially to the S. E.: there is, however, a clear passage from Cape Flattery to these islands, and even quite to the outward reefs, leaving Lizard Island to the north-west, and the others to the south-east.

At two in the afternoon, there being no hope of clear weather, we set out from Lizard Island to return to the ship, and in our way landed upon the low sandy island with trees upon it, which we had remarked in our going out. Upon this island we saw an incredible number of birds, chiefly sea-fowl: we found also the nest of an eagle, with young ones, which we killed; and the nest of some other bird, we knew not what, of a most enormous size: it was built with sticks upon the ground, and was no less than six-and-twenty feet in circumference, and two feet eight inches high. We found, also, that this place had been visited by the Indians, probably to eat turtle, many of which we saw upon the island, and a great number of their shells, piled one upon another in different places.

To this spot we gave the name of Eagle Island; and after leaving it, we steered S.W. directly for the ship, sounding all the way, and we had never less than eight fathom, nor more than fourteen, the same depth of water that I had found between this and Lizard Island.

When I got on board, the master informed me that he had been down to the low islands, between which and the main I had directed him to sound; that he judged them to lie about three leagues from the main; that without them he found from ten to fourteen fathom, and between them and the main, seven; but that a flat, which ran two leagues out from the main, made this channel narrow. Upon one of these low islands he slept, and was ashore upon others; and he reported, that he saw everywhere piles of turtle-shells, and fins hanging upon the trees in many places, with the flesh upon them, so recent, that the boat's crew ate of them: he saw also two spots, clear of grass, which appeared to have been lately dug up, and from the shape and size of them, he conjectured they were graves.

After considering what I had seen myself, and the report of the master, I was of opinion that the passage to leeward would be dangerous, and that, by keeping in with the main, we should run the risk of being locked in by the great reef, and at last be compelled to return back in search of another passage, by which, or any other accident that should cause the same delay, we should infallibly lose our passage to the East Indies, and endanger the ruin of the voyage, as we had now but little more than three months' provisions on board at short allowance.

Having stated this opinion, and the facts and appearances upon which it was founded, to the officers, it was unanimously agreed, that the best thing we could do would be to quit the coast altogether, till we could approach it with less danger.

In the morning, therefore, at break of day, we got under sail, and stood out N.E. for the

north-west end of Lizard Island, leaving Eagle Island to windward, and some other islands and shoals to the leeward, and having the pinnace ahead to ascertain the depth of water in every part of our course. In this channel we had from nine to fourteen fathom. At noon, the north-west end of Lizard Island bore E.S.E., distant one mile; our latitude by observation was 14° 38′, and our depth of water fourteen fathom. We had a steady gale at S.E., and by two o'clock we just fetched to windward of one of the channels or openings in the outer reef, which I had seen from the island. We now tacked and made a short trip to the S.W., while the master in the pinnace examined the channel: he soon made the signal for the ship to follow, and in a short time she got safe out. As soon as we had got without the breakers, we had no ground with one hundred and fifty fathom, and found a large sea rolling in from the S.E., a certain sign that neither land nor shoals were near us in that direction.

Our change of situation was now visible in every countenance, for it was most sensibly felt in every breast: we had been little less than three months entangled among shoals and rocks, that every moment threatened us with destruction; frequently passing our nights at anchor within hearing of the surge that broke over them: sometimes driving towards them even while our anchors were out, and knowing that if by any accident, to which an almost continual tempest exposed us, they should not hold, we must in a few minutes inevitably perish. But now, after having sailed no less than three hundred and sixty leagues, without once having a man out of the chains heaving the lead, even for a minute, which perhaps never happened to any other vessel, we found ourselves in an open sea, with deep water; and enjoyed a flow of spirits, which was equally owing to our late dangers and our present security: yet the very waves, which by their swell convinced us that we had no rocks or shoals to fear, convinced us also that we could not safely put the same confidence in our vessel as before she had struck; for the blows she received from them so widened her leaks, that she admitted no less than nine inches water an hour, which, considering the state of our pumps, and the navigation that was still before us, would have been a subject of more serious consideration to people whose danger had not so lately been so much more imminent.

The passage or channel through which we passed into the open sea beyond the reef, lies in latitude 14° 32′ S., and may always be known by the three high islands within it, which I have called the Islands of Direction, because by these a stranger may find a safe passage through the reef quite to the main. The channel lies from Lizard Island N.E. ½ N., distant three leagues, and is about one-third of a mile broad, and not more in length. Lizard Island, which is, as I have before observed, the largest and the northernmost of the three, affords safe anchorage under the north-west side, fresh water, and wood for fuel. The low islands and shoals also which lie between it and the main abound with turtle and fish, which may probably be caught in all seasons of the year, except when the weather is very tempestuous; so that, all things considered, there is not perhaps a better place for ships to refresh at upon the whole coast than this island. And, before I dismiss it, I must observe, that we found upon it, as well as upon the beach in and about Endeavour River, bamboos, cocoa-nuts, pumice-stone, and the seeds of plants which are not the produce of this country, and which, it is reasonable to suppose, are brought from the eastward by the trade-winds. The islands which were discovered by Quiros, and called Australia del Espiritu Santa, lie in this parallel; but how far to the eastward cannot now be ascertained: in most charts they are placed in the same longitude with this country, which, as appears by the account of his voyage that has been published, he never saw; for that places his discoveries no less than two-and-twenty degrees to the eastward of it.

As soon as we were without the reef, we brought to, and having hoisted in the boats, we stood off and on upon a wind all night; for I was not willing to run to leeward till I had a whole day before me. In the morning, at daybreak, Lizard Island bore S. 15 E., distant ten leagues; and we then made sail, and stood away N.N.W. ½ W. till nine o'clock, when we stood N.W. ½ N., having the advantage of a fresh gale at S.E. At noon, our latitude by observation was 13° 46′ S., and at this time we had no land in sight. At six in the evening we shortened sail, and brought the ship to, with her head to the N.E.; and at six in the morning made sail, and steered west, in order to get within sight of the land, that I might

be sure not to overshoot the passage, if a passage there was, between this land and New Guinea. At noon, our latitude by observation was 13° 2′ S., longitude 216° W.; which was 1° 23′ W. of Lizard Island at this time we had no land in sight; but a little before one o'clock we saw high land from the mast-head, bearing W.S.W. At two, we saw more land to the N.W. of that we had seen before: it appeared in hills, like islands; but we judged it to be a continuation of the main land. About three, we discovered breakers between the land and the ship, extending to the southward farther than we could see; but to the north we thought we saw them terminate abreast of us. What we took for the end of them in this direction, however, soon appeared to be only an opening in the reef; for we presently saw them again, extending northward beyond the reach of our sight. Upon this we hauled close upon a wind, which was now at E.S.E., and we had scarcely trimmed our sails before it came to E. by N., which was right upon the reef, and consequently made our clearing it doubtful. At sunset the northernmost part of it that was in sight bore from us N. by E., and was two or three leagues distant; this, however, being the best tack to clear it, we kept standing to the northward with all the sail we could set till midnight; when, being afraid of standing too far in this direction, we tacked and stood to the southward, our run from sunset to this time being six leagues N. and N. by E. When we had stood about two miles S.S.E. it fell calm; we had sounded several times during the night, but had no bottom with one hundred and forty fathom, neither had we any ground now with the same length of line; yet, about four in the morning, we plainly heard the roaring of the surf, and at break of day saw it foaming to a vast height, at not more than a mile's distance. Our distress now returned upon us with double force; the waves, which rolled in upon the reef, carried us towards it very fast; we could reach no ground with an anchor, and had not a breath of wind for the sail. In this dreadful situation, no resource was left us but the boats; and to aggravate our misfortune, the pinnace was under repair: the long-boat and yawl, however, were put into the water, and sent ahead to tow, which, by the help of our sweeps abaft, got the ship's head round to the northward; which, if it could not prevent our destruction, might at least delay it. But it was six o'clock before this was effected, and we were not then a hundred yards from the rock upon which the same billow which washed the side of the ship, broke to a tremendous height the very next time it rose; so that between us and destruction there was only a dreary valley, no wider than the base of one wave, and even now the sea under us was unfathomable, at least no bottom was to be found with a hundred and twenty fathom. During this scene of distress the carpenter had found means to patch up the pinnace; so that she was hoisted out, and sent ahead, in aid of the other boats, to tow; but all our efforts would have been ineffectual, if, just at this crisis of our fate, a light air of wind had not sprung up—so light, that at any other time we should not have observed it, but which was enough to turn the scale in our favour, and, in conjunction with the assistance which was afforded us by the boats, to give the ship a perceptible motion obliquely from the reef. Our hopes now revived; but in less than ten minutes it was again a dead calm, and the ship was again driven towards the breakers, which were not now two hundred yards distant. The same light breeze, however, returned before we had lost all the ground it had enabled us to gain, and lasted about ten minutes more. During this time we discovered a small opening in the reef, at about the distance of a quarter of a mile: I immediately sent one of the mates to examine it, who reported that its breadth was not more than the length of the ship, but that within it there was smooth water: this discovery seemed to render our escape possible, and that was all, by pushing the ship through the opening, which was immediately attempted. It was uncertain, indeed, whether we could reach it; but if we should succeed thus far, we made no doubt of being able to get through: in this, however, we were disappointed, for having reached it by the joint assistance of our boats and the breeze, we found that in the mean time it had become high water, and to our great surprise we met the tide of ebb rushing out of it like a mill-stream. We gained, however, some advantage, though in a manner directly contrary to our expectations; we found it impossible to go through the opening, but the stream that prevented us, carried us out about a quarter of a mile; it was too narrow for us to keep in it longer; yet this tide of ebb so much assisted the boats, that by noon we had got an offing of near two miles. We had, however

reason to despair of deliverance, even if the breeze, which had now died away, should revive, for we were still embayed in the reef; and the tide of ebb being spent, the tide of flood, notwithstanding our utmost efforts, again drove the ship into the bight. About this time, however, we saw another opening, near a mile to the westward, which I immediately sent the first lieutenant, Mr. Hicks, in the small boat to examine: in the mean time we struggled hard with the flood, sometimes gaining a little, and sometimes losing; but every man still did his duty, with as much calmness and regularity as if no danger had been near. About two o'clock Mr. Hicks returned, with an account that the opening was narrow and dangerous, but that it might be passed: the possibility of passing it was sufficient encouragement to make the attempt, for all danger was less imminent than that of our present situation. A light breeze now sprung up at E.N.E., with which, by the help of our boats, and the very tide of flood that, without an opening, would have been our destruction, we entered it, and were hurried through with amazing rapidity, by a torrent that kept us from driving against either side of the channel, which was not more than a quarter of a mile in breadth. While we were shooting this gulf, our soundings were from thirty to seven fathom, very irregular, and the ground at bottom very foul.

As soon as we had got within the reef, we anchored in nineteen fathom, over a bottom of coral and shells. And now, such is the vicissitude of life, we thought ourselves happy in having regained a situation which, but two days before, it was the utmost object of our hope to quit. Rocks and shoals are always dangerous to the mariner, even where their situation has been ascertained; they are more dangerous in seas which have never before been navigated, and in this part of the globe they are more dangerous than in any other; for here they are reefs of coral rock, rising like a wall almost perpendicularly out of the unfathomable deep, always overflowed at high water, and at low water dry in many places; and here the enormous waves of the vast Southern Ocean meeting with so abrupt a resistance, break, with inconceivable violence, in a surf which no rocks or storms in the northern hemisphere can produce. The danger of navigating unknown parts of this ocean was now greatly increased by our having a crazy ship, and being short of provisions and every other necessary; yet the distinction of a first discoverer made us cheerfully encounter every danger, and submit to every inconvenience; and we chose rather to incur the censure of imprudence and temerity, which the idle and voluptuous so liberally bestow upon unsuccessful fortitude and perseverance, than leave a country which we had discovered unexplored, and give colour to a charge of timidy and irresolution.

Having now congratulated ourselves upon getting within the reef, notwithstanding we had so lately congratulated ourselves upon getting without it, I resolved to keep the main land on board in my future route to the northward, whatever the consequence might be; for if we had now gone without the reef again, it might have carried us so far from the coast as to prevent my being able to determine, whether this country did, or did not join to New Guinea; a question which I was determined to resolve from my first coming within sight of land. However, as I had experienced the disadvantage of having a boat under repair at a time when it was possible I might want to use her, I determined to remain fast at anchor till the pinnace was perfectly refitted. As I had no employment for the other boats, I sent them out in the morning to the reef, to see what refreshments could be procured, and Mr. Banks, in his little boat, accompanied by Dr. Solander, went with them. In this situation I found the variation by amplitude and azimuth to be 4° 9′ E.; and at noon, our latitude, by observation, was 12° 38′ S., and our longitude 216° 45′ W. The main land extended from N. 66 W. to S.W. by S., and the nearest part of it was distant about nine leagues. The opening through which we had passed, I called PROVIDENTIAL CHANNEL; and this bore E.N.E., distant ten or twelve miles; on the main land within us was a lofty promontory, which I called CAPE WEYMOUTH; on the north side of which is a bay, which I called WEYMOUTH BAY: they lie in latitude 12° 42′ S., longitude 217° 15′ W. At four o'clock in the afternoon the boats returned with two hundred and forty pounds of the meat of shell-fish, chiefly of cockles, some of which were as much as two men could move, and contained twenty pounds of good meat. Mr. Banks also brought back many curious shells and *Mollusca;* besides many species of coral, among which was that called the *Tubipora musica.*

At six o'clock in the morning we got under sail, and stood away to the N.W., having two boats ahead to direct us; our soundings were very irregular, varying five or six fathom every cast, between ten and twenty-seven. A little before noon, we passed a low sandy island, which we left on our starboard side, at the distance of two miles. At noon our latitude was 12° 28′, and our distance from the main about four leagues: it extended from S. by W. to N. 71 W., and some small islands from N. 40 W. to 54 W. Between us and the main were several shoals, and some without us, besides the main or outermost reef, which we could see from the mast-head, stretching away to the N.E. At two in the afternoon, as we were steering N.W. by N. we saw a large shoal right ahead, extending three or four points upon each bow; upon this we hauled up N.N.E. and N.E. by N. to get round the north point of it, which we reached by four, and then edged away to the westward, and ran between the north end of this shoal and another which lies two miles to the northward of it, having a boat all the way ahead sounding; our depth of water was still very irregular, from twenty-two to eight fathom. At half an hour after six, we anchored in thirteen fathom: the northernmost of the small islands seen at noon bore W. ½ S., distant three miles: these islands are distinguished in the chart by the name of Forbes's Islands, and lie about five leagues from the main, which here forms a high point that we called Bolt Head, from which the land trends more westerly, and is in that direction all low and sandy; to the southward it is high and hilly, even near the sea.

At six in the morning we got again under sail, and steered for an island which lay at a small distance from the main, and at this time bore from us N. 40 W., distant about five leagues: our course was soon interrupted by shoals; however, by the help of the boats, and a good look-out from the top of the mast, we got into a fair channel that led us down to the island, between a very large shoal on our starboard side, and several small ones towards the main: in this channel we had from twenty to thirty fathom water. Between eleven and twelve o'clock we hauled round the north-east side of the island, leaving it between us and the main, from which it is distant about seven or eight miles. This island is about a league in circuit, and we saw upon it five of the natives, two of whom had lances in their hands; they came down upon a point, and having looked a little while at the ship, retired. To the N.W. of it are several low islands and quays, which lie not far from the main; and to the northward and eastward are several other islands and shoals; so that we were now encompassed on every side: but having lately been exposed to much greater danger, and rocks and shoals being grown familiar, we looked at them comparatively with little concern. The main land appeared to be low and barren, interspersed with large patches of the very fine white sand which we had found upon Lizard Island and different parts of the main. The boats had seen many turtle upon the shoals which they passed, but it blew too hard for them to take any. At noon our latitude, by observation, was 12°, and our longitude 217° 25′: our depth of water was fourteen fathom; and our course and distance, reduced to a straight line, was, between this time and the preceding noon, N. 29 W. thirty-two miles.

The main land within the islands that have been just mentioned forms a point, which I called Cape Grenville: it lies in latitude 11° 58′, longitude 217° 38′; and between it and Bolt Head is a bay, which I called Temple Bay. At the distance of nine leagues from Cape Grenville, in the direction of E. ½ N. lie some high islands, which I called Sir Charles Hardy's Isles; and those which lie off the Cape I called Cockburn's Isles. Having lain by for the boats, which had got out of their station, till about one o'clock, we then took the yawl in tow; and the pinnace having got ahead, we filled, and stood N. by W. for some small islands which lay in that direction; such at least they were in appearance, but upon approaching them we perceived that they were joined together by a large reef: upon this we edged away N.W. and left them on our starboard hand; we steered between them and the islands that lay off the main, having a clear passage, and from fifteen to twenty-three fathom water. At four o'clock we discovered some low islands and rocks, bearing W.N.W., and stood directly for them: at half an hour after six we anchored on the north-east side of the northernmost of them, at one mile's distance, and in sixteen fathom. These islands lie N.W. four leagues from Cape Grenville, and from the number of birds that I saw upon them, I called them Bird Isles. A little before sunset, we were in sight

of the main land, which appeared all very low and sandy, extending as far to the northward as N.W. by N., some shoals, quays, and low sandy isles stretching away to the N.E.

At six o'clock in the morning we got again under sail, with a fresh breeze at E., and stood away N.N.W. for some low islands in that direction, but were soon obliged to haul close upon a wind to weather a shoal which we discovered upon our larboard bow, having, at the same time, others to the eastward: by the time we had weathered this shoal to leeward, we had brought the islands well upon our lee-bow, but, seeing some shoals run off from them, and some rocks on our starboard bow, which we did not discover till we were very near them, I was afraid to go to windward of the islands, and therefore brought to, and having made the signal for the pinnace, which was ahead, to come on board, I sent her to leeward of the islands, with orders to keep along the edge of the shoal, which ran off from the south side of the southernmost island, sending the yawl at the same time to run over the shoal in search of turtle. As soon as the pinnace had got to a proper distance, we wore, and stood after her: as we ran to leeward of this island, we took the yawl in tow, she having seen only one small turtle, and therefore made but little stay upon the shoal. The island we found to be a small spot of sand with some trees upon it, and we could discern many huts, or habitations of the natives, whom we supposed occasionally to visit these islands from the main, they being only five leagues distant, to catch turtle when they come ashore to lay their eggs. We continued to stand after the pinnace N.N.E., and N. by E. for two other low islands, having two shoals without us, and one between us and the main. At noon we were about four leagues from the main, which we saw extending to the northward, as far as N.W. by N., all flat and sandy. Our latitude, by observation, was 11° 23′ S., and our longitude 217° 46′ W.; our soundings were from fourteen to twenty-three fathom; but these, as well as the shoals and islands, which are too numerous to be particularly mentioned, will be best seen upon the chart. By one o'clock we had run nearly the length of the southernmost of the two islands in sight, and finding that the going to windward of them would carry us too far from the main, we bore up and ran to leeward, where, finding a fair open passage, we steered N. by W. in a direction parallel to the main, leaving a small island which lay between it and the ship, and some low sandy isles and shoals without us, of all which we lost sight by four o'clock, and saw no more before the sun went down: at this time the farthest part of the land in sight bore N.N.W. ½ W., and soon after we anchored in thirteen fathom, upon soft ground, at the distance of about five leagues from the land, where we lay till daylight.

Early in the morning we made sail again, and steered N.N.W. by compass, for the northernmost land in sight; and at this time, we observed the variation of the needle to be 3° 6′ E. At eight o'clock we discovered shoals ahead and on our larboard bow, and saw that the northernmost land, which we had taken for the main, was detached from it, and that we might pass between them, by running to leeward of the shoals on our larboard bow, which were now near us: we therefore wore and brought to, sending away the pinnace and yawl to direct us, and then steered N.W. along the S.W. or inside of the shoals, keeping a good look-out from the mast-head, and having another shoal on our larboard side: we found, however, a good channel of a mile broad between them, in which we had from ten to fourteen fathom. At eleven o'clock, we were nearly the length of the land detached from the main, and there appeared to be no obstruction in the passage between them; yet, having the long-boat astern and rigged, we sent her away to keep in-shore upon our larboard bow, and at the same time despatched the pinnace a-starboard; precautions which I thought necessary, as we had a strong flood that carried us on end very fast, and it was near high water: as soon as the boats were ahead, we stood after them, and by noon got through the passage. Our latitude, by observation, was then 10° 36′, and the nearest part of the main, which we soon after found to be the northernmost, bore W. 2 S., distant between three or four miles: we found the land, which was detached from the main, to be a single island, extending from N. to N. 75 E., distant between two and three miles; at the same time we saw other islands at a considerable distance, extending from N. by W. to W.N.W., and behind them another chain of high land, which we judged also to be islands; there were still other islands, extending as far as N. 71 W., which at this time we took for the main.

The point of the main which forms the side of the channel through which we passed, opposite to the island, is the northern promontory of the country, and I called it YORK CAPE. Its longitude is 218° 24′ W.; the latitude of the north point is 10° 37′, and of the east point 10° 42′ S. The land over the east point, and to the southward of it, is rather low, and as far as the eye can reach, very flat, and of a barren appearance. To the southward of the Cape the shore forms a large open bay, which I called NEWCASTLE BAY, and in which are some small low islands and shoals; the land adjacent is also very low, flat, and sandy. The land of the northern part of the Cape is more hilly, the valleys seem to be well clothed with wood, and the shore forms some small bays, in which there appeared to be good anchorage. Close to the eastern point of the Cape are three small islands, from one of which a small ledge of rocks runs out into the sea: there is also an island close to the northern point. The island that forms the strait or channel through which we had passed, lies about four miles without these, which, except two, are very small: the southernmost is the largest, and much higher than any part of the main land. On the north-west side of this island there appeared to be good anchorage, and on shore, valleys that promised both wood and water. These islands are distinguished in the chart by the name of YORK ISLES. To the southward and south-east, and even to the eastward and northward of them, there are several other low islands, rocks, and shoals; our depth of water, in sailing between them and the main, was twelve, thirteen, and fourteen fathom.

We stood along the shore to the westward, with a gentle breeze at S.E. by S., and when we had advanced between three and four miles, we discovered the land ahead, which, when we first saw it, we took for the main, to be islands detached from it by several channels. Upon this we sent away the boats, with proper instructions, to lead us through that channel which was next the main; but soon after discovering rocks and shoals in this channel, I made a signal for the boats to go through the next channel to the northward, which lay between these islands, leaving some of them between us and the main: the ship followed, and had never less than five fathom water in the narrowest part of the channel, where the distance from island to island was about one mile and a half.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, we anchored, being about a mile and a half, or two miles, within the entrance, in six fathom and a half, with clear ground: the channel here had begun to widen, and the islands on each side of us were distant about a mile: the main land stretched away to the S.W., the farthest point in view bore S. 48 W., and the southernmost point of the islands, on the north-west side of the passage, bore S. 76 W. Between these two points we could see no land, so that we conceived hopes of having, at last, found a passage into the Indian sea; however, that I might be able to determine with more certainty, I resolved to land upon the island which lies at the south-east point of the passage. Upon this island we had seen many of the inhabitants when we first came to an anchor; and when I went into the boat with a party of men, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, in order to go ashore, we saw ten of them upon a hill: nine of them were armed with such lances as we had been used to see, and the tenth had a bow, and a bundle of arrows, which we had never seen in the possession of the natives of this country before: we also observed, that two of them had large ornaments of mother-of-pearl hanging round their necks. Three of these, one of whom was the bowman, placed themselves upon the beach abreast of us, and we expected that they would have opposed our landing, but when we came within about a musket's shot of the beach, they walked leisurely away. We immediately climbed the highest hill, which was not more than three times as high as the mast-head, and the most barren of any we had seen. From this hill, no land could be seen between the S.W. and W.S.W., so that I had no doubt of finding a channel through. The land to the north-west of it consisted of a great number of islands of various extent, and different heights, ranged one behind another, as far to the northward and westward as I could see, which could not be less than thirteen leagues. As I was now about to quit the eastern coast of New Holland, which I had coasted from latitude 38 to this place, and which I am confident no European had ever seen before, I once more hoisted English colours, and though I had already taken possession of several particular parts, I now took possession of the whole eastern coast, from latitude 38° to this place, latitude 10½ S., in right of his Majesty King George the Third, by the name of NEW

South Wales, with all the bays, harbours, rivers, and islands situated upon it: we then fired three volleys of small arms, which were answered by the same number from the ship. Having performed this ceremony upon the island, which we called Possession Island, we reimbarked in our boat, but a rapid ebb tide setting N.E., made our return to the vessel very difficult and tedious. From the time of our last coming among the shoals, we constantly found a moderate tide, the flood setting to the N.W., and the ebb to the S.E. At this place, it is high water at the full and change of the moon, about one or two o'clock, and the water rises and falls perpendicularly about twelve feet. We saw smoke rising in many places from the adjacent lands and islands, as we had done upon every part of the coast, after our last return to it through the reef.

We continued at anchor all night, and between seven and eight o'clock in the morning we saw three or four of the natives upon the beach gathering shell-fish; we discovered, by the help of our glasses, that they were women, and, like all the other inhabitants of this country, stark naked. At low water, which happened about ten o'clock, we got under sail, and stood to the S.W. with a light breeze at E., which afterwards veered to N. by E.: our depth of water was from six to ten fathom, except in one place, where we had but five. At noon, Possession Island bore N. 53 E., distant four leagues; the western extremity of the main land in sight bore S. 43 W., distant between four and five leagues, and appeared to be extremely low; the south-west point of the largest island on the north-west side of the passage bore N. 71 W., distant eight miles, and this point I called Cape Cornwall. It lies in latitude 10° 43′ S., longitude 219° W.; and some low lands that lie about the middle of the passage, which I called Wallis's Isles, bore W. by S. ½ S., distant about two leagues: our latitude, by observation, was 10° 46′ S. We continued to advance with the tide of flood W.N.W., having little wind, and from eight to five fathom water. At half an hour after one, the pinnace, which was ahead, made the signal for shoal water, upon which we tacked, and sent away the yawl to sound also: we then tacked again, and stood after them: in about two hours, they both made the signal for shoal water, and the tide being nearly at its greatest height, I was afraid to stand on, as running aground at that time might be fatal; I therefore came to an anchor in somewhat less than seven fathom, sandy ground. Wallis's Islands bore S. by W. ½ W., distant five or six miles, the islands to the northward extended from S. 73 E. to N. 10 E., and a small island, which was just in sight, bore N.W. ½ W. Here we found the flood tide set to the westward, and the ebb to the eastward.

After we had come to an anchor, I sent away the master in the long-boat to sound, who, upon his return in the evening, reported that there was a bank stretching north and south, upon which there were but three fathom, and that beyond it there were seven. About this time it fell calm, and continued so till nine the next morning, when we weighed, with a light breeze at S.S.E., and steered N.W. by W. for the small island which was just in sight, having first sent the boats ahead to sound; the depth of water was eight, seven, six, five, and four fathom, and three fathom upon the bank, it being now the last quarter ebb. At this time, the northernmost island in sight bore N. 9 E., Cape Cornwall E., distant three leagues, and Wallis's Isles S. 3 E., distant three leagues. This bank, at least so much as we have sounded, extends nearly N. and S., but to what distance I do not know: its breadth is not more than half a mile at the utmost. When we had got over the bank, we deepened our water to six fathom three quarters, and had the same depth all the way to the small island ahead, which we reached by noon, when it bore S., distant about half a mile. Our depth of water was now five fathom, and the northernmost land in sight, which is part of the same chain of islands that we had seen to the northward from the time of our first entering the strait, bore N. 71 E. Our latitude, by observation, was 10° 33′ S., and our longitude 219° 22′ W.: in this situation, no part of the main was in sight. As we were now near the island, and had but little wind, Mr. Banks and I landed upon it, and found it, except a few patches of wood, to be a barren rock, the haunt of birds, which had frequented it in such numbers as to make the surface almost uniformly white with their dung: of these birds, the greater part seemed to be boobies, and I therefore called the place Booby Island. After a short stay, we returned to the ship, and in the mean time the wind had got to the S. W.; it was but a gentle breeze, yet it was accompanied by a swell from the same quarter,

which, with other circumstances, confirmed my opinion that we were got to the westward of Carpentaria, or the northern extremity of New Holland, and had now an open sea to the westward, which gave me great satisfaction, not only because the dangers and fatigues of the voyage were drawing to an end, but because it would no longer be a doubt whether New Holland and New Guinea were two separate islands, or different parts of the same.

The north-east entrance of this passage or strait, lies in the latitude of 10° 39′ S., and in the longitude of 218° 36′ W. It is formed by the main, or the northern extremity of New Holland, on the S.E., and by a congeries of islands, which I called the PRINCE OF WALES'S ISLANDS, to the N.W., and it is probable that these islands extend quite to New Guinea. They differ very much both in height and circuit, and many of them seemed to be well clothed with herbage and wood: upon most, if not all of them, we saw smoke, and therefore there can be no doubt of their being inhabited: it is also probable, that among them there are at least as good passages as that we came through, perhaps better, though better would not need to be desired, if the access to it, from the eastward, were less dangerous: that a less dangerous access may be discovered, I think there is little reason to doubt; and to find it little more seems to be necessary than to determine how far the principal, or outer reef, which bounds the shoals to the eastward, extends towards the north, which I would not have left to future navigators if I had been less harassed by danger and fatigue, and had had a ship in better condition for the purpose.

To this channel, or passage, I have given the name of the ship, and called it ENDEAVOUR STRAITS. Its length from N.E. to S.W. is ten leagues, and it is about five leagues broad, except at the north-east entrance, where it is somewhat less than two miles, being contracted by the islands which lie there. That which I called Possession Island is of a moderate height and circuit, and this we left between us and the main, passing between it and two small round islands which lie about two miles to the N.W. of it. The two small islands, which I called Wallis's Islands, lie in the middle of the south-west entrance, and these we left to the southward. Our depth of water in the strait was from four to nine fathom, with everywhere good anchorage, except upon the bank, which lies two leagues to the northward of Wallis's Islands, where at low water there are but three fathom: for a more particular knowledge of this strait, and of the situations of the several islands and shoals on the eastern coast of New Wales, I refer to the chart, where they are delineated with all the accuracy that circumstances would admit *; yet, with respect to the shoals, I cannot pretend that one-half of them are laid down, nor can it be supposed possible that one-half of them should be discovered in the course of a single navigation: many islands also must have escaped my pencil, especially between latitude 20° and 22°, where we saw islands out at sea as far as an island could be distinguished: it must not therefore be supposed, by future navigators, that where no shoal or island is laid down in my chart, no shoal or island will be found in these seas: it is enough that the situation of those that appear in the chart is faithfully ascertained, and in general, I have the greatest reason to hope that it will be found as free from error as any that has not been corrected by subsequent and successive observations. The latitudes and longitudes of all, or most of the principal head-lands and bays, may be confided in, for we seldom failed of getting an observation once at least every day, by which to correct the latitude of our reckoning, and observations for settling the longitude were equally numerous, no opportunity that was offered by the sun and moon being suffered to escape. It would be injurious to the memory of Mr. Green, not to take this opportunity of attesting that he was indefatigable both in making observations and calculating upon them; and that, by his instructions and assistance, many of the petty officers were enabled both to observe and calculate with great exactness. This method of finding the longitude at sea may be put into universal practice, and may always be depended upon within half a degree, which is sufficient for all nautical purposes. If, therefore, observing and calculating were considered as necessary qualifications for every sea officer, the labours of the speculative theorist to solve this problem might be remitted, without much injury to mankind: neither will it be so difficult to acquire this qualification, or put it in practice, as may at first appear; for, with the assistance

* A general map of New Holland compiled from the best and latest authorities is substituted for the chart here referred to.—ED.

of the nautical almanack, and astronomical ephemeris, the calculations for finding the longitude will take up little more time than the calculation of an azimuth for finding the variation of the compass.

CHAPTER VI.—DEPARTURE FROM NEW SOUTH WALES; A PARTICULAR DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY, ITS PRODUCTS, AND PEOPLE: A SPECIMEN OF THE LANGUAGE, AND SOME OBSERVATIONS UPON THE CURRENTS AND TIDES.

Of this country, its products, and its people, many particulars have already been related in the course of the narrative, being so interwoven with the events as not to admit of a separation. I shall now give a more full and circumstantial description of each, in which, if some things should happen to be repeated, the greater part will be found new.

New Holland, or, as I have now called the eastern coast, New South Wales, is of a larger extent than any other country in the known world that does not bear the name of a continent; the length of coast along which we sailed, reduced to a straight line, is no less than twenty-seven degrees of latitude, amounting to near 2000 miles, so that its square surface must be much more than equal to all Europe. To the southward of 33 or 34, the land in general is low and level; farther northward it is hilly, but in no part can be called mountainous; and the hills and mountains, taken together, make but a small part of the surface, in comparison with the valleys and plains. It is, upon the whole, rather barren than fertile: yet the rising ground is chequered by woods and lawns, and the plains and valleys are in many places covered with herbage: the soil, however, is frequently sandy, and many of the lawns, or savannahs, are rocky and barren, especially to the northward, where, in the best spots, vegetation was less vigorous than in the southern part of the country; the trees were not so tall, nor was the herbage so rich. The grass in general is high, but thin, and the trees, where they are largest, are seldom less than forty feet asunder: nor is the country inland, as far as we could examine it, better clothed than the sea-coast. The banks of the bays are covered with mangroves, to the distance of a mile within the beach, under which the soil is a rank mud, that is always overflowed by a spring-tide; farther in the country we sometimes met with a bog, upon which the grass was very thick and luxuriant, and sometimes with a valley, that was clothed with underwood: the soil in some parts seemed to be capable of improvement, but the far greater part is such as can admit of no cultivation. The coast, at least that part of it which lies to the northward of 25° S., abounds with fine bays and harbours, where vessels may lie in perfect security from all winds.

If we may judge by the appearance of the country while we were there, which was in the very height of the dry season, it is well watered: we found innumerable small brooks and springs, but no great rivers; these brooks, however, probably become large in the rainy season. Thirsty Sound was the only place where fresh water was not to be procured for the ship, and even there one or two small pools were found in the woods, though the face of the country was everywhere intersected by salt creeks and mangrove land.

Of trees, there is no great variety. Of those that could be called timber, there are but two sorts: the largest is the gum-tree, which grows all over the country, and has been mentioned already: it has narrow leaves, not much unlike a willow; and the gum, or rather resin, which it yields, is of a deep red, and resembles the *sanguis draconis;* possibly it may be the same, for this substance is known to be the produce of more than one plant. It is mentioned by Dampier, and is perhaps the same that Tasman found upon Diemen's Land, where he says he saw "gum of the trees, and gum lac of the ground." The other timber tree is that which grows somewhat like our pines, and has been particularly mentioned in the account of Botany Bay. The wood of both these trees, as I have before remarked, is extremely hard and heavy. Besides these, here are trees covered with a soft bark that is easily peeled off, and is the same that in the East Indies is used for the calking of ships *.

* This tree belongs to the genus *Eucalyptus*. Two species known by the colonists as "Stringy bark" and "Boxwood," but more particularly the former, are preferred, as from them the bark is more readily stripped in pieces of the large size usually required. The several uses to which it is applied by the natives are noticed hereafter.—Ed

We found here the palm of three different sorts. The first, which grows in great plenty to the southward, has leaves that are platted like a fan: the cabbage of these is small, but exquisitely sweet; and the nuts, which it bears in great abundance, are very good food for hogs. The second sort bore a much greater resemblance to the true cabbage-tree of the West Indies; its leaves were large and pinnated, like those of the cocoa-nut; and these also produced a cabbage, which, though not so sweet as the other, was much larger. The third sort, which, like the second, was found only in the northern parts, was seldom more than ten feet high, with small pinnated leaves, resembling those of some kind of fern: it bore no cabbage, but a plentiful crop of nuts, about the size of a large chesnut, but rounder. As we found the hulls of these scattered round the places where the Indians had made their fires, we took for granted that they were fit to eat; those, however, who made the experiment, paid dear for their knowledge of the contrary, for they operated both as an emetic and cathartic with great violence. Still, however, we made no doubt but that they were eaten by the Indians; and, judging that the constitution of the hogs might be as strong as theirs, though our own had proved to be so much inferior, we carried them to the sty; the hogs ate them, indeed, and for some time, we thought, without suffering any inconvenience; but in about a week they were so much disordered, that two of them died, and the rest were recovered with great difficulty. It is probable, however, that the poisonous quality of these nuts may lie in the juice, like that of the cassada of the West Indies; and that the pulp, when dried, may be not only wholesome, but nutritious. Besides these species of the palm and mangroves, there were several small trees and shrubs altogether unknown in Europe, particularly one which produced a very poor kind of fig; another that bore what we called a plum, which it resembled in colour, but not in shape, being flat on the sides like a little cheese; and a third, that bore a kind of purple apple, which, after it had been kept a few days, became eatable, and tasted somewhat like a damson.

Here is a great variety of plants to enrich the collection of a botanist, but very few of them are of the esculent kind. A small plant, with long, narrow, grassy leaves, resembling that kind of bulrush which in England is called the Cat's-tail. yields a resin of a bright yellow colour, exactly resembling gamboge, except that it does not stain; it has a sweet smell, but its properties we had no opportunity to discover, any more than those of many others with which the natives appear to be acquainted, as they have distinguished them by names.

I have already mentioned the root and leaves of a plant resembling the cocco of the West Indies, and a kind of bean; to which may be added, a sort of parsley and purslain, and two kinds of yams, one shaped like a radish, and the other round, and covered with stringy fibres: both sorts are very small, but sweet; and we never could find the plants that produced them, though we often saw the places where they had been newly dug up; it is probable that the drought had destroyed the leaves, and we could not, like the Indians, discover them by the stalks.

Most of the fruits of this country such as they are, have been mentioned already. We found one in the southern part of the country resembling a cherry, except that the stone was soft; and another, not unlike a pine-apple in appearance, but of a very disagreeable taste, which is well known in the East Indies, and is called by the Dutch *Pyn Appel Boomen*.

Of the quadrupeds, I have already mentioned the dog, and particularly described the kanguroo, and the animal of the opossum kind, resembling the phalanger of Buffon; to which I can add only one more, resembling a polecat, which the natives call *Quoll;* the back is brown, spotted with white, and the belly white unmixed. Several of our people said they had seen wolves; but, perhaps, if we had not seen tracks that favoured the account, we might have thought them little more worthy of credit than he who reported that he had seen the devil.

Of bats, which hold a middle place between the beasts and the birds, we saw many kinds, particularly one which, as I have observed already, was larger than a partridge; we were not fortunate enough to take one either alive or dead, but it was supposed to be the same as Buffon has described by the name of *Rouset* or *Rouget*.

The sea and other water-fowl of this country, are gulls, shaggs, solan geese, or gannets, of two sorts; boobies, noddies, curlews, ducks, pelicans of an enormous size, and many others. The land-birds are crows, parrots, paroquets, cockatoos, and other birds of the same kind, of exquisite beauty; pigeons, doves, quails, bustards, herons, cranes, hawks, and eagles. The pigeons flew in numerous flocks, so that, notwithstanding their extreme shyness, our people frequently killed ten or twelve of them in a day: these birds are very beautiful, and crested very differently from any we had seen before.

Among other reptiles, here are serpents of various kinds, some noxious, and some harmless; scorpions, centipedes, and lizards. The insects are but few. The principal are the mosquito and the ant. Of the ant there are several sorts; some are as green as a leaf, and live upon trees, where they build their nests of various sizes, between that of a man's head and his fist. These nests are of a very curious structure: they are formed by bending down several of the leaves, each of which is as broad as a man's hand, and gluing the points of them together, so as to form a purse; the viscus used for this purpose, is an animal juice, which nature has enabled them to elaborate. Their method of first bending down the leaves, we had not an opportunity to observe; but we saw thousands uniting all their strength to hold them in this position, while other busy multitudes were employed within, in applying the gluten that was to prevent their returning back. To satisfy ourselves that the leaves were bent, and held down by the effort of these diminutive artificers, we disturbed them in their work, and as soon as they were driven from their station, the leaves on which they were employed, sprung up with a force much greater than we could have thought them able to conquer by any combination of their strength. But, though we gratified our curiosity at their expense, the injury did not go unrevenged; for thousands immediately threw themselves upon us, and gave us intolerable pain with their stings, especially those who took possession of our necks and our hair, from whence they were not easily driven: the sting was scarcely less painful than that of a bee; but, except it was repeated, the pain did not last more than a minute.

Another sort are quite black, and their operations and manner of life are not less extraordinary. Their habitations are the inside of the branches of a tree, which they contrive to excavate by working out the pith almost to the extremity of the slenderest twig; the tree at the same time flourishing, as if it had no such inmate. When we first found the tree we gathered some of the branches, and were scarcely less astonished than we should have been to find that we had profaned a consecrated grove, where every tree, upon being wounded, gave signs of life; for we were instantly covered with legions of these animals, swarming from every broken bough, and inflicting their stings with incessant violence. They are mentioned by Rumphius in his *Herbarium Amboinense*, vol. ii. p. 257; but the tree in which he saw their dwelling is very different from that in which we found them.

A third kind we found nested in the root of a plant, which grows on the bark of trees in the manner of mistletoe, and which they had perforated for that use. This root is commonly as big as a large turnip, and sometimes much bigger: when we cut it we found it intersected by innumerable winding passages, all filled with these animals, by which, however, the vegetation of the plant did not appear to have suffered any injury. We never cut one of these roots that was not inhabited, though some were not bigger than a hazel-nut. The animals themselves are very small, not more than half as big as the common red ant in England. They had stings, but scarcely force enough to make them felt; they had, however, a power of tormenting us in an equal, if not a greater degree; for the moment we handled the root, they swarmed from innumerable holes, and running about those parts of the body that were uncovered, produced a titillation more intolerable than pain, except it is increased to great violence. Rumphius has also given an account of this bulb and its inhabitants, vol. vi. p. 120, where he mentions another sort that are black.

We found a fourth kind, which are perfectly harmless, and almost exactly resemble the white ants of the East Indies; the architecture of these is still more curious than that of the others. They have houses of two sorts; one is suspended on the branches of trees, and the other erected upon the ground: those upon the trees are about three or four times as big as a man's head, and are built of a brittle substance, which seems to consist of small parts of

vegetables kneaded together with a glutinous matter, which their bodies probably supply; upon breaking this crust, innumerable cells, swarming with inhabitants, appear in a great variety of winding directions, all communicating with each other, and with several apertures that lead to other nests upon the same tree; they have also one large avenue, or covered way, leading to the ground, and carried on under it to the other nest or house that is constructed there. This house is generally at the root of a tree, but not of that upon which their other dwellings are constructed: it is formed like an irregularly sided cone, and sometimes is more than six feet high, and nearly as much in diameter. Some are smaller; and these are generally flat-sided, and very much resemble in figure the stones which are seen in many parts of England, and supposed to be the remains of druidical antiquity. The outside of these is of well-tempered clay, about two inches thick; and within are the cells, which have no opening outwards, but communicate only with the subterranean way to the houses on the tree, and to the tree near which they are constructed, where they ascend up the root, and so up the trunk and branches, under covered ways of the same kind as those by which they descended from their other dwellings. To these structures on the ground they probably retire in the winter, or rainy seasons, as they are proof against any wet that can fall; which those in the tree, though generally constructed under some overhanging branch, from the nature and thinness of their crust or wall, cannot be.

The sea in this country is much more liberal of food to the inhabitants than the land; and though fish is not quite so plenty here as they generally are in higher latitudes, yet we seldom hauled the seine without taking from fifty to two hundred weight. They are of various sorts; but except the mullet, and some of the shellfish, none of them are known in Europe: most of them are palatable, and some are very delicious. Upon the shoals and reef there are incredible numbers of the finest green turtle in the world, and oysters of various kinds, particularly the rock-oyster and the pearl-oyster. The gigantic cockles have been mentioned already; besides which there are sea-crayfish, or lobsters*, and crabs; of these, however, we saw only the shells. In the rivers and salt creeks there are alligators.

The only person who has hitherto given any account of this country or its inhabitants is Dampier; and though he is, in general, a writer of credit, yet in many particulars he is mistaken. The people whom he saw were indeed inhabitants of a part of the coast very distant from that which we visited; but we also saw inhabitants upon parts of the coast very distant from each other; and there being a perfect uniformity in person and customs among them all, it is reasonable to conclude that distance in another direction has not considerably broken it.

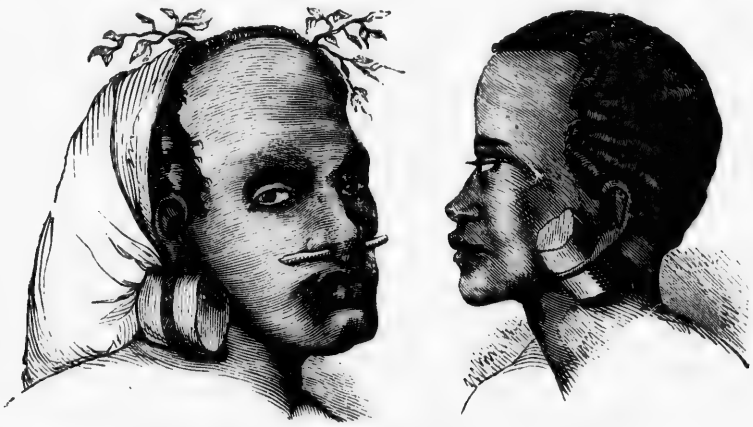
The number of inhabitants in this country appears to be very small in proportion to its extent. We never saw so many as thirty of them together but once, and that was at Botany Bay, when men, women, and children, assembled upon a rock to see the ship pass by: when they manifestly formed a resolution to engage us, they never could muster above fourteen or fifteen fighting men, and we never saw a number of their sheds or houses together that could accommodate a larger party. It is true, indeed, that we saw only the sea-coast on the eastern side; and that, between this and the western shore, there is an immense tract of country wholly unexplored: but there is great reason to believe that this immense tract is either wholly desolate, or at least still more thinly inhabited than the parts we visited. It is impossible that the inland country should subsist inhabitants at all seasons without cultivation: it is extremely improbable that the inhabitants of the coast should be totally ignorant of arts of cultivation, which were practised inland; and it is equally improbable that, if they knew such arts, there should be no traces of them among them. It is certain that we did

* A small and new species of lobster, which is very delicious eating, is found in the Yas River, and in the muddy ponds on the Yas plains. These are called by the aborigines *Murngonan*. They burrow deep into the mud. In the Munumbidgu, Yas, Tumas, and other large rivers, there is a different and larger species of lobster, which is frequently found in the stomachs of the river-cod. This kind is called *Mungola* by the natives; and they are captured measuring a foot and a foot and a half in length, and weighing three or four pounds. In March the season commences at Sydney for crayfish, which are caught in large quantities, and of enormous size, about the sea-coast, and are hawked about the street at a cheap rate; thus in this colony crayfish abound in the sea, and lobsters in the river—the reverse of the case at home.—See "Bennett's Wanderings in New South Wales," vol. i. p. 211.—Ed.

not see one foot of ground in a state of cultivation in the whole country, and therefore it may well be concluded, that where the sea does not contribute to feed the inhabitants, the country is not inhabited.

The only tribe with which we had any intercourse we found where the ship was careened: it consisted of one-and-twenty persons, twelve men, seven women, one boy, and one girl: the women we never saw but at a distance, for when the men came over the river they were always left behind. The men, here and in other places, were of a middle size, and in general well made, clean-limbed, and remarkably vigorous, active, and nimble: their countenances were not altogether without expression, and their voices were remarkably soft and effeminate.

Their skins were so uniformly covered with dirt, that it was very difficult to ascertain their true colour: we made several attempts, by wetting our fingers and rubbing it, to remove the incrustations, but with very little effect. With the dirt, they appear nearly as black as a negro, and according to our best discoveries, the skin itself is of the colour of wood soot, or what is commonly called a chocolate colour. Their features are far from being disagreeable; their noses are not flat, nor are their lips thick; their teeth are white and even, and their hair naturally long and black, it is, however, universally cropped short; in general, it is straight, but sometimes it has a slight curl; we saw none that was not matted and filthy, though without oil or grease, and to our great astonishment free from lice. Their beards were of the same colour with their hair, and bushy and thick; they are not, however, suffered to grow long. A man, whom we had seen one day with his beard somewhat longer than his companions, we saw the next with it somewhat shorter, and upon examination found the ends of the hairs burnt; from this incident, and our having never seen any sharp instrument among them, we concluded that both the hair and the beard were kept short by singeing them.



HEADS OF NEW HOLLANDERS, NATIVES OF MANEVAI, MALE AND FEMALE.
(The Man wears the Nose Ornament described in the Text.)

Both sexes, as I have already observed, go stark naked, and seem to have no more sense of indecency in discovering the whole body, than we have in discovering our hands and face. Their principal ornament is the bone, which they thrust through the cartilage that divides the nostrils from each other. What perversion of taste could make them think this a decoration, or what could prompt them, before they had worn it or seen it worn, to suffer the pain and inconvenience that must of necessity attend it, is perhaps beyond the power of human sagacity to determine. As this bone is as thick as a man's finger, and between five and six inches long, it reaches quite across the face, and so effectually stops up both the nostrils, that they are forced to keep their mouths wide open for breath, and snuffle so when they attempt to speak, that they are scarcely intelligible even to each other. Our

seamen, with some humour, called it their spritsail-yard; and, indeed, it had so ludicrous an appearance, that till we were used to it, we found it difficult to refrain from laughter. Beside this nose jewel, they had necklaces made of shells, very neatly cut and strung together; bracelets of small cord, wound two or three times about the upper part of their arm, and a string of plaited human hair about as thick as a thread of yarn, tied round the waist. Besides these, some of them had gorgets of shells hanging round the neck, so as to reach across the breast*. But though these people wear no clothes, their bodies have a covering besides the dirt, for they paint them both white and red: the red is commonly laid on in broad patches upon the shoulders and breast, and the white in stripes, some narrow, and some broad: the narrow were drawn over the limbs, and the broad over the body, not without some degree of taste. The white was also laid on in small patches upon the face, and drawn in a circle round each eye. The red seemed to be ochre, but what the white was we could not discover: it was close-grained, saponaceous to the touch, and almost as heavy as white lead; possibly it might be a kind of *Steatites*, but to our great regret we could not procure a bit of it to examine. They have holes in their ears, but we never saw any thing worn in them. Upon such ornaments as they had, they set so great a value, that they would never part with the least article for anything we could offer; which was the more extraordinary, as our beads and ribbons were ornaments of the same kind, but of a more regular form and more showy materials. They had, indeed, no idea of traffic, nor could we communicate any to them: they received the things that we gave them, but never appeared to understand our signs when we required a return. The same indifference which prevented them from buying what we had, prevented them also from attempting to steal: if they had coveted more, they would have been less honest; for when we refused to give them a turtle, they were enraged, and attempted to take it by force, and we had nothing else upon which they seemed to set the least value; for, as I have before observed, many of the things that we had given them we found left negligently about in the woods, like the playthings of children, which please only while they are new. Upon their bodies we saw no marks of disease or sores, but large scars in irregular lines, which appeared to be the remains of wounds which they had inflicted upon themselves with some blunt instrument, and which we understood by signs to have been memorials of grief for the dead.

They appeared to have no fixed habitations, for we saw nothing like a town or village in the whole country. Their houses, if houses they may be called, seemed to be formed with less art and industry than any we had seen, except the wretched hovels at Terra del Fuego, and in some respects they are inferior even to them. At Botany Bay, where they were best, they were just high enough for a man to sit upright in, but not large enough for him to extend himself in his whole length in any direction: they are built with pliable rods about as thick as a man's finger, in the form of an oven, by sticking the two ends into the ground, and then covering them with palm-leaves and broad pieces of bark: the door is nothing but a large hole at one end, opposite to which the fire is made, as we perceived by the ashes. Under these houses, or sheds, they sleep, coiled up with their heels to their head, and in this position one of them will hold three or four persons. As we advanced northward, and the climate became warmer, we found these sheds still more slight: they were built, like the others, of twigs, and covered with bark; but none of them were more than four feet deep, and one side was entirely open: the close side was always opposed to the course of the prevailing wind, and opposite to the open side was the fire, probably more as a defence from the mosquitoes than the cold. Under these hovels it is probable that they thrust only their heads and the upper part of their bodies, extending their feet towards the fire. They were set up occasionally by a wandering horde in any place that would furnish them for a time with subsistence, and left behind them when, after it was exhausted, they

* Captain King, in his Survey of Australia, vol. i. p. 157, says, "In one of the huts, which was of a more elliptical shape, and of larger dimensions than the other, was a bunch of hair that had been recently clipped from either the head or beard. This proves that these operations are not done solely by fire, as Captain Cook supposed, but by means of a sharp-edged shell, which must be both tedious and painful to endure; and we have often witnessed the delight shown by the natives at the speedy effect a pair of scissors has produced upon the beard or hair."

went away; but in places where they remained only for a night or two, they slept without any shelter, except the bushes or grass, which is here near two feet high. We observed, however, that though the sleeping huts, which we found upon the main, were always turned from the prevailing wind, those upon the islands were turned towards it; which seems to be a proof that they have a mild season here, during which the sea is calm, and that the same weather which enables them to visit the islands makes the air welcome even while they sleep.

The only furniture belonging to these houses that fell under our observation is a kind of oblong vessel made of bark, by the simple contrivance of tying up the two ends with a withy, which not being cut off serves for a handle; these we imagined were used as buckets to fetch water from the spring, which may be supposed sometimes to be at a considerable distance. They have, however, a small bag, about the size of a moderate cabbage-net, which is made by laying threads loop within loop, somewhat in the manner of knitting used by our ladies to make purses. This bag the man carries loose upon his back by a small string which passes over his head; it generally contains a lump or two of paint and resin, some fish-hooks and lines, a shell or two, out which their hooks are made, a few points of darts, and their usual ornaments, which includes the whole worldly treasure of the richest man among them.

Their fish-hooks are very neatly made, and some of them are exceedingly small. For striking turtle they have a peg of wood which is about a foot long, and very well bearded; this fits into a socket at the end of a staff of light wood, about as thick as a man's wrist, and about seven or eight feet long: to the staff is tied one end of a loose line about three or four fathom long, the other end of which is fastened to the peg. To strike the turtle, the peg is fixed into the socket, and when it has entered his body, and is retained there by the barb, the staff flies off, and serves for a float to trace their victim in the water; it assists also to tire him, till they can overtake him with their canoes, and haul him ashore. One of the pegs, as I have mentioned already, we found buried in the body of a turtle, which had healed up over it. Their lines are from the thickness of a half-inch rope to the fineness of a hair, and are made of some vegetable substance, but what in particular we had no opportunity to learn*.

Their food is chiefly fish, though they sometimes contrive to kill the kanguroo, and even birds of various kinds; notwithstanding, they are so shy that we found it difficult to get within reach of them with a fowling-piece. The only vegetable that can be considered as an article of food is the yam; yet doubtless they eat the several fruits which have been mentioned among other productions of the country; and indeed we saw the shells and hulls of several of them lying about the places where they had kindled their fire.

They do not appear to eat any animal food raw; but having no vessel in which water can be boiled, they either broil it upon the coals, or bake it in a hole by the help of hot stones, in the same manner as is practised by the inhabitants of the islands in the South Seas.

Whether they are acquainted with any plant that has an intoxicating quality, we do not know; but we observed that several of them held leaves of some sort constantly in their mouths, as a European does tobacco, and an East Indian betel: we never saw the plant, but when they took it from their mouths at our request; possibly it might be a species of the betel, but whatever it was, it had no effect upon the teeth or the lips.

As they have no nets, they catch fish only by striking, or with a hook and line, except such as they find in the hollows of the rocks and shoals, which are dry at half ebb.

Their manner of hunting we had no opportunity to see; but we conjectured by the notches which they had everywhere cut in large trees in order to climb them, that they took their station near the tops of them, and there watched for such animals as might happen to pass near enough to be reached by their lances: it is possible, also, that in this situation they might take birds when they came to roost.

* Captain King has the following note upon this passage: "The above method differs only from that used by the natives of Rockingham Bay and Cape Flinders, in that the float is another piece of light buoyant wood—the staff being retained in the hand when the turtle is struck. The reader will here recognise in this instrument, a striking resemblance to the *oonak* and *katteelik*, the weapons which Captain Parry describes the Esquimaux to use in spearing the seal and whale."—King's Survey of the Coasts of Australia, vol. i. p. 246.

I have observed that when they went from our tents upon the banks of Endeavour River, we could trace them by the fires which they kindled in their way; and we imagined that these fires were intended some way for the taking the kanguroo, which we observed to be so much afraid of fire, that our dogs could scarcely force it over places which had been newly burnt, though the fire was extinguished.

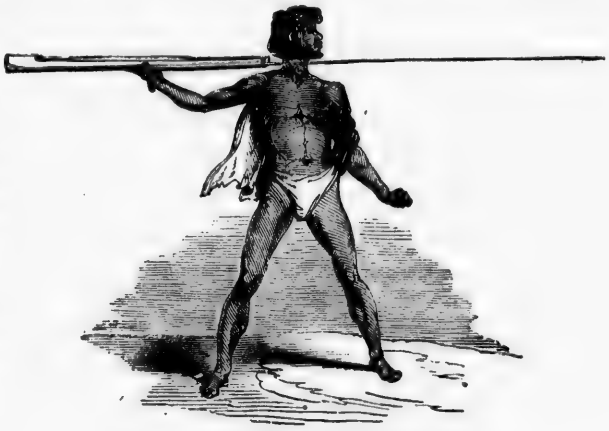
They produce fire with great facility, and spread it in a wonderful manner. To produce it they take two pieces of dry soft wood, one is a stick about eight or nine inches long, the other piece is flat: the stick they shape into an obtuse point at one end, and pressing it upon the other, turn it nimbly by holding it between both their hands as we do a chocolate mill, often shifting their hands up, and then moving them down upon it, to increase the pressure as much as possible. By this method they get fire in less than two minutes, and from the smallest spark, they increase it with great speed and dexterity. We have often seen one of them run along the shore, to all appearance with nothing in his hand, who stooping down for a moment, at the distance of every fifty or hundred yards, left fire behind him, as we could see first by the smoke, and then by the flame among the drift wood, and other litter which was scattered along the place We had the curiosity to examine one of these planters of fire, when he set off, and we saw him wrap up a small spark in dry grass, which, when he had run a little way, having been fanned by the air that his motion produced, began to blaze; he then laid it down in a place convenient for his purpose, inclosing a spark of it in another quantity of grass, and so continued his course.

There are perhaps few things in the history of mankind more extraordinary than the discovery and application of fire: it will scarcely be disputed that the manner of producing it, whether by collision or attrition, was discovered by chance: but its first effects would naturally strike those to whom it was a new object with consternation and terror: it would appear to be an enemy to life and nature, and to torment and destroy whatever was capable of being destroyed or tormented; and therefore it seems not easy to conceive what should incline those who first saw it receive a transient existence from chance, to reproduce it by design. It is by no means probable that those who first saw fire approached it with the same caution as those who are familiar with its effects, so as to be warmed only, and not burnt; and it is reasonable to think that the intolerable pain which, at its first appearance, it must produce upon ignorant curiosity, would sow perpetual enmity between this element and mankind; and that the same principle which incites them to crush a serpent would incite them to destroy fire, and avoid all means by which it would be produced, as soon as they were known. These circumstances considered, how men became sufficiently familiar with it to render it useful seems to be a problem very difficult to solve: nor is it easy to account for the first application of it to culinary purposes, as the eating both animal and vegetable food raw must have become a habit before there was fire to dress it, and those who have considered the force of habit will readily believe, that to men who had always eaten the flesh of animals raw, it would be as disagreeable dressed, as to those who have always eaten it dressed, it would be raw. It is remarkable that the inhabitants of Terra del Fuego produce fire from a spark by collision, and that the happier natives of this country, New Zealand, and Otaheite, produce it by the attrition of one combustible substance against another: is there not, then, some reason to suppose that these different operations correspond with the manner in which chance produced fire in the neighbourhood of the torrid and frigid zones? Among the rude inhabitants of a cold country, neither any operation of art, or occurrence of accident, could be supposed so easily to produce fire by attrition, as in a climate where everything is hot, dry, and adust, teeming with a latent fire which a slight degree of motion was sufficient to call forth; in a cold country, therefore, it is natural to suppose that fire was produced by the accidental collision of two metallic substances, and in a cold country, for that reason, the same expedient was used to produce it by design: but in hot countries, where two combustible substances easily kindle by attrition, it is probable that the attrition of such substances first produced fire, and here it was therefore natural for art to adopt the same operation, with a view to produce the same effect. It may indeed be true that fire is now produced in many cold countries by attrition, and in many hot by a stroke; but perhaps upon inquiry there may appear reason to conclude that this has arisen

from the communication of one country with another, and that with respect to the original production of fire in hot and cold countries, the distinction is well founded.

There may perhaps be some reason to suppose that men became gradually acquainted with the nature and effects of fire, by its permanent existence in a volcano, there being remains of volcanoes, or vestiges of their effects, in almost every part of the world: by a volcano, however, no method of producing fire, otherwise than by contact, could be learnt; the production and application of fire, therefore, still seem to afford abundant subject of speculation to the curious.

The weapons of these people are spears or lances, and these are of different kinds: some that we saw upon the southern part of the coast had four prongs, pointed with bone, and barbed; the points were also smeared with a hard resin, which gave them a polish, and made them enter deeper into what they struck. To the northward, the lance has but one point: the shaft is made of cane, or the stalk of a plant somewhat resembling a bulrush, very straight and light, and from eight to fourteen feet long, consisting of several joints, where the pieces are let into each other, and bound together; to this are fitted points of different kinds; some are of hard heavy wood, and some are the bones of fish: we saw several that were pointed with the stings of the sting-ray, the largest that they could procure, and barbed with several that were smaller, fastened on in a contrary direction; the points of wood were also sometimes armed with sharp pieces of broken shells, which were stuck in, and at the junctures covered with resin: the lances that are thus barbed are indeed dreadful weapons; for when once they have taken place, they can never be drawn back without tearing away the flesh, or leaving the sharp ragged splinters of the bone or shell which forms the beard behind them in the wound. These weapons are thrown with great force and dexterity: if intended to wound at a short distance, between ten and twenty yards, simply with the hand; but if at the distance of forty or fifty, with an instrument which we called a throwing stick. This is a plain smooth piece of a hard reddish wood, very highly polished, about two inches broad, half an inch thick, and three feet long, with a small knob, or hook at one end, and a cross piece about three or four inches long at the other: the knob at one end is received in a small dent or hollow, which is made for that purpose in the shaft of the lance near the point, but from which it easily slips, upon being impelled forward: when the lance is laid along upon this machine, and secured in a proper position by the knob, the person that is to throw it holds it over his shoulder, and after shaking it, delivers both the throwing-stick and lance with all his force; but the stick being stopped by the cross piece which comes against the shoulder, with a sudden jerk, the lance flies forward with incredible swiftness and with so good an aim, that at the distance of fifty yards these Indians were more sure of their mark than we could be with a single bullet. Besides these lances, we saw no offensive weapon upon this coast, except when we took our last view of it with our glasses, and then we thought we saw a man with a bow and arrows, in which it is possible we might be mistaken*. We saw, however, at Botany Bay, a shield or target of an oblong shape about three feet long and eighteen



NEW HOLLANDER USING THE THROWING-STICK.

* Dr. Hawkesworth here forgot the Boomerang which is mentioned page 205.—Ed.

inches broad, which was made of the bark of a tree: this was fetched out of a hut by one of the men that opposed our landing, who, when he ran away, left it behind him, and upon taking it up, we found that it had been pierced through with a single pointed lance near the centre. These shields are certainly in frequent use among the people here; for though this was the only one that we saw in their possession, we frequently found trees from which they appeared manifestly to have been cut, the marks being easily distinguished from those that were made by cutting buckets: sometimes also we found the shields cut out, but not yet taken off from the tree, the edges of the bark only being a little raised by wedges, so that these people appear to have discovered that the bark of a tree becomes thicker and stronger by being suffered to remain upon the trunk after it has been cut round.

NEW HOLLAND SHIELD.

The canoes of New Holland are as mean and rude as the houses. Those on the southern part of the coast are nothing more than a piece of bark, about twelve feet long, tied together at the ends, and kept open in the middle by small bows of wood: yet in a vessel of this construction we once saw three people. In shallow water they are set forward by a pole, and in deeper by paddles, about eighteen inches long, one of which the boatman holds in each hand; mean as they are, they have many conveniences, they draw but little water, and they are very light, so that they go upon mud banks to pick up shellfish, the most important use to which they can be applied, better perhaps than vessels of any other construction. We observed, that in the middle of these canoes there was a heap of sea-weed, and upon that a small fire; probably that the fish may be broiled and eaten the moment it is caught.

The canoes that we saw when we advanced farther to the northward, are not made of bark, but of the trunk of a tree hollowed, perhaps by fire. They are about fourteen feet long, and, being very narrow, are fitted with an outrigger to prevent their oversetting. These are worked with paddles, that are so large as to require both hands to manage one of them: the outside is wholly unmarked by any tool, but at each end the wood is left longer at the top than at the bottom, so that there is a projection beyond the hollow part resembling the end of a plank; the sides are tolerably thin, but how the tree is felled and fashioned, we had no opportunity to learn. The only tools that we saw among them are an adze, wretchedly made of stone, some small pieces of the same substance in form of a wedge, a wooden mallet, and some shells and fragments of coral. For polishing their throwing-sticks, and the points of their lances, they use the leaves of a kind of wild fig-tree, which bites upon wood almost as keenly as the shave-grass of Europe, which is used by our joiners: with such tools, the making even such a canoe as I have described must be a most difficult and tedious labour: to those who have been accustomed to the use of metal, it appears altogether impracticable; but there are few difficulties that will not yield to patient perseverance; and he who does all he can will certainly produce effects that greatly exceed his apparent power.

The utmost freight of these canoes is four people; and if more at any time wanted to come over the river, one of those who came first was obliged to go back for the rest: from this circumstance, we conjectured that the boat we saw, when we were lying in Endeavour River, was the only one in the neighbourhood we have however some reason to believe that the bark canoes are also used where the wooden ones are constructed; for upon one of the small islands where the natives had been fishing for turtle, we found one of the little paddles which had belonged to such a boat, and would have been useless on board any other.

By what means the inhabitants of this country are reduced to such a number as it can subsist, is not perhaps very easy to guess; whether, like the inhabitants of New Zealand, they are destroyed by the hands of each other in contests for food; whether they are swept off by accidental famine, or whether there is any cause which prevents the increase of the species, must be left for future adventurers to determine. That they have wars, appears by

their weapons; for supposing the lances to serve merely for the striking of fish, the shield could be intended for nothing but a defence against men; the only mark of hostility, however, which we saw among them, was the perforation of the shield by a spear, which has been just mentioned, for none of them appeared to have been wounded by an enemy. Neither can we determine whether they are pusillanimous or brave; the resolution with which two of them attempted to prevent our landing, when we had two boats full of men, in Botany Bay, even after one of them was wounded with small shot, gave us reason to conclude that they were not only naturally courageous, but that they had acquired a familiarity with the dangers of hostility, and were, by habit as well as nature, a daring and warlike people; but their precipitate flight from every other place that we approached, without even a menace, while they were out of our reach, was an indication of uncommon tameness and timidity, such as those who had only been occasionally warriors must be supposed to have shaken off, whatever might have been their natural disposition. I have faithfully related facts, the reader must judge of the people for himself.

From the account that has been given of our commerce with them, it cannot be supposed that we should know much of their language; yet as this is an object of great curiosity, especially to the learned, and of great importance in their researches into the origin of the various nations that have been discovered, we took some pains to bring away such a specimen of it as might, in a certain degree, answer the purpose, and I shall now give an account how it was procured. If we wanted to know the name of a stone, we took a stone up into our hands, and as well as we could, intimated by signs, that we wished they should name it: the word that they pronounced upon the occasion we immediately wrote down. This method, though it was the best we could contrive, might certainly lead us into many mistakes; for if an Indian was to take up a stone, and ask us the name of it, we might answer a pebble or a flint; so when we took up a stone, and asked an Indian the name of it, he might pronounce a word that distinguished the species and not the genus, or that, instead of signifying stone simply, might signify a rough stone, or a smooth stone; however, as much as possible to avoid mistakes of this kind, several of us contrived, at different times, to get from them as many words as we could, and having noted them down, compared our lists: those which were the same in all, and which, according to every one's account, signified the same thing, we ventured to record, with a very few others, which, from the simplicity of the subject, and the ease of expressing our question with plainness and precision by a sign, have acquired equal authority.

ENGLISH.	NEW HOLLAND.
The head	Wageegee.
Hair	Moryc.
Eyes	Meul.
Ears	Melea.
Lips	Yembe.
Nose	Bonjoo.
Tongue	Unjar.
Nails	Kulke.
Sun	Gallan.
Fire	Meanang.
A stone	Walba.
Sand	Yowall.
A rope	Gurka.
A man	Bama.
Beard	Wallar.
Neck	Doomboo.
Nipples	Cayo.
Hands	Marigal.
Thighs	Coman.
Navel	Toolpoor.
Knees	Pongo.
Feet	Edamal.
Heel	Kniorror.
Cockatoo	Wanda.
The sole of the foot	Chumal.
Ankle	Chougurn.
Arms	Aco, or Acol.

ENGLISH.	NEW HOLLAND.
Thumb	Eboorbalga.
The fore, middle, and ring fingers	Egalbaiga.
The little finger	Nakil, or Eboornakil.
The sky	Kere, or Kearre.
A father	Dunjo.
A son	Jumurre.
A male turtle	Poinga.
A female	Mameingo.
A canoe	Marigan.
To paddle	Pelenyo.
Sit down	Takai.
Smooth	Mier Carrar.
A dog	Cotta, or Kota.
A loriquet	Perpere, or pier-pier.
Blood	Garmbe.
Wood	Yocou.
The bone in the nose	Tapool.
A bag	Charngala.
A great cockle	Moingo.
Cocos, yams	Maracotu.
*Expressions, as we supposed, of admiration, which they continually used when they were in company with us**	Cherr. Cherco. Yarcaw. Tut, tut, tut, tut.

* Captain King, in his account of his second visit to Endeavour River (Survey of the coasts of Australia, vol. i.

I shall now quit this country, with a few observations relative to the currents and tide upon the coast. From latitude 32°, and somewhat higher, down to Sandy Cape, in latitude 24° 46′, we constantly found a current setting to the southward, at the rate of about ten or fifteen miles a day, being more or less, according to our distance from the land, for it always ran with more force in shore than in the offing; but I could never satisfy myself whether the flood-tide came from the southward, the eastward, or the northward; I inclined to the opinion that it came from the south-east, but the first time we anchored off the coast, which was in latitude 24° 30′, about ten leagues to the south-east of Bustard Bay, I found it come from the north-west; on the contrary, thirty leagues farther to the north-west, on the south side of Keppel Bay, I found that it came from the east, and at the northern part of tha Bay it came from the northward, but with a much slower motion than it had come from the east: on the east side of the Bay of Inlets, it set strongly to the westward, as far as the opening of Broad Sound; but on the north side of that sound, it came with a very slow motion from the north-west; and when we lay at anchor before Repulse Bay, it came from the northward: to account for its course in all this variety of directions, we need only admit that the flood-tide comes from the east, or south-east. It is well known, that where there are deep inlets, and large creeks into low lands, running up from the sea, and not occasioned by rivers of fresh water, there will always be a great indraught of the flood-tide, the direction of which will be determined by the position or direction of the coast which forms the entrance of such inlet, whatever be its course at sea; and where the tides are weak, which upon this coast is generally the case, a large inlet will, if I may be allowed the expression, attract the flood-tide for many leagues.

A view of the map will at once illustrate this position. To the northward of Whitsunday's Passage there is no large inlet, consequently the flood sets to the northward, or north-westward, according to the direction of the coast, and the ebb to the south, or south-eastward; at least such is their course at a little distance from the land, for very near it they will be influenced by small inlets. I also observed, that we had only one high tide in twenty-four hours, which happened in the night. The difference between the perpendicular rise of the water in the day and the night, when there is a spring-tide, is no less than three feet, which, where the tides are so inconsiderable as they are here, is a great proportion of the whole difference between high and low water. This irregularity of the tides, which is worthy of notice, we did not discover till we were run ashore, and perhaps farther to the northward it is still greater: after we got within the reef the second time, we found the tides more considerable than we had ever done before, except in the Bay of Inlets, and possibly this may be owing to the water being more confined between the shoals; here also the flood sets to the north-west, and continues in the same direction to the extremity of New Wales, from whence its direction is west and south-west into the Indian sea.

CHAPTER VII.—THE PASSAGE FROM NEW SOUTH WALES TO NEW GUINEA, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF WHAT HAPPENED UPON LANDING THERE.

In the afternoon of Thursday, August the 23d, after leaving Booby Island, we steered W.N.W., with light airs from the S.S.W. till five o'clock, when it fell calm, and the tide of ebb soon after setting to the N.E., we came to an anchor in eight fathom water, with a soft sandy bottom. Booby Island bore S. 50 E., distant five miles, and the Prince of Wales's Isles extended from N.E. by N. to S. 55 E.; between these there appeared to be a clear

p. 368), makes the following remarks in reference to this vocabulary:—"A few words were obtained by Mr. Cunningham, which served to confirm many we had possessed ourselves of last year; and which being afterwards compared with the vocabulary of the New South Wales' language given by Captain Cook, prove that he obtained it at Endeavour River. And here it is not a little curious to remark that of the only two words which materially differ in the two accounts, one of them is the name of the kangaroo. This word was repeatedly used to them last year, as well as this, accompanied by an imitation of the leap of the animal, which they readily understood; but on repeating the word *kangaroo*, they always corrected us by saying '*mēn-ŭ-ăh*.' This animal has, therefore, been distinguished by a name which chance alone gave it; and not, as has always been supposed, from the term applied to it by the natives of the part where Captain Cook first saw it. We may here observe that Captain Cook writes the name Kanguroo, instead of Kangaroo, the accepted modern spelling."—Ed.

open passage, extending from N. 46 E. to E. by N. At half an hour after five, in the morning of the 24th, as we were purchasing the anchor, the cable parted at about eight or ten fathom from the ring: the ship then began to drive, but I immediately dropped another anchor, which brought her up before she got more than a cable's length from the buoy; the boats were then sent to sweep for the anchor, but could not succeed. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was 10° 30′ S. As I was resolved not to leave the anchor behind, while there remained a possibility of recovering it, I sent the boats again after dinner, with a small line, to discover where it lay; this being happily effected, we swept for it with a hawser, and by the same hawser hove the ship up to it: we proceeded to weigh it, but just as we were about to ship it, the hawser slipped, and we had all our labour to repeat. By this time it was dark, and we were obliged to suspend our operations till the morning.

As soon as it was light we sweeped it again, and heaved it to the bows; by eight o'clock we weighed the other anchor, got under sail, and, with a fine breeze at E.N.E., stood to the north-west. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was 10° 18′ S., longitude 219° 39′ W. At this time we had no land in sight, but about two miles to the southward of us lay a large shoal, upon which the sea broke with great violence, and part of which, I believe, is dry at low-water. It extends N.W. and S.E., and is about five leagues in circuit. Our depth of water, from the time we weighed till now, was nine fathom, but it soon shallowed to seven fathom; and at half an hour after one, having run eleven miles between noon and that time, the boat which was a-head made the signal for shoal water; we immediately let go an anchor, and brought the ship up with all the sails standing, for the boat having just been relieved, was at but a little distance. Upon looking out from the ship, we saw shoal water almost all round us, both wind and tide at the same time setting upon it. The ship was in six fathom, but upon sounding round her, at the distance of half a cable's length, we found scarcely two. This shoal reached from the east, round by the north and west, as far as the south-west, so that there was no way for us to get clear but that which we came. This was another hair's-breadth escape, for it was near high-water, and there ran a short cockling sea, which must very soon have bulged the ship if she had struck; and if her direction had been half a cable's length more, either to the right or left, she must have struck before the signal for the shoal was made. The shoals which, like these, lie a fathom or two under water, are the most dangerous of any, for they do not discover themselves till the vessel is just upon them, and then indeed the water looks brown, as if it reflected a dark cloud. Between three and four o'clock, the tide of ebb began to make, and I sent the master to sound to the southward and south-westward; and in the mean time, as the ship tended, I weighed anchor, and with a little sail stood first to the southward, and afterwards, edging away to the westward, got once more out of danger. At sunset, we anchored in ten fathom, with a sandy bottom, having a fresh gale at E.S.E.

At six in the morning, we weighed again and stood west, having, as usual, first sent a boat a-head to sound. I had intended to steer N.W. till I had made the south coast of New Guinea, designing, if possible, to touch upon it; but upon meeting with these shoals, I altered my course, in hopes of finding a clearer channel and deeper water. In this I succeeded, for by noon our depth of water was gradually increased to seventeen fathom. Our latitude was now, by observation, 10° 10′ S., and our longitude 220° 12′ W. No land was in sight. We continued to steer west till sunset, our depth of water being from twenty-seven to twenty-three fathom. We then shortened sail, and kept upon a wind all night; four hours on one tack, and four on another. At daylight, we made all the sail we could, and steered W.N.W. till eight o'clock, and then N.W. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was 9° 56′ S., longitude 221° W., variation 2° 30′ E. We continued our N.W. course till sunset, when we again shortened sail, and hauled close upon a wind to the northward: our depth of water was twenty-one fathom. At eight, we tacked and stood to the southward till twelve; then stood to the northward with little sail till daylight. Our soundings were from twenty-five to seventeen fathom, the water growing gradually shallow as we stood to the northward. At this time we made sail and stood to the north, in order to make the land of New Guinea. From the time of our making sail till noon, the depth of water gradually decreased from seventeen to twelve fathom, with a stony and shelly bottom. Our

latitude, by observation, was now 8° 52′ S., which is in the same parallel as that in which the southern parts of New Guinea are laid down in the charts; but there are only two points so far to the south, and I reckoned that we were a degree to the westward of them both, and therefore did not see the land, which trends more to the northward. We found the sea here to be in many parts covered with a brown scum, such as sailors generally call spawn. When I first saw it, I was alarmed, fearing that we were among shoals; but, upon sounding, we found the same depth of water as in other places. This scum was examined both by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, but they could not determine what it was: it was formed of innumerable small particles, not more than half a line in length, each of which in the microscope appeared to consist of thirty or forty tubes; and each tube was divided through its whole length by small partitions into many cells, like the tubes of the conferva. They were supposed to belong to the vegetable kingdom, because, upon burning them, they produced no smell like that of an animal substance. The same appearance had been observed upon the coast of Brazil and New Holland, but never at any considerable distance from the shore. In the evening a small bird hovered about the ship, and at night, settling among the rigging, was taken. It proved to be exactly the same bird which Dampier has described, and of which he has given a rude figure, by the name of a Noddy, from New Holland.—(See his Voyages, vol. iii. p. 98. Tab. of Birds, fig. 5.)

We continued standing to the northward with a fresh gale at E. by S. and S.E. till six in the evening, having very irregular soundings, the depth changing at once from twenty-four fathom to seven. At four, we had seen the land from the mast-head, bearing N.W. by N.; it appeared to be very low, and to stretch from W.N.W. to N.N.E., distant four or five leagues. We now hauled close upon a wind till seven, then tacked and stood to the southward till twelve, at which time we wore and stood to the northward till four in the morning, then laid the head of the vessel off till daylight, when we again saw the land, and stood in N.N.W. directly for it, with a fresh gale at E. by S. Our soundings during the night were very irregular, from seven to five fathom, suddenly changing from deep to shallow, and from shallow to deep, without in the least corresponding with our distance from the land. At half an hour after six in the morning, a small low island, which lay at the distance of about a league from the main, bore N. by W., distant five miles: this island lies in latitude 8° 13′ S., longitude 221° 25′ W.; and I find it laid down in the charts by the names of Bartholomew and Whermoysen. We now steered N.W. by W., W.N.W., W. by N., W. by S., and S.W. by W., as we found the land lie, with from five to nine fathom; and though we reckoned we were not more than four leagues from it, yet it was so low and level, that we could but just see it from the deck. It appeared, however, to be well covered with wood, and among other trees, we thought we could distinguish the cocoa-nut. We saw smoke in several places, and therefore knew there were inhabitants. At noon, we were about three leagues from the land; the westernmost part of which that was in sight bore S. 79° W. Our latitude, by observation, was 8° 19′ S., and longitude 221° 44′ W. The island of St. Bartholomew bore N. 74 E., distant twenty miles.

After steering S.W. by W. six miles, we had shoal water on our starboard-bow, which I sent the yawl to sound, and at the same time hauled off upon a wind till four o'clock; and though, during that time, we had run six miles, we had not deepened our water an inch. We then edged away S.W. four miles more; but finding it still shoal water, I brought to, and called the boats aboard. At this time, being between three and four leagues from the shore, and the yawl having found only three fathom water in the place to which I had sent her to sound, I hauled off close upon a wind, and weathered the shoal about half a mile.

Between one and two o'clock, we passed a bay or inlet, before which lies a small island that seems to shelter it from the southerly winds; but I very much doubt whether there is sufficient depth of water behind it for shipping. I could not attempt to determine the question, because the S.E. trade-wind blows right into the bay, and we had not as yet had any breeze from the land. We stretched off to sea till twelve o'clock, when we were about eleven leagues from the land, and had deepened our water to twenty-nine fathom. We now tacked and stood in till five in the morning; when, being in six fathom and a half, we

tacked and laid the head of the vessel off till daylight, when we saw the land, bearing N.W. by W., at about the distance of four leagues We now made sail, and steered first W.S.W., then W. by S.; but coming into five fathom and a half, we hauled off S.W. till we deepened our water to eight fathom, and then kept away W. by S. and W., having nine fathom, and the land just in sight from the deck; we judged it to be about four leagues distant, and it was still very low and woody. Great quantities of the brown scum continued to appear upon the water, and the sailors, having given up the notion of its being spawn, found a new name for it, and called it Sea-sawdust. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was 8° 30′ S., our longitude 222° 34′ W.; and Saint Bartholomew's Isle bore N. 69 E., distant seventy-four miles.

As all this coast appears to have been very minutely examined by the Dutch, and as our track, with the soundings, will appear by the chart *, it is sufficient to say, that we continued our course to the northward with very shallow water, upon a bank of mud, at such a distance from the shore as that it could scarcely be seen from the ship, till the 3rd of September. During this time we made many attempts to get near enough to go on shore, but without success; and having now lost six days of fair wind, at a time when we knew the south-east monsoon to be nearly at an end, we began to be impatient of farther delay, and determined to run the ship in as near to the shore as possible, and then land with the pinnace, while she kept plying off and on, to examine the produce of the country, and the disposition of the inhabitants. For the last two days we had early in the morning a light breeze from the shore, which was strongly impregnated with the fragrance of the trees, shrubs, and herbage that covered it, the smell being something like that of Gum Benjamin. On the 3rd of September, at daybreak, we saw the land extending from N. by E. to S.E., at about four leagues distance, and we then kept standing in for it with a fresh gale at E.S.E. and E. by S. till nine o'clock, when being within about three or four miles of it, and in three fathom water, we brought to. The pinnace being hoisted out, I set off from the ship with the boat's crew, accompanied by Mr. Banks, who also took his servants, and Dr. Solander, being in all twelve persons well armed; we rowed directly towards the shore, but the water was so shallow that we could not reach it by about two hundred yards: we waded, however, the rest of the way, having left two of the seamen to take care of the boat. Hitherto we had seen no signs of inhabitants at this place; but as soon as we got ashore we discovered the prints of human feet, which could not long have been impressed upon the sand, as they were below high-water mark: we therefore concluded that the people were at no great distance, and, as a thick wood came down within a hundred yards of the water, we thought it necessary to proceed with caution, lest we should fall into an ambuscade, and our retreat to the boat be cut off. We walked along the skirts of the wood, and at the distance of about two hundred yards from the place where we landed, we came to a grove of cocoa-nut trees, which stood upon the banks of a little brook of brackish water. The trees were of a small growth, but well hung with fruit; and near them was a shed or hut, which had been covered with their leaves, though most of them were now fallen off: about the hut lay a great number of the shells of the fruit, some of which appeared to be just fresh from the tree. We looked at the fruit very wishfully, but not thinking it safe to climb, we were obliged to leave it without tasting a single nut. At a little distance from this place we found plantains, and a bread-fruit tree, but it had nothing upon it; and having now advanced about a quarter of a mile from the boat, three Indians rushed out of the wood with a hideous shout, at about the distance of a hundred yards; and as they ran towards us, the foremost threw something out of his hand, which flew on one side of him, and burnt exactly like gunpowder, but made no report: the other two instantly threw their lances at us; and, as no time was now to be lost, we discharged our pieces, which were loaded with small shot. It is probable that they did not feel the shot, for though they halted a moment, they did not retreat; and a third dart was thrown at us. As we thought their farther approach might be prevented with less risk of life, than it would cost to defend ourselves against their attack if they should come nearer, we loaded our

* The track will appear upon the general map, but the chart here alluded to is omitted in the present edition as valuable only for nautical purposes, and superseded by more modern publications.—ED.

pieces with ball, and fired a second time: by this discharge it is probable that some of them were wounded; yet we had the satisfaction to see that they all ran away with great agility As I was not disposed forcibly to invade this country, either to gratify our appetites or our curiosity, and perceived that nothing was to be done upon friendly terms, we improved this interval, in which the destruction of the natives was no longer necessary to our own defence, and with all expedition returned towards our boat. As we were advancing along the shore, we perceived that the two men on board made signals that more Indians were coming down; and before we got into the water, we saw several of them coming round a point at the distance of about five hundred yards: it is probable that they had met with the three who first attacked us; for as soon as they saw us they halted, and seemed to wait till their main body should come up. We entered the water, and waded towards the boat; and they remained at their station, without giving us any interruption. As soon as we were aboard we rowed abreast of them, and their number then appeared to be between sixty and a hundred. We now took a view of them at our leisure; they made much the same appearance as the New Hollanders, being nearly of the same stature, and having their hair short-cropped: like them also they were all stark naked, but we thought the colour of their skin was not quite so dark; this, however, might perhaps be merely the effect of their not being quite so dirty. All this while they were shouting defiance, and letting off their fires by four or five at a time. What these fires were, or for what purpose intended, we could not imagine: those who discharged them had in their hands a short piece of stick, possibly a hollow cane, which they swung sideways from them, and we immediately saw fire and smoke, exactly resembling those of a musket, and of no longer duration *. This wonderful phenomenon was observed from the ship, and the deception was so great, that the people on board thought they had fire-arms; and in the boat, if we had not been so near as that we must have heard the report, we should have thought they had been firing volleys. After we had looked at them attentively some time, without taking any notice of their flashing and vociferation, we fired some muskets over their heads: upon hearing the balls rattle among the trees, they walked leisurely away, and we returned to the ship. Upon examining the weapons they had thrown at us, we found them to be light darts, about four feet long, very ill-made, of a reed or bamboo cane, and pointed with hard wood, in which there were many barbs. They were discharged with great force; for though we were at sixty yards' distance, they went beyond us, but in what manner we could not exactly see: possibly they might be shot with a bow; but we saw no bows among them when we surveyed them from the boat, and we were in general of opinion, that they were thrown with a stick, in the manner practised by the New Hollanders.

This place lies in the latitude of 6° 15′ S., and about sixty-five leagues to the N.E. of Port St. Augustine, or Walche Caep, and is near what is called in the charts C. de la Colta de St. Bonaventura. The land here, like that in every other part of the coast, is very low, but covered with a luxuriance of wood and herbage that can scarcely be conceived. We saw the cocoa-nut, the bread-fruit, and the plantain-tree, all flourishing in a state of the highest perfection, though the cocoa-nuts were green, and the bread-fruit not in season: besides, most of the trees, shrubs, and plants that are common to the South Sea islands, New Zealand, and New Holland.

Soon after our return to the ship we hoisted in the boat and made sail to the westward, being resolved to spend no more time upon this coast, to the great satisfaction of a very considerable majority of the ship's company. But I am sorry to say that I was strongly urged by some of the officers to send a party of men ashore, and cut down the cocoa-nut trees for the sake of the fruit. This I peremptorily refused, as equally unjust and cruel. The natives had attacked us merely for landing upon their coast, when we attempted to take nothing away; and it was therefore morally certain that they would have made a vigorous effort to defend their property, if it had been invaded, in which case many of them must have fallen a sacrifice to our attempt, and perhaps also some of our own people. I should have regretted the necessity of such a measure, if I had been in want of the necessaries of

* These *fires* do not appear to have been observed by any other navigator; nor has their nature been hitherto explained.—ED.

life; and certainly it would have been highly criminal, when nothing was to be obtained but two or three hundred of green cocoa-nuts, which would at most have procured us a mere transient gratification. I might indeed have proceeded farther along the coast to the northward and westward, in search of a place where the ship might have lain so near the shore as to cover the people with her guns when they landed; but this would have obviated only part of the mischief, and though it might have secured us, would probably in the very act have been fatal to the natives. Besides, we had reason to think that before such a place

Bread Fruit. Cocoa-Nut. Plantain.

TREES OF NEW GUINEA.

would have been found, we should have been carried so far to the westward as to have been obliged to go to Batavia, on the north side of Java; which I did not think so safe a passage as to the south of Java, through the Straits of Sunda: the ship also was so leaky that I doubted whether it would not be necessary to heave her down at Batavia, which was another reason for making the best of our way to that place; especially as no discovery could be expected in seas which had already been navigated, and where every coast had been laid down by the Dutch geographers. The Spaniards indeed, as well as the Dutch, seem to have circumnavigated all the islands in New Guinea, as almost every place that is distinguished in the chart has a name in both languages. The charts with which I compared such part of the coast as I visited, are bound up with a French work, entitled "Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes," which was published in 1756, and I found them tolerably exact; yet I know not by whom, nor when they were taken: and though New Holland and New Guinea are in them represented as two distinct countries, the very History in which they are bound up leaves it in doubt. I pretend, however, to no more merit in this part of the voyage, than to have established the fact beyond all controversy.

As the two countries lie very near each other, and the intermediate space is full of islands, it is reasonable to suppose that they were both peopled from one common stock: yet no intercourse appears to have been kept up between them; for if there had, the cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, plantains, and other fruits of New Guinea, which are equally necessary for the support of life, would certainly have been transplanted to New Holland, where no traces of them are to be found. The author of the "Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes," in his account of Le Maire's voyage, has given a vocabulary of the language that is spoken

in an island near New Britain; and we find, by comparing that vocabulary with the words which we learnt in New Holland, that the languages are not the same. If, therefore, it should appear that the languages of New Britain and New Guinea are the same, there will be reason to suppose that New Britain and New Guinea were peopled from a common stock; but that the inhabitants of New Holland had a different origin, notwithstanding the proximity of the countries.

CHAPTER VIII. — THE PASSAGE FROM NEW GUINEA TO THE ISLAND OF SAVU, AND THE TRANSACTIONS THERE.

WE made sail, from noon on Monday the 3rd to noon on Tuesday the 4th, standing to the westward, and all the time kept in soundings, having from fourteen to thirty fathom; not regular, but sometimes more, sometimes less. At noon on the 4th, we were in fourteen fathom, and latitude 60° 44′ S., longitude 223° 51′ W.; our course and distance since the 3rd at noon, were S. 76 W. one hundred and twenty miles to the westward. At noon on the 5th of September we were in latitude 7° 25′ S., longitude 225° 41′ W.; having been in soundings the whole time from ten to twenty fathom.

At half an hour after one in the morning of the next day we passed a small island, which bore from us N.N.W., distant between three and four miles; and at daylight we discovered another low island, extending from N.N.W. to N.N.E., distant about two or three leagues. Upon this island, which did not appear to be very small, I believe I should have landed to examine its produce, if the wind had not blown too fresh to admit of it. When we passed this island we had only ten fathom water, with a rocky bottom; and therefore I was afraid of running down to leeward, lest I should meet with shoal water and foul ground. These islands have no place in the charts, except they are the Arrou islands; and if these, they are laid down much too far from New Guinea. I found the south part of them to lie in latitude 7° 6′ S., longitude 225° W. We continued to steer W.S.W. at the rate of four miles and a half an hour, till ten o'clock at night, when we had forty-two fathom; at eleven we had thirty-seven, at twelve forty-five, at one in the morning forty-nine, and at three one hundred and twenty, after which we had no ground. At daylight we made all the sail we could, and at ten o'clock saw land, extending from N.N.W. to W. by N., distant between five and six leagues: at noon it bore from N. to W., and at about the same distance: it appeared to be level, and of a moderate height. By our distance from New Guinea, it ought to have been part of the Arrou islands, but it lies a degree farther to the south than any of these islands are laid down in the charts, and by the latitude should be Timor Laoet: we sounded, but had no ground with fifty fathom. As I was not able to satisfy myself from any chart what land it was that I saw to leeward, and fearing that it might trend away more southerly, the weather also being so hazy that we could not see far, I steered S.W., and by four had lost sight of the island. I was now sure that no part of it lay to the southward of 8° 15′ S., and continued standing to the S.W. with an easy sail, and a fresh breeze at S.E. by E., and E.S.E.: we sounded every hour, but had no bottom with 120 fathom.

At day-break, in the morning, we steered W.S.W., and afterwards W. by S., which by noon brought us into the latitude of 9° 30′ S., longitude 229° 34′ W., and by our run from New Guinea, we ought to have been within sight of Weasel isles, which in the charts are laid down at the distance of twenty or twenty-five leagues from the coast of New Holland: we, however, saw nothing, and, therefore, they must have been placed erroneously; nor can this be thought strange, when it is considered that not only these islands, but the coast which bounds this sea, have been discovered and explored by different people, and at different times, and the charts upon which they are delineated put together by others, perhaps at the distance of more than a century after the discoveries had been made; not to mention that the discoverers themselves had not all the requisites for keeping an accurate journal, of which those of the present age are possessed. We continued our course, steering W. till the evening of the 8th, when the variation of the compass, by several azimuths, was 12′ W., and by the amplitude 5′ W. At noon, on the 9th, our latitude, by observation, was 9° 46′ S., longitude 232° 7′ W. For the last two days, we had steered due W., yet by

observation, we made sixteen miles southing, six miles from noon on the 6th to noon on the 7th, and ten miles from noon on the 7th to noon on the 8th, by which it appeared that there was a current setting to the southward. At sunset we found the variation to be 2′ W., and at the same time saw an appearance of very high land bearing N.W.

In the morning of the 10th we saw clearly that what had appeared to be land the night before, was Timor. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was 10° 1′ S., which was fifteen miles to the southward of that given by the log; our longitude, by observation, was 233° 27′ W. We steered N.W. in order to obtain a more distinct view of the land in sight, till four o'clock in the morning of the 11th, when the wind came to the N.W. and W., with which we stood to the southward till nine, when we tacked and stood N.W., having the wind now at W.S.W. At sunrise the land had appeared to extend from W.N.W. to N.E., and at noon we could see it extend to the westward as far as W. by S. ½ S., but no farther to the eastward than N. by E. We were now well assured, that as the first land we had seen was Timor, the last island we had passed was Timor Laoet, or Laut. Laoet is a word in the language of Malacca signifying "sea," and this island was named by the inhabitants of that country. The south part of it lies in latitude 8° 15′ S., longitude 228° 10′ W., but in the charts the south point is laid down in various latitudes, from 8° 30′ to 9° 30′: it is indeed possible that the land we saw might be some other island, but the presumption to the contrary is very strong: for if Timor Laut had lain where it is placed in the charts, we must have seen it there. We were now in latitude 9° 37′ S.; longitude, by an observation of the sun and moon, 233° 54′ W.; we were the day before in 233° 27′; the difference is 27′, exactly the same that was given by the log: this, however, is a degree of accuracy in observation that is seldom to be expected. In the afternoon we stood in shore till eight in the evening, when we tacked and stood off, being at the distance of about three leagues from the land, which at sunset extended from S.W. ½ W. to N.E.: at this time we sounded, and had no ground with 140 fathom. At midnight, having but little wind, we tacked and stood in, and at noon the next day our latitude, by observation, was 9° 36′ S. This day we saw smoke on shore in several places, and had seen many fires during the night. The land appeared to be very high, rising in gradual slopes one above another: the hills were in general covered with thick woods, but among them we could distinguish naked spots of a considerable extent, which had the appearance of having been cleared by art. At five o'clock in the afternoon we were within a mile and a half of the shore, in sixteen fathom water, and abreast of a small inlet into the low land, which lies in latitude 9° 34′ S., and probably is the same that Dampier entered with his boat, for it did not seem to have sufficient depth of water for a ship. The land here answered well to the description that he has given of it: close to the beach it was covered with high spiry trees, which he mentions as having the appearance of pines; behind these there seemed to be salt-water creeks, and many mangroves, interspersed however with cocoa-nut trees: the flat land at the beach appeared in some places to extend inward two or three miles before the rise of the first hill; in this part, however, we saw no appearance of plantations or houses, but great fertility; and from the number of fires, we judged that the place must be well peopled.

When we had approached within a mile and a half of the shore, we tacked and stood off, and the extremes of the coast then extended from N.E. by E. to W. by S. S. The south-westerly extremity was a low point, distant from us about three leagues. While we were standing in for the shore, we sounded several times, but had no ground till we came within about two miles and a half, and then we had five-and-twenty fathom, with a soft bottom. After we had tacked, we stood off till midnight, with the wind at S.; we then tacked and stood two hours to the westward, when the wind veered to S.W. and W.S.W., and we then stood to the southward again. In the morning we found the variation to be 1° 10′ W. by the amplitude, and by the azimuth 1° 27′. At noon our latitude was, by observation, 9° 45′ S., our longitude 234° 12′ W.; we were then about seven leagues distant from the land, which extended from N. 31 E., to W.S.W. ½ W.

With light land breezes from W. by N. for a few hours in a morning, and sea breezes from S.S.W. and S., we advanced to the westward but slowly. At noon, on the 14th, we were between six and seven leagues from the land, which extended from N. by E. to S. 78

W.; we still saw smoke in many places by day, and fire by night, both upon the low land and the mountains beyond it. We continued steering along the shore, till the morning of the 15th, the land still appearing hilly, but not so high as it had been: the hills in general came quite down to the sea, and where they did not, we saw instead of flats anu mangrove land, immense groves of cocoa-nut trees, reaching about a mile up from the beach: there the plantations and houses commenced, and appeared to be innumerable. The houses were shaded by groves of the fan-palm, or *borassus*, and the plantations, which were inclosed by a fence, reached almost to the tops of the highest hills. We saw, however, neither people nor cattle, though our glasses were continually employed, at which we were not a little surprised. We continued our course, with little variation, till nine o'clock in the morning of the 16th, when we saw the small island called ROTTE; and at noon the island SEMAU, lying off the south end of Timor, bore N.W.

Dampier, who has given a large description of the island of Timor, says, that it is seventy leagues long, and sixteen broad, and that it lies nearly N.E. and S.W. I found the east side of it to lie nearest N.E. by E. and S.W. by W., and the south end to lie in latitude 10° 23′ S., longitude 236° 5′ W. We ran about forty-five leagues along the east side, and found the navigation altogether free from danger. The land, which is bounded by the sea, except near the south end is low for two or three miles within the beach, and in general intersected by salt creeks: behind the low land are mountains, which rise one above another to a considerable height. We steered W.N.W. till two in the afternoon, when being within a small distance of the north end of Rotte, we hauled up N.N.W. in order to go between it and Semau: after steering three leagues upon this course, we edged away N.W. and W. and by six we were clear of all the islands. At this time, the south part of Semau, which lies in latitude 10° 15′ S., bore N.E. distant four leagues, and the island of Rotte extended as far to the southward as S. 36 W. The north end of this island, and the south end of Timor, lie N. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. and S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W., and are about three or four leagues distant from each other. At the west end of the passage between Rotte and Semau, are two small islands, one of which lies near the Rotte shore, and the other off the south-west point of Semau; there is a good channel between them, about six miles broad, through which we passed. The isle of Rotte has not so lofty and mountainous an appearance as Timor, though it is agreeably diversified by hill and valley: on the north side, there are many sandy beaches, near which grew some trees of the fan-palm, but the far greater part was covered with a kind of brushy wood, that was without leaves. The appearance of Semau was nearly the same with that of Timor, but not quite so high. About ten o'clock at night, we observed a phenomenon in the heavens which, in many particulars, resembled the aurora borealis, and in others was very different: it consisted of a dull reddish light, and reached about twenty degrees above the horizon: its extent was very different at different times, but it was never less than eight or ten points of the compass: through and out of this passed rays of light of a brighter colour, which vanished, and were renewed nearly in the same time as those of the aurora borealis, but had no degree of the tremulous or vibratory motion which is observed in that phenomenon: the body of it bore S.S.E. from the ship, and it continued, without any diminution of its brightness, till twelve o'clock, when we retired to sleep, but how long afterwards I cannot tell.

Being clear of all the islands which are laid down in the maps we had on board, between Timor and Java, we steered a west course till six o'clock the next morning, when we unexpectedly saw an island bearing W.S.W., and at first I thought we had made a new discovery. We steered directly for it, and by ten o'clock were close in with the north side of it, where we saw houses, cocoa-nut trees, and to our very agreeable surprise, numerous flocks of sheep. This was a temptation not to be resisted by people in our situation, especially as many of us were in a bad state of health, and many still repining at my not having touched at Timor: it was therefore soon determined to attempt a commerce with people who appeared to be so well able to supply our many necessities, and remove at once the sickness and discontent that had got footing among us. The pinnace was hoisted out, and Mr. Gore, the second lieutenant, sent to see if there was any convenient place to land, taking with him some trifles as presents to the natives, if any of them should appear.

While he was gone, we saw from the ship two men on horseback, who seemed to be riding upon the hills for their amusement, and often stopped to look at the ship. By this we knew that the place had been settled by Europeans, and hoped, that the many disagreeable circumstances which always attend the first establishment of commerce with savages, would be avoided. In the mean time, Mr. Gore landed in a small sandy cove near some houses, and was met by eight or ten of the natives, who, as well in their dress as their persons, very much resembled the Malays: they were without arms, except the knives which it is their custom to wear in their girdles, and one of them had a jack-ass with him. They courteously invited him ashore, and conversed with him by signs, but very little of the meaning of either party could be understood by the other. In a short time, he returned with this report, and, to our great mortification, added, that there was no anchorage for the ship. I sent him, however, a second time, with both money and goods, that he might, if possible, purchase some refreshments, at least for the sick; and Dr. Solander went in the boat with him. In the mean time, I kept standing on and off with the ship, which at this time was within about a mile of the shore. Before the boat could land, we saw two other horsemen, one of whom was in a complete European dress, consisting of a blue coat, a white waistcoat, and a laced hat: these people, when the boat came to the shore, took little notice of her, but sauntered about, and seemed to look with great curiosity at the ship. We saw however other horsemen, and a great number of persons on foot, gather round our people, and to our great satisfaction perceived several cocoa-nuts carried into the boat, from which we concluded that peace and commerce were established between us.

After the boat had been ashore about an hour and a half, she made the signal for having intelligence that there was a bay to leeward, where we might anchor: we stood away directly for it, and the boat following, soon came on board. The lieutenant told us, that he had seen some of the principal people, who were dressed in fine linen, and had chains of gold round their necks: he said, that he had not been able to trade, because the owner of the cocoa-nuts was absent, but that about two dozen had been sent to the boat as a present, and that some linen had been accepted in return. The people, to give him the information that he wanted, drew a map upon the sand, in which they made a rude representation of a harbour to leeward, and a town near it: they also gave him to understand, that sheep, hogs, fowls, and fruit, might there be procured in great plenty. Some of them frequently pronounced the word Portuguese, and said something of Larntuca upon the island of Ende: from this circumstance, we conjectured that there were Portuguese somewhere upon the island, and a Portuguese, who was in our boat, attempted to converse with the Indians in that language, but soon found that they knew only a word or two of it by rote: one of them, however, when they were giving our people to understand that there was a town near the harbour to which they had directed us, intimated, that as a token of going right, we should see somewhat, which he expressed by crossing his fingers, and the Portuguese instantly conceived that he meant to express a cross. Just as our people were putting off, the horseman in the European dress came up, but the officer not having his commission about him, thought it best to decline a conference.

At seven o'clock in the evening, we came to an anchor in the bay to which we had been directed, at about the distance of a mile from the shore, in thirty-eight fathom water, with a clear sandy bottom. The north point of the bay bore N. 30 E., distant two miles and a half, and the south point, or west end of the island, bore S. 63 W. Just as we got round the north point, and entered the bay, we discovered a large Indian town or village, upon which we stood on, hoisting a jack on the fore top-mast head: soon after, to our great surprise, Dutch colours were hoisted in the town, and three guns fired; we stood on, however, till we had soundings, and then anchored.

As soon as it was light in the morning, we saw the same colours hoisted upon the beach, abreast of the ship; supposing therefore that the Dutch had a settlement here, I sent Lieutenant Gore ashore, to wait upon the governor, or the chief person residing upon the spot, and acquaint him who we were, and for what purpose we had touched upon the coast. As soon as he came ashore, he was received by a guard of between twenty and thirty Indians, armed with muskets, who conducted him to the town, where the colours had been

hoisted the night before, carrying with them those that had been hoisted upon the beach, and marching without any military regularity. As soon as he arrived, he was introduced to the raja, or king of the island; and by a Portuguese interpreter, told him, that the ship was a man-of-war belonging to the king of Great Britain, and that she had many sick on board, for whom we wanted to purchase such refreshments as the island afforded. His majesty replied, that he was willing to supply us with whatever we wanted, but that, being in alliance with the Dutch East India Company, he was not at liberty to trade with any other people, without having first procured their consent, for which, however, he said, he would immediately apply to a Dutchman who belonged to the company, and who was the only white man upon the island. To this man, who resided at some distance, a letter was immediately despatched, acquainting him with our arrival and request: in the mean time, Mr. Gore despatched a messenger to me, with an account of his situation, and the state of the treaty. In about three hours, the Dutch resident answered the letter that had been sent him, in person: he proved to be a native of Saxony, and his name is Johan Christopher Lange, and the same person whom we had seen on horseback in a European dress: he behaved with great civility to Mr. Gore, and assured him, that we were at liberty to purchase of the natives whatever we pleased. After a short time, he expressed a desire of coming on board, so did the king also, and several of his attendants: Mr. Gore intimated that he was ready to attend them, but they desired that two of our people might be left ashore as hostages: and in this also they were indulged.

About two o'clock, they all came aboard the ship, and our dinner being ready, they accepted our invitation to partake of it: I expected them immediately to sit down, but the king seemed to hesitate, and at last, with some confusion, said, he did not imagine that we, who were white men, would suffer him, who was of a different colour, to sit down in our company; a compliment soon removed his scruples, and we all sat down together with great cheerfulness and cordiality: happily we were at no loss for interpreters, both Dr. Solander and Mr. Sporing understanding Dutch enough to keep up a conversation with Mr. Lange, and several of the seamen were able to converse with such of the natives as spoke Portuguese. Our dinner happened to be mutton, and the king expressed a desire of having an English sheep; we had but one left, however that was presented to him: the facility with which this was procured encouraged him to ask for an English dog, and Mr. Banks politely gave up his greyhound: Mr. Lange then intimated that a spying-glass would be acceptable, and one was immediately put into his hand. Our guests then told us, that the island abounded with buffaloes, sheep, hogs, and fowls, plenty of which should be driven down to the beach the next day, that we might purchase as many of them as we should think fit: this put us all into high spirits, and the liquor circulated rather faster than either the Indians or the Saxon could bear; they intimated their desire to go away, however, before they were quite drunk, and were received upon deck, as they had been when they came aboard, by the marines under arms. The king expressed a curiosity to see them exercise, in which he was gratified, and they fired three rounds: he looked at them with great attention, and was much surprised at their regularity and expedition, especially in cocking their pieces; the first time they did it, he struck the side of the ship with a stick that he had in his hand, and cried out with great vehemence, that all the locks made but one clink. They were dismissed with many presents, and when they went away saluted with nine guns: Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went ashore with them; and as soon as they put off they gave us three cheers.

Our gentlemen, when they came ashore, walked up with them to the town, which consists of many houses, and some of them are large; they are however nothing more than a thatched roof, supported over a boarded floor by pillars about four feet high. They produced some of their palm-wine, which was the fresh unfermented juice of the tree; it had a sweet, but not a disagreeable taste; and hopes were conceived that it might contribute to recover our sick from the scurvy. Soon after it was dark, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander returned on board.

In the morning of the 19th, I went ashore with Mr. Banks, and several of the officers and gentlemen, to return the king's visit; but my chief business was to procure some of the

buffaloes, sheep, and fowls, which we had been told should be driven down to the beach. We were greatly mortified to find, that no steps had been taken to fulfil this promise; however, we proceeded to the house of assembly, which, with two or three more, had been erected by the Dutch East-India Company, and are distinguished from the rest by two pieces of wood resembling a pair of cow's horns, one of which is set up at each end of the ridge that terminates the roof; and these were certainly what the Indian intended to represent by crossing his fingers, though our Portuguese, who was a good Catholic, construed the sign into a cross, which had persuaded us that the settlement belonged to his countrymen. In this place we met Mr. Lange and the king, whose name was A Madocho Lomi Djara, attended by many of the principal people. We told them that we had in the boat goods of various kinds, which we proposed to barter for such refreshments as they would give us in exchange, and desired leave to bring them on shore; which being granted, they were brought ashore accordingly. We then attempted to settle the price of the buffaloes, sheep, hogs, and other commodities which we proposed to purchase, and for which we were to pay in money; but as soon as this was mentioned, Mr. Lange left us, telling us, that these preliminaries must be settled with the natives: he said, however, that he had received a letter from the governor of Concordia in Timor, the purport of which he would communicate to us when he returned.

As the morning was now far advanced, and we were very unwilling to return on board and eat salt provisions, when so many delicacies surrounded us ashore, we petitioned his majesty for liberty to purchase a small hog and some rice, and to employ his subjects to dress them for us. He answered very graciously, that if we could eat victuals dressed by his subjects, which he could scarcely suppose, he would do himself the honour of entertaining us. We expressed our gratitude, and immediately sent on board for liquors. About five o'clock, dinner was ready; it was served in six-and-thirty dishes, or rather baskets, containing alternately rice and pork; and three bowls of earthenware, filled with the liquor in which the pork had been boiled: these were ranged upon the floor, and mats laid round them for us to sit upon. We were then conducted by turns to a hole in the floor, near which stood a man with water in a vessel, made of the leaves of the fan-palm, who assisted us in washing our hands. When this was done, we placed ourselves round the victuals, and waited for the king. As he did not come, we inquired for him, and were told that the custom of the country did not permit the person who gave the entertainment to sit down with his guests; but that, if we suspected the victuals to be poisoned, he would come and taste it. We immediately declared that we had no such suspicion, and desired that none of the rituals of hospitality might be violated on our account. The prime minister and Mr. Lange were of our party, and we made a most luxurious meal: we thought the pork and rice excellent, and the broth not to be despised; but the spoons, which were made of leaves, were so small, that few of us had patience to use them. After dinner, our wine passed briskly about, and we again inquired for our royal host, thinking that though the custom of his country would not allow him to eat with us, he might at least share in the jollity of our bottle; but he again excused himself, saying, that the master of a feast should never be drunk, which there was no certain way to avoid but by not tasting the liquor. We did not, however, drink our wine where we had eaten our victuals; but as soon as we had dined, made room for the seamen and servants, who immediately took our places: they could not despatch all that we had left, but the women who came to clear away the bowls and baskets, obliged them to carry away with them what they had not eaten. As wine generally warms and opens the heart, we took an opportunity, when we thought its influence began to be felt, to revive the subject of the buffaloes and sheep, of which we had not in all this time heard a syllable, though they were to have been brought down early in the morning. But our Saxon Dutchman, with great phlegm, began to communicate to us the contents of the letter which he pretended to have received from the governor of Concordia. He said, that after acquainting him that a vessel had steered from thence towards the island where we were now ashore, it required him, if such ship should apply for provisions in distress, to relieve her; but not to suffer her to stay longer than was absolutely necessary, nor to make any large presents to the inferior people, or to leave any with those of superior

rank to be afterwards distributed among them: but he was graciously pleased to add, that we were at liberty to give beads and other trifles in exchange for petty civilities, and palm-wine. It was the general opinion, that this letter was a fiction; that the prohibitory orders were feigned with a view to get money from us for breaking them; and that, by precluding our liberality to the natives, this man hoped more easily to turn it into another channel.

In the evening, we received intelligence from our trading-place that no buffaloes or hogs had been brought down, and only a few sheep, which had been taken away before our people, who had sent for money, could procure it. Some fowls, however, had been bought, and a large quantity of a kind of syrup made of the juice of the palm-tree, which, though infinitely superior to molasses or treacle, sold at a very low price. We complained of our disappointment to Mr. Lange, who had now another subterfuge; he said, that if we had gone down to the beach ourselves, we might have purchased what we pleased; but that the natives were afraid to take money of our people, lest it should be counterfeit. We could not but feel some indignation against a man who had concealed this, being true; or alleged it, being false. I started up, however, and went immediately to the beach, but no cattle or sheep were to be seen, nor were any at hand to be produced. While I was gone, Lange, who knew well enough that I should succeed no better than my people, told Mr. Banks that the natives were displeased at our not having offered them gold for their stock; and that if gold was not offered, nothing would be bought. Mr. Banks did not think it worth his while to reply, but soon after rose up, and we all returned on board, very much dissatisfied with the issue of our negotiations. During the course of the day, the king had promised that some cattle and sheep should be brought down in the morning, and had given a reason for our disappointment somewhat more plausible; he said that the buffaloes were far up the country, and that there had not been time to bring them down to the beach.

The next morning we went ashore again: Dr. Solander went up to the town to speak to Lange, and I remained upon the beach, to see what could be done in the purchase of provisions. I found here an old Indian, who, as he appeared to have some authority, we had among ourselves called the prime minister; to engage this man in our interest, I presented him with a spying-glass, but I saw nothing at market except one small buffalo. I inquired the price of it, and was told five guineas: this was twice as much as it was worth; however, I offered three, which I could perceive the man who treated with me thought a good price; but he said he must acquaint the king with what I had offered before he could take it. A messenger was immediately despatched to his majesty, who soon returned, and said, that the buffalo would not be sold for anything less than five guineas. This price I absolutely refused to give; and another messenger was sent away with an account of my refusal: this messenger was longer absent than the other, and while I was waiting for his return, I saw, to my great astonishment, Dr. Solander coming from the town, followed by above a hundred men, some armed with muskets, and some with lances. When I inquired the meaning of this hostile appearance, the Doctor told me, that Mr. Lange had interpreted to him a message from the king, purporting that the people would not trade with us, because we had refused to give them more than half the value of what they had to sell; and that we should not be permitted to trade upon any terms longer than this day. Besides the officers who commanded the party, there came with it a man who was born at Timor, of Portuguese parents, and who, as we afterwards discovered, was a kind of colleague to the Dutch factor; by this man, what they pretended to be the king's order, was delivered to me, of the same purport with that which Dr. Solander had received from Lange. We were all clearly of opinion that this was a mere artifice of the factors to extort money from us, for which we had been prepared by the account of a letter from Concordia; and while we were hesitating what step to take, the Portuguese, that he might the sooner accomplish his purpose, began to drive away the people who had brought down poultry and syrup, and others that were now coming in with buffaloes and sheep. At this time, I glanced my eye upon the old man whom I had complimented in the morning with the spying-glass, and I thought, by his looks, that he did not heartily approve of what was doing; I therefore took him by the hand, and presented him with an old broad-sword. This instantly turned the scale in our

favour; he received the sword with a transport of joy, and flourishing it over the busy Portuguese, who crouched like a fox to a lion, he made him, and the officer who commanded the party, sit down upon the ground behind him: the people, who, whatever were the crafty pretences of these iniquitous factors for a Dutch company, were eager to supply us with whatever we wanted, and seemed also to be more desirous of goods than money, instantly improved the advantage that had been procured them, and the market was stocked almost in an instant. To establish a trade for buffaloes, however, which I most wanted, I found it necessary to give ten guineas for two, one of which weighed no more than a hundred and sixty pounds; but I bought seven more much cheaper, and might afterwards have purchased as many as I pleased almost upon my own terms, for they were now driven down to the water side in herds. In the first two that I bought so dear, Lange had certainly a share, and it was in hopes to obtain part of the price of others, that he had pretended that we must pay for them in gold. The natives, however, sold what they afterwards brought down much to their satisfaction, without paying part of the price to him as a reward for exacting money from us. Most of the buffaloes that we bought, after our friend, the prime minister, had procured us a fair market, were sold for a musket a piece, and at this price we might have bought as many as would have freighted our ship.

The refreshments which we procured here, consisted of nine buffaloes, six sheep, three hogs, thirty dozen of fowls, a few limes, and some cocoa-nuts; many dozen of eggs, half of which however proved to be rotten; a little garlic, and several hundred gallons of palm-syrup.

CHAPTER IX.—A PARTICULAR DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND OF SAVU, ITS PRODUCE AND INHABITANTS, WITH A SPECIMEN OF THEIR LANGUAGE.

THIS island is called by the natives SAVU; the middle of it lies in about the latitude 10° 35′ S., longitude 237° 30′ W.; and has in general been so little known that I never saw a map or chart in which it is clearly or accurately laid down. I have seen a very old one, in which it is called Sou, and confounded with Sandel Bosch. Rumphius mentions an island by the name of Saow; and he also says, that it is the same which the Dutch call Sandel Bosch; but neither is this island, nor Timor, nor Rotte, nor indeed any one of the islands that we have seen in these seas, placed within a reasonable distance of its true situation. It is about eight leagues long from east to west; but what is its breadth I do not know, as I saw only the north side. The harbour in which we lay is called Seba, from the district in which it lies: it is on the north-west side of the island, and well sheltered from the south-west trade-wind, but it lies open to the north-west. We were told, that there were two other bays where ships might anchor; that the best, called Timo, was on the south-west side of the south-east point: of the third we learnt neither the name nor situation. The sea-coast, in general, is low; but in the middle of the island there are hills of a considerable height. We were upon the coast at the latter end of the dry season, when there had been no rain for seven months; and we were told that when the dry season continues so long, there is no running stream of fresh water upon the whole island, but only small springs, which are at a considerable distance from the sea-side: yet nothing can be imagined so beautiful as the prospect of the country from the ship. The level ground next to the sea-side was covered with cocoa-nut trees, and a kind of palm called *Arecas;* and beyond them the hills, which rose in a gentle and regular ascent, were richly clothed, quite to the summit, with plantations of the fan-palm, forming an almost impenetrable grove. How much even this prospect must be improved, when every foot of ground between the trees is covered with verdure, by maize, and millet, and indigo, can scarcely be conceived but by a powerful imagination, not unacquainted with the stateliness and beauty of the trees that adorn this part of the earth. The dry season commences in March or April, and ends in October or November.

The principal trees of this island are the fan-palm, the cocoa-nut, tamarind, limes, oranges, and mangoes; and other vegetable productions are maize, Guinea corn, rice, millet, calle-

vances, and water-melons. We saw also one sugar-cane, and a few kinds of European garden-stuff; particularly celery, marjoram, fennel, and garlic. For the supply of luxury, it has betel, areca, tobacco, cotton, indigo, and a small quantity of cinnamon, which seems to be planted here only for curiosity; and indeed we doubted whether it was the genuine plant, knowing that the Dutch are very careful not to trust the spices out of their proper islands. There are however several kinds of fruit, besides those which have been already mentioned; particularly the sweet sop, which is well known to the West Indians, and a small oval fruit, called the *Blimbi*, both of which grow upon trees. The blimbi is about three or four inches long, and in the middle about as thick as a man's finger, tapering towards each end: it is covered with a very thin skin of a light green colour, and in the inside are a few seeds disposed in the form of a star: its flavour is a light, clean, pleasant acid, but it cannot be eaten raw; it is said to be excellent as a pickle; and stewed, it made a most agreeable sour sauce to our boiled dishes.

SAVU BUFFALO.

The tame animals are buffaloes, sheep, goats, hogs, fowls, pigeons, horses, asses, dogs and cats; and of all these there is great plenty. The buffaloes differ very considerably from the horned cattle of Europe in several particulars; their ears are much larger, their skins are almost without hair, their horns are curved towards each other, but together bend directly backwards, and they have no dewlaps. We saw several that were as big as a well-grown European ox, and there must be some much larger; for Mr. Banks saw a pair of horns which measured from tip to tip three feet nine inches and a half, across their widest diameter four feet one inch and a half, and in the whole sweep of their semicircle in front seven feet six inches and a half. It must however be observed, that a buffalo here of any given size does not weigh above half as much as an ox of the same size in England: those that we guessed to weigh four hundred weight did not weigh more than two hundred and fifty; the reason is, that so late in the dry season the bones are very thinly covered with flesh: there is not an ounce of fat in a whole carcase, and the flanks are literally nothing but skin and bone: the flesh however is well tasted and juicy, and I suppose better than the flesh of an English ox would be, if he was to starve in this sun-burnt country.

The horses are from eleven to twelve hands high, but though they are small, they are spirited and nimble, especially in pacing, which is their common step: the inhabitants generally ride them without a saddle, and with no better bridle than a halter. The sheep are of the kind which in England are called Bengal sheep, and differ from ours in many particulars. They are covered with hair instead of wool, their ears are very large, and hang down under their horns, and their noses are arched; they are thought to have a general resemblance to a goat, and for that reason are frequently called *cabritos*: their flesh we thought the worst mutton we had ever eaten, being as lean as that of the buffalo's, and without flavour. The hogs, however, were some of the fattest we had ever seen, though, as we were told, their principal food is the outside husks of rice, and the palm syrup dissolved in water. The fowls are chiefly of the game breed, and large, but the eggs are remarkably

small. Of the fish which the sea produces here, we know but little: turtles are sometimes found upon the coast, and are by these people, as well as all others, considered as a dainty.

The people are rather under, than over the middling size; the women especially are remarkably short and squat-built: their complexion is a dark brown, and their hair universally black and lank. We saw no difference in the colour of rich and poor, though in the South Sea islands, those that were exposed to the weather were almost as brown as the New Hollanders, and the better sort nearly as fair as the natives of Europe. The men are in general well made, vigorous, and active, and have a greater variety in the make and disposition of their features than usual: the countenances of the women, on the contrary, are all alike. The men fasten their hair up to the top of their heads with a comb, the women tie it behind in a club, which is very far from becoming. Both sexes eradicate the hair from under the arm, and the men do the same by their beards, for which purpose, the better sort always carry a pair of silver pincers hanging by a string round their necks; some, however, suffer a very little hair to remain upon their upper lips, but this is always kept short.

The dress of both sexes consists of cotton cloth, which being dyed blue in the yarn, and not uniformly of the same shade, is in clouds or waves of that colour, and even in our eye had not an inelegant appearance. This cloth they manufacture themselves, and two pieces, each about two yards long, and a yard and a half wide, make a dress: one of them is worn round the middle, and the other covers the upper part of the body: the lower edge of the piece that goes round the middle, the men draw pretty tight just below the fork, the upper edge of it is left loose, so as to form a kind of hollow belt, which serves them as a pocket to carry their knives, and other little implements which it is convenient to have about them. The other piece of cloth is passed through this girdle behind, and one end of it being brought over the left shoulder, and the other over the right, they fall down over the breast, and are tucked into the girdle before, so that by opening or closing the plaits, they can cover more or less of their bodies as they please; the arms, legs, and feet, are always naked. The difference between the dress of the two sexes consists principally in the manner of wearing the waist-piece, for the women, instead of drawing the lower edge tight, and leaving the upper edge loose for a pocket, draw the upper edge tight, and let the lower edge fall as low as the knees, so as to form a petticoat; the body-piece, instead of being passed through the girdle, is fastened under the arms, and cross the breast, with the utmost decency. I have already observed, that the men fastened the hair upon the top of the head, and the women tie it in a club behind, but there is another difference in the head-dress, by which the sexes are distinguished: the women wear nothing as a succedaneum for a cap, but the men constantly wrap something round their heads in the manner of a fillet; it is small, but generally of the finest materials that can be procured: we saw some who applied silk handkerchiefs to this purpose, and others that wore fine cotton, or muslin, in the manner of a small turban.

These people bore their testimony that the love of finery is a universal passion, for their ornaments were very numerous. Some of the better sort wore chains of gold round their necks, but they were made of plaited wire, and consequently were light and of little value; others had rings, which were so much worn, that they seemed to have descended through many generations; and one person had a silver-headed cane, marked with a kind of cipher, consisting of the Roman letters V, O, C, and therefore probably a present from the Dutch East India Company, whose mark it is: they have also ornaments made of beads, which some wear round their necks as a solitaire, and others, as bracelets, upon their wrists: these are common to both sexes, but the women have, besides, strings or girdles of beads, which they wear round their waists, and which serve to keep up their petticoat. Both sexes had their ears bored, nor was there a single exception that fell under our notice, yet we never saw an ornament in any of them; we never indeed saw either man or woman in anything but what appeared to be their ordinary dress, except the king and his minister, who in general wore a kind of night-gown of coarse chintz, and one of whom once received us in a black robe, which appeared to be made of what is called prince's stuff. We saw some boys, about twelve or fourteen years old, who had spiral circles of thick brass wire passed three or four times round their arms, above the elbow, and some men wore rings of ivory two inches in breadth, and

above an inch in thickness, upon the same part of the arm: these, we were told, were the sons of the rajas, or chiefs, who wore those cumbrous ornaments as badges of their high birth.

Almost all the men had their names traced upon their arms in indelible characters of a black colour, and the women had a square ornament of flourished lines, impressed in the same manner, just under the bend of the elbow. We were struck with the similitude between these marks, and those made by tattowing in the South Sea islands, and upon inquiring into its origin, we learnt that it had been practised by the natives long before any Europeans came among them; and that in the neighbouring islands, the inhabitants were marked with circles upon their necks and breasts. The universality of this practice, which prevails among savages in all parts of the world, from the remotest limits of North America, to the islands in the South Seas, and which probably differs but little from the method of staining the body that was in use among the ancient inhabitants of Britain, is a curious subject of speculation.*

The houses of Savu are all built upon the same plan, and differ only in size, being large in proportion to the rank and riches of the proprietor. Some are four hundred feet long, and some are not more than twenty: they are all raised upon posts, or piles, about four feet high, one end of which is driven into the ground, and upon the other end is laid a substantial floor of wood, so that there is a vacant space of four feet between the floor of the

STILTED HOUSES OF SAVU.

house and the ground. Upon this floor are placed other posts or pillars, that support a roof of sloping sides, which meet in a ridge at the top, like those of our barns: the eaves of this roof, which is thatched with palm leaves, reach within two feet of the floor, and overhang it as much: the space within is generally divided lengthwise into three equal parts; the middle part, or centre, is inclosed by a partition of four sides, reaching about six feet above

* In the account which Mr. Bossu has given of some Indians who inhabit the banks of the Arkansas, a river of North America, which rises in New Mexico, and falls into the Mississippi, he relates the following incident: "The Arkansas," says he, "have adopted me, and as a mark of my privilege, have imprinted the figure of a roe-buck upon my thigh, which was done in this manner: an Indian having burnt some straw, diluted the ashes with water, and with this mixture, drew the figure upon my skin; he then retraced it, by pricking the lines with needles, so as at every puncture just to draw the blood, and the blood mixing with the ashes of the straw, forms a figure which can never be effaced." See Travels through Louisiana, vol. i. p. 107.

the floor, and one or two small rooms are also sometimes taken off from the sides, the rest of the space under the roof is open, so as freely to admit the air and the light: the particular uses of these different apartments our short stay would not permit us to learn, except that the close room in the centre was appropriated to the women.

The food of these people consists of every tame animal in the country, of which the hog holds the first place in their estimation, and the horse the second; next to the horse is the buffalo, next to the buffalo their poultry, and they prefer dogs and cats to sheep and goats. They are not fond of fish, and, I believe, it is never eaten but by the poor people, nor by them except when their duty or business requires them to be upon the beach, and then every man is furnished with a light casting net, which is girt round him, and makes part of his dress; and with this he takes any small fish which happen to come in his way. The esculent vegetables and fruits have been mentioned already, but the fan-palm requires more particular notice, for at certain times it is a succedaneum for all other food both to man and beast. A kind of wine, called toddy, is procured from this tree, by cutting the buds which are to produce flowers, soon after their appearance, and tying under them small baskets, made of the leaves, which are so close as to hold liquids without leaking. The juice which trickles into these vessels, is collected by persons who climb the trees for that purpose, morning and evening, and is the common drink of every individual upon the island; yet a much greater quantity is drawn off than is consumed in this use, and of the surplus they make both a syrup and coarse sugar. The liquor is called *dua*, or *duac*, and both the syrup and sugar, *gula*. The syrup is prepared by boiling the liquor down in pots of earthen ware, till it is sufficiently inspissated; it is not unlike treacle in appearance, but is somewhat thicker, and has a much more agreeable taste: the sugar is of a reddish brown, perhaps the same with the Jugata sugar upon the continent of India, and it was more agreeable to our palates than any cane sugar, unrefined, that we had ever tasted. We were at first afraid that the syrup, of which some of our people ate very great quantities, would have brought on fluxes, but its aperient quality was so very slight, that what effect it produced was rather salutary than hurtful. I have already observed, that it is given with the husks of rice to the hogs, and that they grow enormously fat without taking any other food: we were told also, that this syrup is used to fatten their dogs and their fowls, and that the inhabitants themselves have subsisted upon this alone for several months, when other crops have failed, and animal food has been scarce. The leaves of this tree are also put to various uses, they thatch houses, and make baskets, cups, umbrellas, and tobacco pipes. The fruit is least esteemed, and as the blossoms are wounded for the tuac or toddy, there is not much of it: it is about as big as a large turnip, and covered, like the cocoa-nut, with a fibrous coat, under which are three kernels, that must be eaten before they are ripe, for afterwards they become so hard that they cannot be chewed; in their eatable state they taste not unlike a green cocoa-nut, and, like them, probably they yield a nutriment that is watery and unsubstantial.

FAN-PALM (*Corypha umbracaulifera*).

The common method of dressing food here is by boiling, and as fire-wood is very scarce,

and the inhabitants have no other fuel, they make use of a contrivance to save it, that is not wholly unknown in Europe, but is seldom practised except in camps. They dig a hollow under ground, in a horizontal direction, like a rabbit burrow, about two yards long, and opening into a hole at each end, one of which is large and the other small: by the large hole the fire is put in, and the small one serves for a draught. The earth over this burrow is perforated by circular holes, which communicate with the cavity below; and in these holes are set earthen pots, generally about three to each fire, which are large in the middle, and taper towards the bottom, so that the fire acts upon a large part of their surface. Each of these pots generally contains about eight or ten gallons, and it is surprising to see with how small a quantity of fire they may be kept boiling; a palm leaf, or a dry stalk, thrust in now and then, is sufficient: in this manner they boil all their victuals, and make all their syrup and sugar. It appears by Frazier's account of his voyage to the South Sea, that the Peruvian Indians have a contrivance of the same kind, and perhaps it might be adopted with advantage by the poor people even of this country, where fuel is very dear.

Both sexes are enslaved by the hateful and pernicious habit of chewing betel and areca, which they contract even while they are children, and practise incessantly from morning till night. With these they always mix a kind of white lime, made of coral stone and shells, and frequently a small quantity of tobacco, so that their mouths are disgustful in the highest degree both to the smell and the sight: the tobacco taints their breath, and the betel and lime make the teeth not only as black as charcoal, but as rotten too. I have seen men between twenty and thirty, whose fore-teeth have been consumed almost down to the gums, though no two of them were exactly of the same length or thickness, but irregularly corroded like iron by rust. This loss of teeth is, I think, by all who have written upon the subject, imputed to the tough and stringy coat of the areca-nut; but I impute it wholly to the lime: they are not loosened, or broken, or forced out, as might be expected, if they were injured by the continual chewing of hard and rough substances, but they are gradually wasted like metals that are exposed to the action of powerful acids; the stumps always adhering firmly to the socket in the jaw, when there is no part of the tooth above the gums: and possibly those who suppose that sugar has a bad effect upon the teeth of Europeans, may not be mistaken, for it is well known that refined loaf sugar contains a considerable quantity of lime; and he that doubts whether lime will destroy bone of any kind, may easily ascertain the fact by experiment.

If the people here are at any time without this odious mouthful, they are smoking. This operation they perform by rolling up a small quantity of tobacco, and putting it into one end of a tube about six inches long, and as thick as a goose-quill, which they make of a palm-leaf. As the quantity of tobacco in these pipes is very small, the effect of it is increased, especially among the women, by swallowing the smoke.

When the natives of this island were first formed into a civil society, is not certainly known, but at present it is divided into five principalities or nigrees: Laai, Seba, Regeeua, Timo, and Massara, each of which is governed by its respective raja or king. The raja of Seba, the principality in which we were ashore, seemed to have great authority, without much external parade or show, or much appearance of personal respect He was about five-and-thirty years of age, and the fattest man we saw upon the whole island: he appeared to be of a dull phlegmatic disposition, and to be directed almost implicitly by the old man who, upon my presenting him with a sword, had procured us a fair market, in spite of the craft and avarice of the Dutch factors. The name of this person was Mannu Djarme, and it may reasonably be supposed that he was a man of uncommon integrity and abilities, as, notwithstanding his possession of power in the character of a favourite, he was beloved by the whole principality. If any difference arises among the people, it is settled by the raja and his counsellors, without delay or appeal, and, as we were told, with the most solemn deliberation and impartial justice.

We were informed by Mr. Lange, that the chiefs who had successively presided over the five principalities of this island, had lived for time immemorial in the strictest alliance and most cordial friendship with each other; yet he said the people were of a warlike disposition, and had always courageously defended themselves against foreign invaders. We were told

also, that the island was able to raise, upon very short notice, 7300 fighting men, armed with muskets, spears, lances, and targets. Of this force, Laai was said to furnish 2600, Seba 2000, Regeeua 1500, Timo 800, and Massārā 400. Besides the arms that have been already mentioned, each man is furnished with a large pole-axe, resembling a wood-bill, except that it has a straight edge, and is much heavier: this, in the hands of people who have courage to come to close quarters with an enemy, must be a dreadful weapon; and we were told that they were so dexterous with their lances, that, at the distance of sixty feet, they would throw them with such exactness as to pierce a man's heart, and such force as to go quite through his body.

How far this account of the martial prowess of the inhabitants of Savu may be true, we cannot take upon us to determine; but during our stay we saw no appearance of it. We saw, indeed, in the town-house, or house of assembly, about one hundred spears and targets, which served to arm the people who were sent down to intimidate us at the trading-place; but they seemed to be the refuse of old armories, no two being of the same make or length, for some were six, and some sixteen feet long: we saw no lance among them, and as to the muskets, though they were clean on the outside, they were eaten into holes by the rust within; and the people themselves appeared to be so little acquainted with military discipline, that they marched like a disorderly rabble, every one having, instead of his target, a cock, some tobacco, or other merchandise of the like kind, which he took that opportunity to bring down to sell, and few or none of their cartridge-boxes were furnished with either powder or ball, though a piece of paper was thrust into the hole to save appearances. We saw a few swivel guns and pateraros at the town-house, and a great gun before it; but the swivels and pateraros lay out of their carriages, and the great gun lay upon a heap of stones, almost consumed with rust, with the touch-hole downwards, possibly to conceal its size, which might perhaps be little less than that of the bore.

We could not discover that among these people there was any rank of distinction between the raja and the land-owners: the land-owners were respectable in proportion to their possessions; the inferior ranks consist of manufacturers, labouring poor, and slaves. The slaves, like the peasants in some parts of Europe, are connected with the estate, and both descend together; but though the land owner can sell his slave, he has no other power over his person, not even to correct him, without the privity and approbation of the raja. Some have five hundred of these slaves, and some not half-a-dozen: the common price of them is a fat hog. When a great man goes out, he is constantly attended by two or more of them: one of them carries a sword or hanger, the hilt of which is commonly of silver, and adorned with large tassels of horse-hair; and another carries a bag which contains betel, areca, lime, and tobacco. In these attendants consists all their magnificence, for the raja himself has no other mark of distinction.

The chief object of pride among these people, like that of a Welshman, is a long pedigree of respectable ancestors, and, indeed, a veneration for antiquity seems to be carried farther here than in any other country: even a house that has been well inhabited for many generations, becomes almost sacred, and few articles either of use or luxury bear so high a price as stones, which having been long sat upon, are become even and smooth: those who can purchase such stones, or are possessed of them by inheritance, place them round their houses, where they serve as seats for their dependants.

Every raja sets up in the principal town of his province, or nigree, a large stone, which serves as a memorial of his reign. In the principal town of Seba, where we lay, there are thirteen such stones, besides many fragments of others, which had been set up in earlier times, and are now mouldering away: these monuments seem to prove that some kind of civil establishment here is of considerable antiquity. The last thirteen reigns in England make something more than 276 years. Many of these stones are so large, that it is difficult to conceive by what means they were brought to their present station, especially as it is the summit of a hill; but the world is full of memorials of human strength, in which the mechanical powers that have been since added by mathematical science, seem to be surpassed; and of such monuments there are not a few among the remains of barbarous antiquity in our own country, besides those upon Salisbury Plain. These stones not only

record the reigns of successive princes, but serve for a purpose much more extraordinary, and probably altogether peculiar to this country. When a raja dies, a general feast is proclaimed throughout his dominions, and all his subjects assemble round these stones almost every living creature that can be caught is then killed, and the feast lasts for a less or greater number of weeks or months, as the kingdom happens to be more or less furnished with live stock at the time; the stones serve for tables. When this madness is over, a fast must necessarily ensue, and the whole kingdom is obliged to subsist upon syrup and water, if it happens in the dry season, when no vegetables can be procured, till a new stock of animals can be raised from the few that have escaped by chance, or been preserved by policy from the general massacre, or can be procured from the neighbouring kingdoms. Such, however, is the account that we received from Mr. Lange.

We had no opportunity to examine any of their manufactures, except that of their cloth, which they spin, weave, and dye; we did not, indeed, see them employed, but many of the instruments which they use fell in our way. We saw their machine for clearing cotton of its seeds, which is made upon the same principles as those in Europe, but it is so small that it might be taken for a model or a toy; it consists of two cylinders, like our round rulers, somewhat less than an inch in diameter, one of which, being turned round by a plain winch, turns the other by means of an endless worm; and the whole machine is not more than fourteen inches long, and seven high; that which we saw had been much used, and many pieces of cotton were hanging about it, so that there is no reason to doubt its being a fair specimen of the rest. We also once saw their apparatus for spinning; it consisted of a bobbin, on which was wound a small quantity of thread, and a kind of distaff filled with cotton; we conjectured, therefore, that they spin by hand, as the women of Europe did before the introduction of wheels; and I am told that they have not yet found their way into some parts of it. Their loom seemed to be in one respect preferable to ours, for the web was not stretched upon a frame, but extended by a piece of wood at each end, round one of which the cloth was rolled, and round the other the threads; the web was about half a yard broad, and the length of the shuttle was equal to the breadth of the web, so that probably their work goes on but slowly. That they dyed this cloth we first guessed from its colour, and from the indigo which we saw in their plantations; and our conjecture was afterwards confirmed by Mr. Lange's account. I have already observed, that it is dyed in the yarn, and we once saw them dyeing what was said to be girdles for the women, of a dirty red, but with what drug we did not think it worth while to inquire.

The religion of these people, according to Mr. Lange's information, is an absurd kind of paganism, every man choosing his own god, and determining for himself how he should be worshipped; so that there are almost as many gods and modes of worship as people. In their morals, however, they are said to be irreproachable, even upon the principles of Christianity. No man is allowed more than one wife, yet an illicit commerce between the sexes is in a manner unknown among them; instances of theft are very rare; and they are so far from revenging a supposed injury by murder, that if any difference arises between them, they will not so much as make it the subject of debate, lest they should be provoked to resentment and ill-will, but immediately and implicitly refer it to the determination of their king.

They appeared to be a healthy and long-lived people; yet some of them were marked with the small-pox, which Mr. Lange told us had several times made its appearance among them, and was treated with the same precautions as the plague. As soon as a person was seized with the distemper, he was removed to some solitary place, very remote from any habitation, where the disease was left to take its course, and the patient supplied with daily food by reaching it to him at the end of a long pole. Of their domestic economy we could learn but little; in one instance, however, their delicacy and cleanliness are very remarkable. Many of us were ashore here three successive days, from a very early hour in the morning till it was dark, yet we never saw the least trace of an offering to Cloacina, nor could we so much as guess where they were made. In a country so populous this is very difficult to be accounted for; and perhaps there is no other country in the world where the secret is so effectually kept. The boats in use here are a kind of proa.

This island was settled by the Portuguese almost as soon as they first found their way into this part of the ocean; but they were in a short time supplanted by the Dutch. The Dutch, however, did not take possession of it, but only sent sloops to trade with the natives, probably for provisions to support the inhabitants of their spice islands, who, applying themselves wholly to the cultivation of that important article of trade, and laying out all their ground in plantations, can breed few animals. Possibly their supplies by this occasional traffic were precarious; possibly they were jealous of being supplanted in their turn; but however that be, their East India Company, about ten years ago, entered into a treaty with the Rajas, by which the Company stipulated to furnish each of them with a certain quantity of silk, fine linen, cutlery ware, arrack, and other articles, every year; and the Rajas engaged that neither they nor their subjects should trade with any person except the Company, without having first obtained their consent; and that they would admit a resident on behalf of the Company to reside upon the island, and see that their part of the treaty was fulfilled. They also engaged to supply annually a certain quantity of rice, maize, and calevances. The maize and calevances are sent to Timor in sloops, which are kept there for that purpose, each of which is navigated by ten Indians; and the rice is fetched away annually by a ship which brings the Company's returns, and anchors alternately in each of the three bays. These returns are delivered to the Rajas in the form of a present, and the cask of arrack they and their principal people never cease to drink as long as a drop of it remains.

In consequence of this treaty, the Dutch placed three persons upon the island; Mr. Lange, his colleague, the native of Timor, the son of an Indian woman by a Portuguese, and one Frederick Craig, the son of an Indian woman by a Dutchman. Lange visits each of the Rajas once in two months, when he makes the tour of the island, attended by fifty slaves on horseback. He exhorts these chiefs to plant, if it appears that they have been remiss, and observes where the crops are got in, that he may order sloops to fetch it; so that it passes immediately from the ground to the Dutch storehouses at Timor. In these excursions he always carries with him some bottles of arrack, which he finds of great use in opening the hearts of the Rajas with whom he is to deal. During the ten years that he had resided upon this island he had never seen a European besides ourselves, except at the arrival of the Dutch ship, which had sailed about two months before we arrived; and he is now to be distinguished from the natives only by his colour and his dress, for he sits upon the ground, chews his betel, and in every respect has adopted their character and manners. He has married an Indian woman of the island of Timor, who keeps his house after the fashion of her country; and he gave that as a reason for not inviting us to visit him, saying, that he could entertain us in no other manner than the Indians had done; and he spoke no language readily but that of the country.

The office of Mr. Frederick Craig is to instruct the youth of the country in reading and writing, and the principles of the Christian religion; the Dutch having printed versions of the New Testament, a catechism, and several other tracts, in the language of this and the neighbouring islands. Dr. Solander, who was at his house, saw the books, and the copy-books also, of his scholars, many of whom wrote a very fair hand. He boasted that there were no less than six hundred Christians in the township of Seba; but what the Dutch Christianity of these Indians may be, it is not perhaps very easy to guess, for there is not a church, nor even a priest, in the whole island.

While we were at this place, we made several inquiries concerning the neighbouring islands, and the intelligence which we received is to the following effect. A small island to the westward of Savu, the name of which we did not learn, produces nothing of any consequence but areca-nuts, of which the Dutch receive annually the freight of two sloops, in return for presents that they make to the islanders. Timor is the chief; and the Dutch residents on the other islands go thither once a year to pass their accounts. The place is nearly in the same state as in Dampier's time, the Dutch having there a fort and storehouses; and, by Lange's account, we might there have been supplied with every necessary that we expected to procure at Batavia, salt provisions and arrack not excepted. But the Portuguese are still in possession of several towns on the north side of the island, particularly Laphao and Sesial.

About two years before our arrival, a French ship was wrecked upon the east coast of

Timor; and after she had lain some days upon the shoal, a sudden gale broke her up at once, and drowned the captain, with the greatest part of the crew. Those who got ashore, among whom was one of the lieutenants, made the best of their way to Concordia; they were four days upon the road, where they were obliged to leave part of their company through fatigue, and the rest, to the number of about eighty, arrived at the town. They were supplied with every necessary, and sent back to the wreck, with proper assistance for recovering what could be fished up. They fortunately got up all their bullion, which was in chests, and several of their guns, which were very large. They then returned to the town, but their companions who had been left upon the road were missing, having, as it was supposed, been kept among the Indians, either by persuasion or force; for they are very desirous of having Europeans among them, to instruct them in the art of war. After a stay of more than two months at Concordia, their number was diminished nearly one-half by sickness, in consequence of the fatigue and hardship which they had suffered by the shipwreck, and the survivors were sent in a small vessel to Europe.

Rotte is in much the same situation as Savu; a Dutch factor resides upon it to manage the natives, and look after its produce, which consists, among other articles, of sugar. Formerly it was made only by bruising the canes, and boiling the juice to a syrup, in the same manner as toddy; but great improvements have lately been made in preparing this valuable commodity. The three little islands called the Solars are also under the influence of the Dutch settlement at Concordia: they are flat and low, but abound with provisions of every kind, and the middlemost is said to have a good harbour for shipping. Ende, another little island to the westward of the Solars, is still in the hands of the Portuguese, who have a good town and harbour on the north-east corner of it, called Larntuca: they had formerly a harbour on the south side of it, but that being much inferior to Larntuca, has for some time been altogether neglected.

The inhabitants of each of these little islands speak a language peculiar to themselves, and it is an object of Dutch policy to prevent, as much as possible, their learning the language of each other. If they spoke a common language, they would learn, by a mutual intercourse with each other, to plant such things as would be of more value to themselves than their present produce, though of less advantage to the Dutch; but their languages being different, they can communicate no such knowledge to each other, and the Dutch secure to themselves the benefit of supplying their several necessities upon their own terms, which it is reasonable to suppose are not very moderate. It is probably with a view to this advantage that the Dutch never teach their own language to the natives of these islands, and have been at the expense of translating the Testament and catechisms into the different languages of each; for in proportion as Dutch had become the language of their religion, it would have become the common language of them all

To this account of Savu, I [illegible] only add a small specimen of its language, by which it will appear to have some affinity with that of the South Sea Islands, many of the words being exactly the same, and the numbers manifestly derived from the same source.

A man	Momonne.	*The toes*	Kissovei yilla.
A woman	Mobunne.	*The arms*	Camacoo.
The head	Catoo.	*The hand*	Wulaba.
The hair	Row catoo.	*A buffalo*	Cabaou.
The eyes	Matta.	*A horse*	Djara.
The eyelashes	Rowna matta.	*A hog*	Vavee
The nose	Swanga.	*A sheep*	Doomba.
The cheeks	Cavaranga.	*A goat*	Kesavoo.
The ears	Wodeeloo.	*A dog*	Gusca.
The tongue	Vaio.	*A cat*	Maio.
The neck	Lacoco.	*A fowl*	Mannu.
The breasts	Soosoo.	*The tail*	Carow.
The nipples	Caboo soosoo.	*The beak*	Pangoutoo.
The belly	Dulloo.	*A fish*	Ica.
The navel	Assoo.	*A turtle*	Unjoo.
The thighs	Tooga.	*A cocoa-nut*	Nieu.
The knees	Rootoo.	*Fan-palm*	Boaceree.
The legs	Baibo.	*Areca*	Calella.
The feet	Dunceala.	*Betel*	Canana.

Lime	Aou.	*Four*	Uppah.
A fish-hook	Maänadoo.	*Five*	Lumma.
Tattow, the marks on the skin	Tata.	*Six*	Unna.
The sun	Lodo.	*Seven*	Pedu.
The moon	Wurroo.	*Eight*	Arru.
The sea	Aidassee.	*Nine*	Saou.
Water	Ailea.	*Ten*	Singooroo.
Fire	Aee.	*Eleven*	Singurung usse.
To die	Maate.	20	Lhuangoorso.
To sleep	Tabudge.	100	Sing assu.
To rise	Tateetoo.	1000	Setuppah.
One	Usse.	10,000	Selacussa.
Two	Lhua.	100,000	Serata.
Three	Tullu.	1,000,000	Sereboo.

In this account of the island of Savu it must be remembered, that except the facts in which we were parties, and the account of the objects which we had an opportunity to examine, the whole is founded merely upon the report of Mr. Lange, upon whose authority alone therefore it must rest.

CHAPTER X.—THE RUN FROM THE ISLAND OF SAVU TO BATAVIA, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE TRANSACTIONS THERE WHILE THE SHIP WAS REFITTING.

In the morning of Friday, the 21st of September, 1770, we got under sail, and stood away to the westward, along the north side of the island of Savu, and of the smaller that lies to the westward of it, which at noon bore from us S.S.E., distant two leagues. At four o'clock in the afternoon, we discovered a small low island, bearing S.S.W., distant three leagues, which has no place in any chart now extant, at least in none that I have been able to procure: it lies in latitude 10° 47′ S., longitude 238° 28′ W. At noon on the 22d, we were in latitude 11° 10′ S., longitude 240° 38′ W. In the evening of the 23d, we found the variation of the needle to be 2° 44′ W.; as soon as we got clear of the islands, we had constantly a swell from the southward, which I imagined was not caused by a wind blowing from that quarter, but by the sea being so determined by the position of the coast of New Holland.

At noon on the 26th, being in latitude 10° 47′ S., longitude 249° 52′ W., we found the variation to be 3° 10′ W., and our situation to be twenty-five miles to the northward of the log; for which I know not how to account. At noon, on the 27th, our latitude, by observation, was 10° 51′ S., which was agreeable to the log; and our longitude was 252° 11′ W. We steered N.W. all day on the 28th, in order to make the land of Java; and at noon, on the 29th, our latitude by observation was 9° 31′ S., longitude 254° 10′ W.; and in the morning of the 30th, I took into my possession the log-book and journals, at least all I could find, of the officers, petty officers, and seamen, and enjoined them secrecy with respect to where they had been. At seven in the evening, being in the latitude of Java Head, and not seeing any land, I concluded that we were too far to the westward: I therefore hauled up E.N.E., having before steered N. by E. In the night, we had thunder and lightning; and about twelve o'clock, by the light of the flashes, we saw the land bearing east. I then tacked and stood to the S.W. till four o'clock in the morning of the 1st of October; and at six, Java Head, or the west end of Java, bore S.E. by E., distant five leagues: soon after we saw Prince's Island, bearing E. ½ S.; and at ten, the island of Cracatoa, bearing N.E. Cracatoa is a remarkably high-peaked island, and at noon it bore N. 40 E., distant seven leagues.

I must now observe, that during our run from Savu, I allowed twenty minutes a-day for the westerly current, which I concluded must run strong at this time, especially off the coast of Java; and I found that this allowance was just equivalent to the effect of the current upon the ship. At four o'clock in the morning of the 2d, we fetched close in with the coast of Java, in fifteen fathom; we then stood along the coast, and early in the forenoon I sent the boat ashore to try if she could procure some fruit for Tupia, who was very ill, and some grass for the buffaloes that were still alive. In an hour or two she returned with four cocoa-nuts,

and a small bunch of plantains, which had been purchased for a shilling, and some herbage for the cattle, which the Indians not only gave us, but assisted our people to cut. The country looked like one continued wood, and [illegible] y pleasant appearance. About eleven o'clock, we saw two Dutch ships lying off Anger [illegible] at, and I sent Mr. Hicks on board of one of them to inquire news of our country, from which we had been absent so long. In the mean time it fell calm, and about noon I anchored in eighteen fathom with a muddy bottom. When Mr. Hicks returned, he reported that the ships were Dutch East Indiamen from Batavia, one of which was bound to Ceylon, and the other to the coast of Malabar; and that there was also a fly-boat or packet, which was said to be stationed here to carry letters from the Dutch ships that came hither to Batavia, but which I rather think was appointed to examine all ships that pass the Strait: from these ships we heard, with great pleasure, that the Swallow had been at Batavia about two years before.

At seven o'clock a breeze sprung up at S.S.W., with which having weighed, we stood to the N.E. between Thwart-the-way-Island and the Cap, sounding from eighteen to twenty-eight fathom: we had but little wind all night, and having a strong current against us, we got no further by eight in the morning than Bantam Point. At this time the wind came to the N.E., and obliged us to anchor in two-and-twenty fathom, at about the distance of two miles from the shore; the point bore N.E. by E., distant one league, and here we found a strong current setting to the N.W. In the morning we had seen the Dutch packet standing after us, but when the wind shifted to the N.E. she bore away. At six o'clock in the evening, the wind having obliged us to continue at anchor, one of the country boats came alongside of us, on board of which was the master of the packet. He seemed to have two motives for his visit, one to take an account of the ship, and the other to sell us refreshments; for in the boat were turtle, fowls, ducks, parrots, parroquets, rice-birds, monkeys, and other articles, which they held at a very high price, and brought to a bad market, for our Savu stock was not yet expended: however, I gave a Spanish dollar for a small turtle, which weighed about six-and-thirty pounds; I gave also a dollar for ten large fowls, and afterwards bought fifteen more at the same price; for a dollar we might also have bought two monkeys, or a whole cage of rice-birds. The master of the sloop brought with him two books, in one of which he desired that any of our officers would write down the name of the ship and its commander, with that of the place from which she sailed, and of the port to which she was bound, with such other particulars relating to themselves, as they might think proper, for the information of any of our friends that should come after us: and in the other he entered the names of the ship and the commander, himself, in order to transmit them to the Governor and Council of the Indies. We perceived that in the first book many ships, particularly Portuguese, had made entries of the same kind with that for which it was presented to us. Mr. Hicks, however, having written the name of the ship, only added "from Europe." He took notice of this, but said, that he was satisfied with anything we thought fit to write, it being intended merely for the information of those who should inquire after us from motives of friendship.

Having made several attempts to sail with a wind that would not stem the current, and as often come to an anchor, a proa came alongside of us in the morning of the 5th, in which was a Dutch officer, who sent me down a printed paper in English, duplicates of which he had in other languages, particularly in French and Dutch, all regularly signed, in the name of the Governor and Council of the Indies, by their secretary: it contained nine questions, very ill expressed in the following terms:

"1. To what nation the ship belongs, and its name?

"2. If it comes from Europe, or any other place?

"3. From what place it lastly departed from?

"4. Whereunto designed to go?

"5. What and how many ships of the Dutch Company by departure from the last shore there layed, and their names?

"6. If one or more of these ships in company with this, is departed for this or any other place?

"7. If during the voyage any particularities is happened or seen?

"8. If not any ships in sea, or the Straits of Sunda, have seen or hailed in, and which?

"9. If any other news worth of attention, at the place from whence the ship lastly departed, or during the voyage, is happened?

"BATAVIA, in the Castle.

"By order of the Governor-General

"and the Counsellors of India,

"J. BRANDER BUNGL, Sec."

Of these questions I answered only the first and the fourth; which when the officer saw, he said answers to the rest were of no consequence: yet he immediately added, that he must send that very paper away to Batavia, and that it would be there the next day at noon. I have particularly related this incident, because I have been credibly informed that it is but of late years that the Dutch have taken upon them to examine ships that pass through this Strait.

At ten o'clock the same morning, we weighed, with a light breeze at S.W.; but did little more than stem the current, and about two o'clock anchored again under Bantam Point, where we lay till nine; a light breeze then springing up at S.E., we weighed and stood to the eastward till ten o'clock the next morning, when the current obliged us again to anchor in twenty-two fathom, Pulababi bearing E. by S. ½ S., distant between three and four miles. Having alternately weighed and anchored several times, till four in the afternoon of the 7th, we then stood to the eastward, with a very faint breeze at N.E., and passed Wapen Island, and the first island to the eastward of it; when the wind dying away, we were carried by the current between the first and second of the islands that lie to the eastward of Wapen Island, where we were obliged to anchor in thirty fathom, being very near a ledge of rocks that run out from one of the islands. At two the next morning we weighed with the land wind at south, and stood out clear of the shoal; but before noon were obliged to come to again in twenty-eight fathom, near a small island among those that are called the Thousand Islands, which we did not find laid down in any chart. Pulo Pare at this time bore E.N.E., distance between six and seven miles.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went ashore upon the island, which they found not to be more than five hundred yards long, and one hundred broad; yet there was a house upon it, and a small plantation, where among other things was the *Palma Christi*, from which the castor-oil is made in the West Indies: they made a small addition to their collection of plants, and shot a bat, whose wings when extended measured three feet from point to point; they shot also four plovers, which exactly resembled the golden plover of England. Soon after they returned, a small Indian boat came alongside with two Malays on board, who brought three turtles, some dried fish, and a few pumpkins: we bought the turtle, which altogether weighed a hundred and forty-six pounds, for a dollar, and considering that we had lately paid the Dutchman a dollar for one that weighed only six-and-thirty pounds, we thought we had a good bargain. The seller appeared equally satisfied, and we then treated with him for his pumpkins, for which he was very unwilling to take any money but a dollar; we said that a whole dollar was greatly too much; to which he readily assented, but desired that we would cut one and give him a part: at last, however, a fine shining Portuguese petack tempted him, and for that he sold us his whole stock of pumpkins, being in number twenty-six. At parting, he made signs that we should not tell at Batavia that any boat had been aboard us.

We were not able to weather Pulo Pare this day, but getting the land wind at south about ten o'clock at night, we weighed and stood to the E.S.E. all night. At ten in the morning, we anchored again, to wait for the sea breeze; and at noon it sprung up at N.N.E., with which we stood in for Batavia road, where at four o'clock in the afternoon we came to an anchor.

We found here the Harcourt Indiaman from England, two English private traders of that country, thirteen sail of large Dutch ships, and a considerable number of small vessels. A boat came immediately on board from a ship which had a broad pendant flying, and the officer who commanded, having inquired who we were, and whence we came, immediately returned with such answers as we thought fit to give him: both he and his people were as

pale as spectres, a sad presage of our sufferings in so unhealthy a country; but our people, who, except Tupia, were all rosy and plump, seemed to think themselves so seasoned by various climates that nothing could hurt them. In the mean time, I sent a lieutenant ashore to acquaint the Governor of our arrival, and to make an excuse for our not saluting; for as I could salute with only three guns, except the swivels, which I was of opinion would not be heard, I thought it was better to let it alone. As soon as the boat was despatched, the carpenter delivered me an account of the defects of the ship, of which the following is a copy:

"The defects of his Majesty's bark Endeavour, Lieutenant James Cook Commander.

"The ship very leaky, as she makes from twelve to six inches water an hour, occasioned by her main keel being wounded in many places, and the scarfs of her stern being very open: the false keel gone beyond the midships from forward, and perhaps farther, as I had no opportunity of seeing for the water when hauled ashore for repairing: wounded on the larboard side under the main channel, where I imagine the greatest leak is, but could not come at it for the water: one pump on the larboard side useless; the others decayed within an inch and a half of the bore. Otherwise masts, yards, boats, and hull, in pretty good condition."

As it was the universal opinion that the ship could not safely proceed to Europe without an examination of her bottom, I determined to apply for leave to heave her down at this place; and as I understood that it would be necessary to make this application in writing, I drew up a request, and the next morning, having got it translated into Dutch, we all went ashore.

We repaired immediately to the house of Mr. Leith, the only Englishman of any credit who is resident at this place; he received us with great politeness, and engaged us to dinner: to this gentleman we applied for instructions how to provide ourselves with lodgings and necessaries while we should stay ashore, and he told us, that there was an hotel or kind of inn, kept by the order of government, where all merchants and strangers were obliged to reside, paying half per cent. upon the value of their goods for warehouse room, which the master of the house was obliged to provide; but that as we came in a king's ship we should be at liberty to live where we pleased, upon asking the governor's permission, which would be granted of course. He said, that it would be cheaper for us to take a house in the town, and bring our own servants ashore, if we had anybody upon whom we could depend to buy in our provisions; but as this was not the case, having no person among us who could speak the Malay language, our gentlemen determined to go to the hotel. At the hotel, therefore, beds were immediately hired, and word was sent that we should sleep there at night. At five o'clock in the afternoon, I was introduced to the governor-general, who received me very courteously; he told me, that I should have everything I wanted, and that in the morning my request should be laid before the council, which I was desired to attend.

About nine o'clock, we had a dreadful storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, during which the mainmast of one of the Dutch East Indiamen was split, and carried away by the deck; the main-top-mast and top-gallant mast were shivered all to pieces; she had an iron spindle at the main-top-gallant masthead, which probably directed the stroke. This ship lay not more than the distance of two cables' length from ours, and in all probability we should have shared the same fate, but for the electrical chain which we had but just got up, and which conducted the lightning over the side of the ship; but though we escaped the lightning, the explosion shook us like an earthquake, the chain at the same time appearing like a line of fire: a sentinel was in the action of charging his piece, and the shock forced the musket out of his hand, and broke the rammer rod. Upon this occasion, I cannot but earnestly recommend chains of the same kind to every ship, whatever be her destination, and I hope that the fate of the Dutchman will be a warning to all who shall read this narrative, against having an iron spindle at the masthead.

The next morning I attended at the council-chamber, and was told that I should have everything I wanted. In the mean time, the gentlemen ashore agreed with the keeper of the hotel for their lodging and board, at the rate of two rix-dollars, or nine shillings sterling,

a-day for each; and as there were five of them, and they would probably have many visitors from the ship, he agreed to keep them a separate table, upon condition that they should pay one rix-dollar for the dinner of every stranger, and another for his supper and bed, if he should sleep ashore. Under this stipulation, they were to be furnished with tea, coffee, punch, pipes and tobacco, for themselves and their friends, as much as they could consume; they were also to pay half a rupee, or one shilling and three-pence, a-day for each of their servants.

They soon learnt that these rates were more than double the common charges of board and lodging in the town; and their table, though it had the appearance of magnificence, was wretchedly served. Their dinner consisted of one course of fifteen dishes, and their supper of one course of thirteen, but nine or ten of them consisted of bad poultry, variously dressed, and often served up the second, third, and even the fourth time: the same duck having appeared more than once roasted, found his way again to the table as a fricassee, and a fourth time in the form of forced meat. It was not long, however, before they learned that this treatment was only by way of essay, and that it was the invariable custom of the house, to supply all strangers, at their first coming, with such fare as could be procured for the least money, and consequently would produce the most gain: that if, either through indolence or good nature, they were content, it was continued for the benefit of the host; but that if they complained, it was gradually amended till they were satisfied, which sometimes happened before they had the worth of their money. After this discovery, they remonstrated, and their fare became better; however, after a few days, Mr. Banks hired a little house, the next door on the left hand to the hotel, for himself and his party, for which he paid after the rate of ten rix-dollars, or two pounds five shillings sterling, a-month; but here they were very far from having either the convenience or the privacy which they expected: no person was permitted to sleep in this private house occasionally, as a guest to the person who hired it, under a penalty; but almost every Dutchman that went by ran in without any ceremony to ask what they sold, there having been very seldom any private persons at Batavia who had not something to sell. Everybody here hires a carriage, and Mr. Banks hired two. They are open chaises, made to hold two people, and driven by a man sitting on a coach-box; for each of these he paid two rix-dollars a-day.

As soon as he was settled in his new habitation, he sent for Tupia, who till now had continued on board upon account of his illness, which was of the bilious kind, and for which he had obstinately refused to take any medicine. He soon came ashore, with his boy Tayeto, and though while he was on board, and after he came into the boat, he was exceedingly listless and dejected, he no sooner entered the town than he seemed to be animated with a new soul. The houses, carriages, streets, people, and a multiplicity of other objects, all new, which rushed upon him at once, produced an effect like the sudden and secret power that is imagined of fascination. Tayeto expressed his wonder and delight with still less restraint, and danced along the street in a kind of ecstacy, examining every object with a restless and eager curiosity, which was every moment excited and gratified. One of the first things that Tupia remarked, was the various dresses of the passing multitude, concerning which he made many inquiries; and when he was told that in this place, where people of many different nations were assembled, every one wore the habit of his country, he desired that he might conform to the custom, and appear in that of Otaheite. South Sea cloth was therefore sent for from the ship, and he equipped himself with great expedition and dexterity. The people who had seen Otourou, the Indian who had been brought hither by M. Bougainville, inquired whether Tupia was not the same person: from these inquiries, we learned who it was that we had supposed to be Spaniards, from the accounts that had been given of two ships by the Islanders.

In the mean time, I procured an order to the superintendant of the island of Onrust, where the ship was to be repaired, to receive her there; and sent, by one of the ships that sailed for Holland, an account of our arrival here, to Mr. Stephens, the secretary to the admiralty. The expenses that would be incurred by repairing and refitting the ship rendered it necessary for me to take up money in this place, which I imagined might be done without difficulty: but I found myself mistaken; for, after the most diligent inquiry, I could not find any

private person that had ability and inclination to advance the sum that I wanted. In this difficulty I applied to the governor himself, by a written request; in consequence of which, the Shebander had orders to supply me with what money I should require out of the Company's treasury.

On the 18th, as soon as it was light, having by several accidents and mistakes suffered a delay of many days, I took up the anchor, and ran down to Onrust: a few days afterwards we went alongside of the wharf, on Cooper's Island, which lies close to Onrust, in order to take out our stores. By this time, having been here only nine days, we began to feel the fatal effects of the climate and situation. Tupia, after the flow of spirits which the novelties of the place produced upon his first landing, sunk on a sudden, and grew every day worse and worse. Tayeto was seized with an inflammation upon his lungs, Mr. Banks's two servants became very ill, and himself and Dr. Solander were attacked by fevers: in a few days almost every person both on board and ashore were sick; affected, no doubt, by the low, swampy situation of the place, and the numberless dirty canals which intersect the town in all directions. On the 26th, I set up the tent for the reception of the ship's company, of whom there was but a small number able to do duty. Poor Tupia, of whose life we now began to despair, and who till this time had continued ashore with Mr. Banks, desired to be removed to the ship, where, he said, he should breathe a freer air than among the numerous houses which obstructed it ashore: on board the ship, however, he could not go, for she was unrigged, and preparing to be laid down at the careening-place; but on the 28th, Mr. Banks went with him to Cooper's Island, or, as it is called here, Kuypor, where she lay; and as he seemed pleased with the spot, a tent was there pitched for him: at this place both the sea-breeze and the land-breeze blew directly over him, and he expressed great satisfaction in his situation. Mr. Banks, whose humanity kept him two days with this poor Indian, returned to the town on the 30th, and the fits of his intermittent, which was now become a regular tertian, were so violent as to deprive him of his senses while they lasted, and leave him so weak that he was scarcely able to crawl down stairs: at this time Dr. Solander's disorder also increased, and Mr. Monkhouse the surgeon was confined to his bed.

On the 5th of November, after many delays, in consequence of the Dutch ships coming alongside the wharfs to load pepper, the ship was laid down, and the same day Mr. Monkhouse, our surgeon, a sensible, skilful man, fell the first sacrifice to this fatal country, a loss which was greatly aggravated by our situation. Dr. Solander was just able to attend his funeral, but Mr. Banks was confined to his bed. Our distress was now very great, and the prospect before us discouraging in the highest degree: our danger was not such as we could surmount by any efforts of our own; courage, skill, and diligence, were all equally ineffectual, and death was every day making advances upon us, where we could neither resist nor fly. Malay servants were hired to attend the sick, but they had so little sense either of duty or humanity, that they could not be kept within call, and the patient was frequently obliged to get out of bed to seek them. On the 9th, we lost our poor Indian boy Tayeto, and Tupia was so much affected, that it was doubted whether he would survive till the next day.

In the mean time, the bottom of the ship being examined, was found to be in a worse condition than we apprehended: the false keel was all gone to within twenty feet of the stern-post; the main keel was considerably injured in many places; and a great quantity of the sheathing was torn off, and several planks were much damaged; two of them, and the half of a third, under the main channel near the keel, were, for the length of six feet, so worn, that they were not above an eighth part of an inch thick, and here the worms had made their way quite into the timbers; yet in this condition she had sailed many hundred leagues, where navigation is as dangerous as in any part of the world: how much misery did we escape, by being ignorant that so considerable a part of the bottom of the vessel was thinner than the sole of a shoe, and that every life on board depended upon so slight and fragile a barrier between us and the unfathomable ocean! It seemed, however, that we had been preserved only to perish here: Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were so bad, that the physician declared they had no chance for recovery but by removing into the country; a house was therefore hired for them at the distance of about two miles from the town, which belonged to the master of the hotel, who engaged to furnish them with provisions, and the

use of slaves. As they had already experienced their want of influence over slaves that had other masters, and the unfeeling inattention of these fellows to the sick, they bought each of them a Malay woman, which removed both the causes of their being so ill served; the women were their own property, and the tenderness of the sex, even here, made them good nurses. While these preparations were making, they received an account of the death of Tupia, who sunk at once after the loss of the boy, whom he loved with the tenderness of a parent.

By the 14th, the bottom of the ship was thoroughly repaired, and very much to my satisfaction; it would, indeed, be injustice to the officers and workmen of this yard, not to declare that, in my opinion, there is not a marine yard in the world where a ship can be laid down with more convenience, safety, and despatch, nor repaired with more diligence and skill. At this place they heave down by two masts, a method which we do not now practise: it is, however, unquestionably more safe and expeditious to heave down with two masts than one; and he must have a good share of bigotry to old customs, and an equal want of common sense, who will not allow this, after seeing with what facility the Dutch heave down their largest ships at this place.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander recovered slowly at their country-house, which was not only open to the sea-breeze, but situated upon a running stream, which greatly contributed to the circulation of the air: but I was now taken ill myself; Mr. Sporing and a seaman who had attended Mr. Banks were also seized with intermittents; and, indeed, there was not more than ten of the whole ship's company that were able to do duty. We proceeded, however, in rigging the ship, and getting water and stores aboard: the water we were obliged to procure from Batavia, at the rate of six shillings and eightpence a leager, or one hundred and fifty gallons.

About the 26th, the westerly monsoon set in, which generally blows here in the night from the S.W., and in the day from the N.W. or N. For some nights before this, we had very heavy rain, with much thunder; and in the night between the 25th and 26th, such rain as we had seldom seen, for near four hours without intermission. Mr. Banks's house admitted the water in every part like a sieve, and it ran through the lower rooms in a stream that would have turned a mill; he was by this time sufficiently recovered to go out, and, upon his entering Batavia the next morning, he was much surprised to see the bedding everywhere hung out to dry. The wet season was now set in, though we had some intervals of fair weather. The frogs in the ditches, which croak ten times louder than any frogs in Europe, gave notice of rain by an incessant noise that was almost intolerable, and the gnat and mosquitos, which had been very troublesome even during the dry weather, were now become innumerable, swarming from every plash of water like bees from a hive: they did not, however, much incommode us in the day, and the stings, however troublesome at first, never continued to itch above half an hour, so that none of us felt in the day the effects of the wounds they had received in the night.

On the 8th of December, the ship being perfectly refitted, and having taken in most of her water and stores, and received the sick on board, we ran up to Batavia Road, and anchored in four fathom and a half of water. From this time, to the 24th, we were employed in getting on board the remainder of our water and provisions, with some new pumps, and in several other operations that were necessary to fit the ship for the sea, all which would have been effected much sooner, if sickness and death had not disabled or carried off a great number of our men.

While we lay here, the Earl of Elgin, Captain Cook, a ship belonging to the English East India Company, came to an anchor in the road. She was bound from Madras to China, but having lost her passage, put in here to wait for the next season. The Phœnix, Captain Black, an English country ship, from Bencoolen, also came to an anchor at this place.

In the afternoon of Christmas eve, the 24th, I took leave of the governor, and several of the principal gentlemen of the place, with whom I had formed connexions, and from whom I received every possible civility and assistance; but in the mean time an accident happened, which might have produced disagreeable consequences. A seaman had run away from one

of the Dutch ships in the road, and entered on board of mine: the captain had applied to the governor, to reclaim him as a subject of Holland, and an order for that purpose was procured: this order was brought to me soon after I returned from my last visit, and I said, that if the man appeared to be a Dutchman, he should certainly be delivered up. Mr. Hicks commanded on board, and I gave the Dutch officer an order to him, to deliver the man up under that condition. I slept myself this night on shore, and, in the morning, the captain of the Dutch commodore came and told me that he had carried my order on board, but that the officer had refused to deliver up the man, alleging, not only that he was not a Dutchman, but that he was a subject of Great Britain, born in Ireland: I replied, that the officer had perfectly executed my orders, and that if the man was an English subject, it could not be expected that I should deliver him up. The captain then said, that he was just come from the governor, to demand the man of me in his name, as a subject of Denmark, alleging that he stood in the ship's books as born at Elsineur. The claim of this man as a subject of Holland being now given up, I observed to the captain that there appeared to be some mistake in the general's message, for that he would certainly never demand a Danish seaman from me, who had committed no other crime than preferring the service of the English to that of the Dutch. I added, however, to convince him of my sincere desire to avoid disputes, that if the man was a Dane he should be delivered up as a courtesy, though he could not be demanded as a right; but that if I found he was an English subject, I would keep him at all events. Upon these terms we parted, and soon after I received a letter from Mr. Hicks, containing indubitable proof that the seaman in question was a subject of his Britannic Majesty. This letter I immediately carried to the Shebander, with a request that it might be shown to the governor, and that his excellency might at the same time be told I would not upon any terms part with the man. This had the desired effect, and I heard no more of the affair. In the evening, I went on board, accompanied by Mr. Banks, and the rest of the gentlemen who had constantly resided on shore, and who, though better, were not yet perfectly recovered.

At six in the morning of the 26th, we weighed and set sail, with a light breeze at S.W. The Elgin Indiaman saluted us with three cheers and thirteen guns, and the garrison with fourteen, both which, with the help of our swivels, we returned, and soon after the sea-breeze set in at N. by W., which obliged us to anchor just without the ships in the road. At this time the number of sick on board amounted to forty, and the rest of the ship's company were in a very feeble condition. Every individual had been sick except the sail-maker, an old man between seventy and eighty years of age, and it is very remarkable that this old man, during our stay at this place, was constantly drunk every day: we had buried seven, the surgeon, three seamen, Mr. Green's servant, Tupia, and Tayeto his boy. All but Tupia fell a sacrifice to the unwholesome, stagnant, putrid air of the country; and he who, from his birth, had been used to subsist chiefly upon vegetable food, particularly ripe fruit, soon contracted all the disorders that are incident to a sea life, and would probably have sunk under them before we could have completed our voyage, if we had not been obliged to go to Batavia to refit.

CHAPTER XI.—SOME ACCOUNT OF BATAVIA, AND THE ADJACENT COUNTRY—WITH THEIR FRUITS, FLOWERS, AND OTHER PRODUCTIONS.

Batavia, the capital of the Dutch dominions in India, and generally supposed to have no equal among all the possessions of the Europeans in Asia, is situated on the north side of the island of Java, in a low fenny plain, where several small rivers, which take their rise in the mountains called Blaeuwen Berg, about forty miles up the country, empty themselves into the sea, and where the coast forms a large bay, called the Bay of Batavia, at the distance of about eight leagues from the Strait of Sunda. It lies in latitude 6° 10′ S., and longitude 106° 50′ E. from the meridian of Greenwich, as appears from astronomical observations made upon the spot, by the Reverend Mr. Mohr, who has built an elegant observatory; which is as well furnished with instruments as most in Europe.

The Dutch seem to have pitched upon this spot for the convenience of water-carriage; and in that it is, indeed, a second Holland, and superior to every other place in the world. There are very few streets that have not a canal of considerable breadth running through them, or rather stagnating in them, and continued for several miles in almost every direction beyond the town, which is also intersected by five or six rivers, some of which are navigable thirty or forty miles up the country. As the houses are large, and the streets wide, it takes up a much greater extent, in proportion to the number of houses it contains, than any city in Europe. Valentyn, who wrote an account of it about the year 1726, says, that in his time there were, within the walls, 1242 Dutch houses and 1200 Chinese; and without the walls 1066 Dutch, and 1240 Chinese, besides 12 arrack-houses, making in all 4760: but this account appeared to us to be greatly exaggerated, especially with respect to the number of houses within the walls.

The streets are spacious and handsome, and the banks of the canals are planted with rows of trees, that make a very pleasing appearance; but the trees concur with the canals to make the situation unwholesome. The stagnant canals in the dry season exhale an intolerable stench, and the trees impede the course of the air, by which, in some degree, the putrid effluvia would be dissipated. In the wet season the inconvenience is equal, for then these reservoirs of corrupted water overflow their banks in the lower part of the town, especially in the neighbourhood of the hotel, and fill the lower stories of the houses, where they leave behind them an inconceivable quantity of slime and filth: yet these canals are sometimes cleaned; but the cleaning them is so managed as to become as great a nuisance as the foulness of the water: for the black mud that is taken from the bottom is suffered to lie upon the banks, that is, in the middle of the street, till it has acquired a sufficient degree of hardness to be made the lading of a boat and carried away. As this mud consists chiefly of human ordure, which is regularly thrown into the canals every morning, there not being a necessary-house in the whole town, it poisons the air while it is drying to a considerable extent. Even the running streams become nuisances in their turn, by the nastiness or negligence of the people: for every now and then a dead hog, or a dead horse, is stranded upon the shallow parts, and it being the business of no particular person to remove the nuisance, it is negligently left to time and accident. While we were here, a dead buffalo lay upon the shoal of a river that ran through one of the principal streets above a week, and at last was carried away by a flood.

The houses are, in general, well adapted to the climate: they consist of one very large room or hall on the ground-floor, with a door at each end, both which generally stand open; at one end a room is taken off by a partition, where the master of the house transacts his business; and in the middle, between each end, there is a court, which gives light to the hall, and at the same time increases the draught of air. From one corner of the hall the stairs go up to the floor above, where also the rooms are spacious and airy. In the alcove, which is formed by the court, the family dine; and at other times it is occupied by the female slaves, who are not allowed to sit down anywhere else.

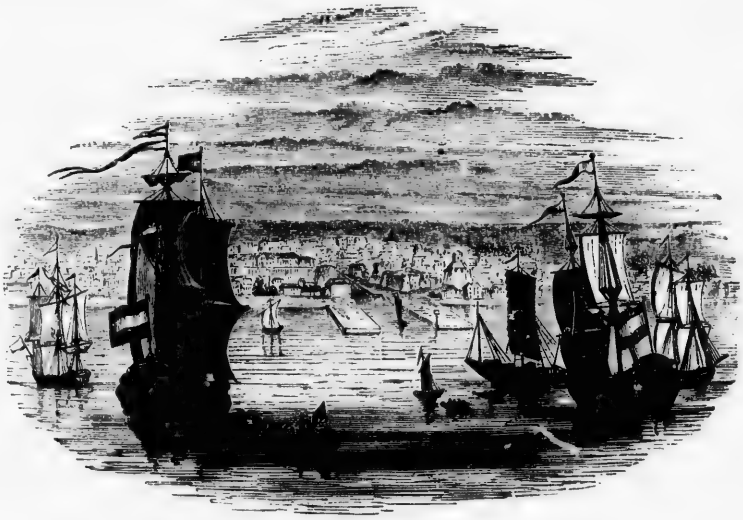
The public buildings are, most of them, old, heavy, and ungraceful; but the new church is not inelegant; it is built with a dome, that is seen from a great distance at sea, and though the outside has rather a heavy appearance, the inside forms a very fine room: it is furnished with an organ of a proper size, being very large, and is most magnificently illuminated by chandeliers.

The town is inclosed by a stone wall, of a moderate height: but the whole of it is old, and many parts are much out of repair. This wall itself is surrounded by a river, which in some places is fifty, and in some a hundred yards wide: the stream is rapid, but the water is shallow. The wall is also lined within by a canal, which in different parts is of different breadths; so that, in passing either out or in through the gates, it is necessary to cross two draw-bridges; and there is no access for idle people or strangers to walk upon the ramparts, which seem to be but ill provided with guns.

In the north-east corner of the town stands the castle or citadel, the walls of which are both higher and thicker than those of the town, especially near the landing-place, where there is depth of water only for boats, which it completely commands, with several large guns that make a very good appearance.

Within this castle are apartments for the governor-general and all the council of India, to which they are enjoined to repair in case of a siege. Here are also large storehouses, where great quantities of the Company's goods are kept, especially those that are brought from Europe, and where almost all their writers transact their business. In this place also are laid up a great number of cannon, whether to mount upon the walls or furnish shipping, we could not learn; and the Company is said to be well supplied with powder, which is dispersed in various magazines, that, if some should be destroyed by lightning, which in this place is very frequent, the rest may escape.

Besides the fortifications of the town, numerous forts are dispersed about the country to the distance of twenty or thirty miles; these seem to have been intended merely to keep the natives in awe, and, indeed, they are fit for nothing else. For the same purpose a kind of houses, each of which mounts about eight guns, are placed in such situations as command the navigation of three or four canals, and consequently the roads upon their banks: some of these are in the town itself, and it was from one of these that all the best houses belonging to the Chinese were levelled with the ground in the Chinese rebellion of 1740. These defences are scattered over all parts of Java, and the other islands of which the Dutch have got possession in these seas. Of one of these singular forts, or fortified houses, we should have procured a drawing, if our gentlemen had not been confined by sickness almost all the time they were upon the island.



BATAVIA.

If the Dutch fortifications here are not formidable in themselves, they become so by their situation: for they are among morasses where the roads, which are nothing more than a bank thrown up between a canal and a ditch, may easily be destroyed, and consequently the approach of heavy artillery either totally prevented or greatly retarded: for it would be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to transport them in boats, as they all muster every night under the guns of the castle, a situation from which it would be impossible for an enemy to take them. Besides, in this country, delay is death; so that whatever retards an enemy, will destroy him. In less than a week, we were sensible of the unhealthiness of the climate; and in less than a month half the ship's company were unable to do their duty. We were told, that of a hundred soldiers who arrive here from Europe, it was a rare thing for fifty to survive the first year; that of those fifty, half would then be in the hospital, and not ten of the rest in perfect health: possibly this account may be exaggerated; but the

pale and feeble wretches whom we saw crawling about with a musket, which they were scarcely able to carry, inclined us to believe that it was true. Every white inhabitant of the town, indeed, is a soldier; the younger are constantly mustered, and those who have served five years are liable to be called out when their assistance is thought to be necessary; but as neither of them are ever exercised, or do any kind of duty, much cannot be expected from them. The Portuguese, indeed, are in general good marksmen, because they employ themselves much in shooting wild hogs and deer: neither the Mardykers nor the Chinese know the use of fire-arms; but as they are said to be brave, they might do much execution with their own weapons, swords, lances, and daggers. The Mardykers are Indians of all nations, who are descended from free ancestors, or have themselves been made free.

But if it is difficult to attack Batavia by land, it is utterly impossible to attack it by sea: for the water is so shallow, that it will scarcely admit a long-boat to come within cannon shot of the walls, except in a narrow channel, called the river, that is walled on both sides by strong piers, and runs about half-a-mile into the harbour. At the other end, it terminates under the fire of the strongest part of the castle; and here its communication with the canals that intersect the town is cut off by a large wooden boom, which is shut every night at six o'clock, and upon no pretence opened till the next morning. The harbour of Batavia is accounted the finest in India, and to all appearance with good reason; it is large enough to contain any number of ships, and the ground is so good that one anchor will hold till the cable decays: it never admits any sea that is troublesome, and its only inconvenience is the shoal water between the road and the river. When the sea breeze blows fresh, it makes a cockling sea that is dangerous to boats: our long-boat once struck two or three times as she was attempting to come out, and regained the river's mouth with some difficulty. A Dutch boat, laden with sails and rigging for one of the Indiamen, was entirely lost.

Round the harbour, on the outside, lie many islands, which the Dutch have taken possession of, and apply to different uses. To one of them, called Edam, they transport all Europeans who have been guilty of crimes that are not worthy of death: some are sentenced to remain there ninety-nine years, some forty, some twenty, some less, down to five, in proportion to their offence; and, during their banishment, they are employed as slaves in making ropes, and other drudgery. In another island, called Purmerent, they have an hospital, where people are said to recover much faster than at Batavia. In a third, called Kuyper, they have warehouses belonging to the Company, chiefly for rice, and other merchandise of small value; and here the foreign ships, that are to be laid down at Onrust, another of these islands, which with Kuyper has been mentioned before, discharge their cargoes at wharfs which are very convenient for the purpose. Here the guns, sails, and other stores of the Falmouth, a man-of-war which was condemned at this place when she was returning from Manilla, were deposited, and the ship herself remained in the harbour, with only the warrant-officers on board, for many years. Remittances were regularly made them from home; but no notice was ever taken of the many memorials they sent, desiring to be recalled. Happily for them, the Dutch thought fit, about six months before our arrival, to sell the vessel and all her stores, by public auction, and send the officers home in their own ships. At Onrust, they repair all their own shipping, and keep a large quantity of naval stores.

The country round Batavia is for some miles a continued range of country-houses and gardens.—Many of the gardens are very large, and, by some strange fatality, all are planted with trees almost as thick as they can stand; so that the country derives no advantage from its being cleared of the wood that originally covered it, except the fruit of that which has been planted in its room. These impenetrable forests stand in a dead flat, which extends some miles beyond them, and is intersected in many directions by rivers, and more still by canals, which are navigable for small vessels. Nor is this the worst, for the fence of every field and garden is a ditch; and, interspersed among the cultivated ground, there are many filthy fens, bogs, and morasses, as well fresh as salt.

It is not strange that the inhabitants of such a country should be familiar with disease and death: preventive medicines are taken almost as regularly as food; and everybody expects the returns of sickness, as we do the seasons of the year. We did not see a single

face in Batavia that indicated perfect health, for there is not the least tint of colour in the cheeks either of man or woman: the women indeed are most delicately fair; but with the appearance of disease there never can be perfect beauty. People talk of death with as much indifference as they do in a camp; and when an acquaintance is said to be dead, the common reply is, "Well, he owed me nothing;" or, "I must get my money of his executors."

To this description of the environs of Batavia there are but two exceptions. The governor's country-house is situated upon a rising ground; but its ascent is so inconsiderable, that it is known to be above the common level only by the canals being left behind, and the appearance of a few bad hedges: his Excellency, however, who is a native of this place, has, with some trouble and expense, contrived to inclose his own garden with a ditch: such is the influence of habit both upon the taste and the understanding. A famous market also, called Passar Tanabank, is held upon an eminence that rises perpendicularly about thirty feet above the plain; and except these situations, the ground, for an extent of between thirty and forty miles round Batavia, is exactly parallel to the horizon. At the distance of about forty miles inland, there are hills of a considerable height, where, as we were informed, the air is healthy, and comparatively cool. Here the vegetables of Europe flourish in great perfection, particularly strawberries, which can but ill bear heat; and the inhabitants are vigorous and ruddy. Upon these hills some of the principal people have country-houses, which they visit once a-year; and one was begun for the governor, upon the plan of Blenheim, the famous seat of the Duke of Marlborough, in Oxfordshire, but it has never been finished. To these hills also people are sent by the physicians, for the recovery of their health, and the effects of the air are said to be almost miraculous: the patient grows well in a short time, but constantly relapses soon after his return to Batavia*.

But the same situation and circumstances which render Batavia and the country round it unwholesome, render it the best gardener's ground in the world. The soil is fruitful beyond imagination, and the conveniences and luxuries of life that it produces are almost without number.

Rice, which is well known to be the corn of these countries, and to serve the inhabitants instead of bread, grows in great plenty: and I must here observe, that in the hilly parts of Java, and in many of the eastern islands, a species of this grain is planted, which in the western parts of India is entirely unknown. It is called by the natives *Paddy Gunung*, or Mountain Rice: this, contrary to the other sort, which must be under water three parts in four of the time of its growth, is planted upon the sides of hills where no water but rain can come: it is however planted at the beginning of the rainy season, and reaped in the beginning of the dry. How far this kind of rice might be useful in our West Indian islands, where no bread-corn is grown, it may perhaps be worth while to inquire.

Indian corn, or maize, is also produced here; which the inhabitants gather when young, and toast in the ear. Here is also a great variety of kidney-beans, and lentils, which they called *Cadjang*, and which make a considerable part of the food of the common people; besides millet, yams both wet and dry, sweet potatoes, and European potatoes, which are very good, but not cultivated in great plenty. In the gardens, there are cabbages, lettuces, cucumbers, radishes, the white radishes of China, which boil almost as well as a turnip; carrots, parsley, celery, pigeon-peas; the egg-plant, which, broiled and eaten with pepper and salt, is very delicious; a kind of greens resembling spinage; onions, very small, but excellent; and asparagus; besides some European plants of a strong smell, particularly sage, hyssop, and rue. Sugar is also produced here in immense quantities; very great crops of

* Since Captain Cook's visit, the town of Batavia has been greatly improved, partly by building a new town on the heights, where all the principal merchants reside, and partly by demolishing the useless fortifications, filling up some canals, and cleansing the others, and widening several of the old streets, measures which have been so effectual as to remove from it its ancient reputation as the most unhealthy spot in the East. The old town is now chiefly given up to the Chinese, the merchants having only their warehouses and counting-houses there, none of them passing the night within the walls. Both the trade and population of Batavia have greatly increased, especially within the last ten years. The present number of inhabitants is estimated at from 60,000 to 70,000, among whom about 200 English subjects are reckoned, including those serving in the Dutch mercantile navy. The British merchants form an important body of merchants here, and possess about 2000 square miles of land on the island, much of which is cultivated with sugar. See Earl's "Eastern Seas," p. 34.—Ed.

the finest and largest canes that can be imagined are produced with very little care, and yield a much larger proportion of sugar than the canes in the West Indies. White sugar is sold here at twopence halfpenny a pound; and the molasses make the arrack, of which, as of rum, it is the chief ingredient; a small quantity of rice, and some cocoa-nut wine, being added, chiefly, I suppose, to give it flavour. A small quantity of indigo is also produced here, not as an article of trade, but merely for home consumption.

But the most abundant article of vegetable luxury here, is the fruit; of which there are no less than six-and-thirty different kinds, and I shall give a very brief account of each.

1. The pine-apple, *Bromelia Ananas*. This fruit, which is here called *Nanas*, grows very large, and in such plenty that they may sometimes be bought at the first hand for a farthing a piece; and at the common fruit-shops we got three of them for twopence halfpenny. They are very juicy and well flavoured; but we all agreed that we had eaten as good from a hothouse in England: they are, however, so luxuriant in their growth that most of them have two or three crowns, and a great number of suckers from the bottom of the fruit; of these Mr. Banks once counted nine, and they are so forward, that very often while they still adhered to the parent plant they shot out their fruit, which, by the time the large one became ripe, were of no inconsiderable size. We several times saw three upon one apple, and were told that a plant once produced a cluster of nine, besides the principal: this indeed was considered as so great a curiosity, that it was preserved in sugar, and sent to the Prince of Orange.

2. Sweet oranges. These are very good, but while we were here, sold for sixpence a piece.

3. Pumplemooses, which in the West Indies are called Shaddocks. These were well flavoured, but not juicy; their want of juice however, was an accidental effect of the season.

4. Lemons. These were very scarce; but the want of them was amply compensated by the plenty of limes.

5. Limes. These were excellent, and to be bought at about twelve-pence a hundred. We saw only two or three Seville oranges, which were almost all rind; and there are many sorts, both of oranges and lemons, which I shall not particularly mention, because they are neither esteemed by Europeans nor the natives themselves.

6. Mangoes. This fruit during our stay was so infested with maggots, which bred in the inside of them, that scarcely one in three was eatable; and the best of them were much inferior to those of Brazil: they are generally compared by Europeans to a melting peach, which, indeed, they resemble in softness and sweetness, but certainly fall much short in flavour. The climate here, we were told, is too hot and damp for them; but there are as many sorts of them as there are of apples in England, and some are much superior to others. One sort, which is called *Mangha Cowani*, has so strong a smell that a European can scarcely bear one in the room; these, however, the natives are fond of. The three sorts which are generally preferred, are the *Mangha Doodool*, the *Mangha Santock*, and the *Mangha Gure*.

7. Bananas. Of these also there are innumerable sorts, but three only are good; the *Pissang Mas*, the *Pissang Radja*, and the *Pissang Ambou*: all these have a pleasant vinous taste, and the rest are useful in different ways; some are fried in batter, and others are boiled and eaten as bread. There is one which deserves the particular notice of the botanist, because, contrary to the nature of its tribe, it is full of seeds, and is therefore called *Pissang Batu*, or *Pissang Bidjie*: it has however no excellence to recommend it to the taste, but the Malays use it as a remedy for the flux.

8. Grapes. These are not in great perfection, but they are very dear; for we could not buy a moderate bunch for less than a shilling or eighteen-pence.

9. Tamarinds. These are in great plenty, and very cheap: the people however do not put them up in the manner practised by the West Indians, but cure them with salt, by which means they become a black mass, so disagreeable to the sight and taste, that few Europeans choose to meddle with them.

10. Water-melons. These are in great plenty, and very good.

11. Pumpkins. These are, beyond comparison, the most useful fruit that can be carried to sea; for they will keep without any care several months, and with sugar and lemon-juice, make a pie that can scarcely be distinguished from one made of the best apples; and with pepper and salt, they are a substitute for turnips, not to be despised.

12. Papaws. This fruit when it is ripe is full of seeds, and almost without flavour; but, if when it is green it is pared, and the core taken out, it is better than the best turnip.

13. Guava. This fruit is much commended by the inhabitants of our islands in the West Indies, who probably have a better sort than we met with here, where the smell of them was so disagreeably strong, that it made some of us sick; those who tasted them, said, that the flavour was equally rank.

14. Sweet-sop. The *Annona squamosa* of Linnæus. This is also a West Indian fruit; it consists only of a mass of large kernels, from which a small proportion of pulp may be sucked, which is very sweet, but has little flavour.

15. Custard-apple. The *Annona reticulata* of Linnæus. The quality of this fruit is well expressed by its English name, which it acquired in the West Indies; for it is as like a custard, and a good one too, as can be imagined.

16. The cashew apple. This is seldom eaten, on account of its astringency. The nut that grows upon the top of it is well known in Europe.

17. The cocoa-nut. This is also well known in Europe; there are several sorts; but the best of those we found here is called *Callappi Edjou*, and is easily known by the redness of the flesh between the skin and the shell.

18. Mangostan. The *Garcinia Mangostana* of Linnæus. This fruit, which is peculiar to the East Indies, is about the size of the crab-apple, and of a deep red-wine colour: on the top of it is the figure of five or six small triangles joined in a circle, and at the bottom several hollow green leaves, which are remains of the blossom. When they are to be eaten, the skin, or rather flesh, must be taken off, under which are found six or seven white kernels, placed in a circular order, and the pulp with which these are enveloped is the fruit, than which nothing can be more delicious: it is a happy mixture of the tart and the sweet, which is no less wholesome than pleasant; and with the sweet orange, this fruit is allowed in any quantity to those who are afflicted with fevers, either of the putrid or inflammatory kind.

19. The jamboo. The *Eugenia Mallaccensis* of Linnæus. This fruit is of a deep red colour, and an oval shape; the largest, which are always the best, are not bigger than a small apple; they are pleasant and cooling, though they have not much flavour.

20. The jambu-eyer. A species of the *Eugenia* of Linnæus. Of this fruit there are two sorts of a similar shape, resembling a bell, but differing in colour; one being red, the other white. They somewhat exceed a large cherry in size, and in taste have neither flavour nor even sweetness, containing nothing but a watery juice, slightly acidulated; yet their coolness recommends them in this hot country.

21. Jambu-eyer mauwar. The *Eugenia jambos* of Linnæus. This is more grateful to the smell than the taste; in taste it resembles the conserve of roses, and in smell the fresh scent of those flowers.

22. The pomegranate. This is the same fruit that is known by the same name all over Europe.

23. Durion. A fruit that in shape resembles a small melon, but the skin is covered with sharp conical spines, whence its name; for *dure*, in the Malay language, signifies prickle. When it is ripe it divides longitudinally into seven or eight compartments, each of which contains six or seven nuts, not quite so large as chestnuts, which are covered with a substance that in colour and consistence very much resembles thick cream: this is the part that is eaten, and the natives are fond of it to excess. To Europeans it is generally disagreeable at first; for in taste it somewhat resembles a mixture of cream, sugar, and onions; and in the smell the onions predominate.

24. Nanca. This fruit, which in some parts of India is called Jakes, has, like the Durion, a smell very disagreeable to strangers, and somewhat resembling that of mellow apples mixed with garlic: the flavour is not more adapted to the general taste. In some countries

that are favourable to it, it is said to grow to an immense size. Rumphius relates, that it is sometimes so large that a man cannot easily lift it; and we were told by a Malay that at Madura it is sometimes so large as not to be carried but by the united efforts of two men. At Batavia, however, they never exceed the size of a large melon, which in shape they very much resemble: they are covered with angular prickles, like the shootings of some crystals, which however are not hard enough to wound those who handle them.

25. Champada. This differs from the Nanca in little except size, it not being so big.

26. Rambutan. This is a fruit little known to Europeans; in appearance it very much resembles a chestnut with the husk on, and like that, is covered with small points, which are soft, and of a deep red colour: under this skin is the fruit, and within the fruit a stone; the eatable part thereof is small in quantity, but its acid perhaps is more agreeable than any other in the whole vegetable kingdom.

27. Jambolan. This in size and appearance is not unlike a damson, but in taste is still more astringent, and therefore less agreeable.

28. The Boa Bidarra; or *Rhamnus Jujuba* of Linnæus. This is a round yellow fruit, about the size of a gooseberry; its flavour is like that of an apple, but it has the astringency of a crab.

29 Nam nam. The *Cynometra Cauliflora* of Linnæus. This fruit in shape somewhat resembles a kidney; it is about three inches long, and the outside is very rough: it is seldom eaten raw, but fried with batter it makes a good fritter.

30, 31. The Catappa, or *Terminalia Catappa;* and the Canare, the *Canarium commune* of Linnæus; are both nuts, with kernels somewhat resembling an almond; but the difficulty of breaking the shell is so great, that they are nowhere publicly sold. Those which we tasted were gathered for curiosity by Mr. Banks, from the tree upon which they grew.

32. The Madja, or *Limoni* of Linnæus, contains, under a hard brittle shell, a lightly acid pulp, which cannot be eaten without sugar; and with it, is not generally thought pleasant.

33. Suntul. The *Trichilia* of Linnæus. This is the worst of all the fruits that I shall particularly mention: in size and shape it resembles the Madja; and within a thick skin contains kernels like those of the Mangostan, the taste of which is both acid and astringent, and so disagreeable, that we were surprised to see it exposed upon the fruit-stalls.

34, 35, 36. The Blimbing, or *Averrhoa Belimbi;* the Blimbing Besse, or *Averrhoa Carambola;* and the Cherrema, or *Averrhoa acida* of Linnæus, are three species of one genus: and though they differ in shape, are nearly of the same taste. The Blimbing Besse is the sweetest: the other two are so austerely acid, that they cannot be used without dressing; they make, however, excellent pickles and sour sauce.

37. The Salak, or *Calamus Rotang Zalacca* of Linnæus. This is the fruit of a prickly bush; it is about as big as a walnut, and covered with scales, like those of a lizard: below the scales are two or three yellow kernels, in flavour somewhat resembling a strawberry.

Besides these, the island of Java, and particularly the country round Batavia, produces many kinds of fruit which were not in season during our stay; we were also told that apples, strawberries, and many other fruits from Europe, had been planted up in the mountains, and flourished there in great luxuriance. We saw several fruits preserved in sugar, that we did not see recent from the tree, one of which is called *Kimkit*, and another *Boa Atap;* and here are several others which are eaten only by the natives, particularly the *Kellor*, the *Guilindina*, the *Moringa*, and the *Soccum*. The Soccum is of the same kind with the bread-fruit in the South Sea Islands, but so much inferior, that if it had not been for the similitude in the outward appearance both of the fruit and the tree, we should not have referred it to that class. These and some others do not merit to be particularly mentioned.

The quantity of fruit that is consumed at Batavia is incredible; but that which is publicly exposed to sale is generally over-ripe. A stranger, however, may get good fruit in a street called Passar Pissang, which lies north from the great church, and very near it. This street is inhabited by none but Chinese fruit-sellers, who are supplied from the gardens of gentlemen in the neighbourhood of the town, with such as is fresh, and excellent in its kind; for which however they must be paid more than four times the market price.

The town in general is supplied from a considerable distance, where great quantities of land are cultivated merely for the production of fruit. The country people, to whom these lands belong, meet the people of the town at two great markets; one on Monday, called Passar Sineen; and the other on Saturday, called Passar Tanabank. These fairs are held at places considerably distant from each other, for the convenience of different districts; neither of them however are more than five miles distant from Batavia. At these fairs, the best fruit may be bought at the cheapest rate; and the sight of them to a European is very entertaining. The quantity of fruit is astonishing; forty or fifty cart-loads of the finest pine-apples, packed as carelessly as turnips in England, are common, and other fruit in the same profusion. The days, however, on which these markets are held are ill contrived; the time between Saturday and Monday is too short, and that between Monday and Saturday too long: great part of what is bought on Monday is always much the worse for keeping before a new stock can be bought, either by the retailer or consumer; so that for several days in every week there is no good fruit in the hands of any people but the Chinese in Passar Pissang.

The inhabitants of this part of India practise a luxury which seems to be but little attended to in other countries; they are continually burning aromatic woods and resins, and scatter odours round them in a profusion of flowers, possibly as an antidote to the noisome effluvia of their ditches and canals. Of sweet-smelling flowers they have a great variety, altogether unknown in Europe, the chief of which I shall briefly describe.

1. The *Champacka*, or *Michelia Champacca*. This grows upon a tree as large as an apple-tree, and consists of fifteen long narrow petala, which give it the appearance of being double, though in reality it is not so: its colour is yellow, and much deeper than that of a jonquil, to which it has some resemblance in smell.

2. The *Cananga*, or *Uvaria Cananga*, is a green flower, not at all resembling the blossom of any tree or plant in Europe: it has indeed more the appearance of a bunch of leaves than a flower; its scent is agreeable, but altogether peculiar to itself.

3. The *Mulatti*, or *Nyctanthes Sambac*. This is well-known in English hot-houses by the name of Arabian jessamine: it grows here in the greatest profusion, and its fragrance, like that of all other Indian flowers, though exquisitely pleasing, has not that overpowering strength which distinguishes some of the same sorts in Europe.

4, 5. The *Combang Caracnassi*, and *Combang Tonquin*, *Percularia Glabro*. These are small flowers, of the dog's-bane kind, very much resembling each other in shape and smell, highly fragrant, but very different from every product of an English garden.

6. The *Bonga Tanjong*, or *Mimusops Elengi* of Linnæus. This flower is shaped like a star of seven or eight rays, and is about half an inch in diameter; it is of a yellowish colour, and has an agreeable smell.

Besides these, there is the *Sundal Malam*, or *Polianthes Tuberosa*. This flower, being the same with our own tuberose, can have no place among those that are unknown in Europe, but I mention it for its Malay name, which signifies "Intriguer of the Night," and is not inelegantly conceived. The heat of this climate is so great, that few flowers exhale their sweets in the day; and this in particular, from its total want of scent at that time, and the modesty of its colour, which is white, seems negligent of attracting admirers, but as soon as night comes on, it diffuses its fragrance, and at once captivates the attention, and excites the complacency of all who approach it.

These are all sold about the streets every evening at sunset, either strung upon a thread, in wreaths of about two feet long, or made up into nosegays of different forms, either of which may be purchased for about a halfpenny. Besides these, there are, in private gardens, many other sweet flowers, which are not produced in a sufficient quantity to be brought to market. With a mixture of these flowers, and the leaves of a plant called *pandang*, cut into small pieces, persons of both sexes fill their hair and their clothes, and with the same mixture indulge a much higher luxury by strewing it on their beds, so that the chamber in which they sleep breathes the richest and purest of all odours, unallayed by the fumes which cannot but arise where the sleeper lies under two or three blankets and a quilt, for the bed-covering here is nothing more than a single piece of fine chintz.

Before I close my account of the vegetable productions of this part of India, I must take some notice of the spices. Java originally produced none but pepper: this is now sent from hence into Europe to a great value, but the quantity consumed here is very small. The inhabitants use *Capsicum*, or, as it is called in Europe, Cayenne-pepper, almost universally in its stead. Cloves and nutmegs, having been monopolised by the Dutch, are become too dear to be plentifully used by the other inhabitants of this country, who are very fond of them. Cloves, although they are said originally to have been the produce of Machian, or Bachian, a small island far to the eastward, and only fifteen miles to the northward of the line, and to have been from thence disseminated by the Dutch, at their first coming into these parts, over all the eastern islands, are now confined to Amboyna, and the small isles that lie in its neighbourhood; the Dutch having, by different treaties of peace between them and the conquered kings of all the other islands, stipulated that they should have only a certain number of trees in their dominions; and in future quarrels, as a punishment for disobedience and rebellion, lessened the quantity, till at last they left them no claim to any. Nutmegs have, in a manner, been extirpated in all the islands except their first native soil, Banda, which easily supplies every nation upon earth; and would as easily supply every nation in another globe of the same dimensions, if there was any such to which the industrious Hollander could transport the commodity; it is, however, certain, that there are a few trees of this spice upon the coast of New Guinea. There may perhaps be both cloves and nutmegs upon other islands to the eastward; for those, neither the Dutch, nor any other European, seem to think it worth while to examine.

The principal tame quadrupeds of this country are horses, cattle, buffaloes, sheep, goats, and hogs. The horses are small, never exceeding in size what we call a stout galloway; but they are nimble and spirited, and are reported to have been found here when the Europeans first came round the Cape of Good Hope. The horned cattle are said to be the same species as those in Europe; but they differ so much in appearance, that we were inclined to doubt it: they have indeed the *palearia* or *dewlap*, which naturalists make the distinguishing characteristic of the European species; but they certainly are found wild, not only in Java, but several of the eastern islands. The flesh of those that we ate at Batavia had a finer grain than European beef, but it was less juicy, and miserably lean. Buffaloes are plenty, but the Dutch never eat them, nor will they drink their milk, being prepossessed with a notion that both are unwholesome, and tend to produce fevers; though the natives and Chinese eat both, without any injury to their health. The sheep are of the kind which have long ears that hang down, and hair instead of wool: the flesh of these is hard and tough, and in every respect the worst mutton we ever saw. We found here, however, a few Cape sheep, which are excellent, but so dear that we gave five-and-forty shillings a-piece for four of them, the heaviest of which weighed only five-and-forty pounds. The goats are not better than the sheep; but the hogs, especially the Chinese breed, are incomparable, and so fat, that the purchaser agrees for the lean separately. The butcher, who is always a Chinese, without the least scruple, cuts off as much of the fat as he is desired, and afterwards sells it to his countrymen, who melt it down, and eat it instead of butter with their rice: but notwithstanding the excellence of this pork, the Dutch are so strongly prejudiced in favour of everything that comes from their native country, that they eat only of the Dutch breed, which are here sold as much dearer than the Chinese as the Chinese are sold dearer than the Dutch in Europe.

Besides these animals, which are tame, they have dogs and cats; and there are among the distant mountains some wild horses and cattle. Buffaloes are not found wild in any part of Java, though they abound in Macassar, and several other eastern islands. The neighbourhood of Batavia, however, is plentifully supplied with two kinds of deer; and wild hogs, which are sold at a reasonable price by the Portuguese, who shoot them, and are very good food.

Among the mountains, and in the desert parts of the island, there are tigers, it is said, in great abundance, and some rhinoceroses. In these parts, also, there are monkeys; and there are a few of them even in the neighbourhood of Batavia.

Of fish, here is an amazing plenty; many sorts are excellent, and all are very cheap,

except the few that are scarce. It happens here, as in other places, that vanity gets the better even of appetite: the cheap fish, most of which is of the best kind, is the food only of slaves, and that which is dear, only because it is scarce, and very much inferior in every respect, is placed upon the tables of the rich. A sensible housekeeper once spoke to us freely upon the subject. "I know," said he, "as well as you, that I could purchase a better dish of fish for a shilling than what now costs me ten; but if I should make so good a use of my money, I should here be as much despised as you would be in Europe if you were to cover your table with offals, fit only for beggars or dogs."

Turtle is also found here, but it is neither so sweet nor so fat as the West Indian turtle, even in London; such as it is, however, we should consider it as a dainty: but the Dutch, among other singularities, do not eat it. We saw some lizards, or *Iguanas*, here, of a very large size; we were told that some were as thick as a man's thigh; and Mr. Banks shot one that was five feet long: the flesh of this animal proved to be very good food.

Poultry is very good here, and in great plenty: fowls, of a very large size, ducks, and geese, are very cheap; pigeons are dear, and the price of turkeys extravagant. We sometimes found the flesh of these animals lean and dry; but this was merely the effect of their being ill fed, for those that we fed ourselves were as good as any of the same kind that we had tasted in Europe, and we sometimes thought them even better.

Wild-fowl in general is scarce. We once saw a wild-duck in the fields, but never any that were to be sold. We frequently saw snipes of two kinds, one of them exactly the same as that in Europe; and a kind of thrush was always to be had in great plenty of the Portuguese, who, for I know not what reason, seem to have monopolised the wild-fowl and game. Of snipes, it is remarkable, that they are found in more parts of the world than any other bird, being common almost all over Europe, Asia, Africa, and America.

With respect to drink, nature has not been quite so liberal to the inhabitants of Java, as to some whom she has placed in the less fruitful regions of the north. The native Javanese, and most of the other Indians who inhabit this island, are indeed Mahometans, and therefore have no reason to regret the want of wine: but, as if the prohibition of their law respected only the manner of becoming drunk, and not drunkenness itself, they chew opium, to the total subversion, not only of their understanding, but their health.

The arrack that is made here is too well known to need a description: besides which, the palm yields a wine of the same kind with that which has already been described in the account of the island of Savu; it is procured from the same tree, in the same manner, and is sold in three states. The first, in which it is called *Tuac manise*, differs little from that in which it comes from the tree; yet even this has received some preparation altogether unknown to us, in consequence of which it will keep eight-and-forty hours, though otherwise it would spoil in twelve: in this state it has an agreeable sweetness, and will not intoxicate. In the other two states it has undergone a fermentation, and received an infusion of certain herbs and roots, by which it loses its sweetness, and acquires a taste very austere and disagreeable. In one of these states it is called *Tuac cras*, and in the other *Tuac cuning*, but the specific difference I do not know; in both, however, it intoxicates very powerfully. A liquor called Tuac is also made from the cocoa-nut tree, but this is used chiefly to put into the arrack, for in that which is good it is an essential ingredient.

CHAPTER XII.—SOME ACCOUNT OF THE INHABITANTS OF BATAVIA, AND THE ADJACENT COUNTRY, THEIR MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND MANNER OF LIFE.

The town of Batavia, although, as I have already observed, it is the capital of the Dutch dominions in India, is so far from being peopled with Dutchmen, that not one-fifth part, even of the European inhabitants of the town, and its environs, are natives of Holland, or of Dutch extraction: the greater part are Portuguese, and besides Europeans, there are Indians of various nations, and Chinese, besides a great number of negro slaves. In the troops, there are natives of almost every country in Europe, but the Germans are more than all the rest put together; there are some English and French, but the Dutch, though other

Europeans are permitted to get money here, keep all the power in their own hands, and consequently possess all public employments. No man, of whatever nation, can come hither to settle, in any other character than that of a soldier in the Company's service, in which, before they are accepted, they must covenant to remain five years. As soon however as this form has been complied with, they are allowed, upon application to the council, to absent themselves from their corps, and enter immediately into any branch of trade, which their money or credit will enable them to carry on; and by this means it is that all the white inhabitants of the place are soldiers.

Women, however, of all nations, are permitted to settle here, without coming under any restrictions; yet we were told that there were not, when we were at Batavia, twenty women in the place that were born in Europe, but that the white women, who were by no means scarce, were descendants from European parents of the third or fourth generation, the gleanings of many families who had successively come hither, and, in the male line, become extinct; for it is certain that, whatever be the cause, this climate is not so fatal to the ladies as to the other sex.

These women imitate the Indians in every particular; their dress is made of the same materials, their hair is worn in the same manner, and they are equally enslaved by the habit of chewing betel.

The merchants carry on their business here with less trouble perhaps than in any other part of the world: every manufacture is managed by the Chinese, who sell the produce of their labour to the merchant resident here for they are permitted to sell it to no one else; so that when a ship comes in, and bespeaks perhaps, a hundred leagers of arrack, or any quantity of other commodities, the merchant has nothing to do but to send orders to his Chinese to see them delivered on board: he obeys the command, brings a receipt signed by the master of the ship for the goods to his employer, who receives the money, and, having deducted his profit, pays the Chinese his demand. With goods that are imported, however, the merchant has a little more trouble, for these he must examine, receive, and lay up in his warehouse, according to the practice of other countries.

The Portuguese are called by the natives *Oranserane*, or Nazareen men (Oran, being man in the language of the country), to distinguish them from other Europeans; yet they are included in the general appellation of *Caper*, or *Cafir*, an opprobrious term, applied by Mahometans to all who do not profess their faith. These people, however, are Portuguese only in name; they have renounced the religion of Rome, and become Lutherans: neither have they the least communication with the country of their forefathers, or even knowledge of it: they speak indeed a corrupt dialect of the Portuguese language, but much more frequently use the Malay: they are never suffered to employ themselves in any but mean occupations: many of them live by hunting, many by washing linen, and some are handicraftsmen and artificers. They have adopted all the customs of the Indians, from whom they are distinguished chiefly by their features and complexion, their skin being considerably darker, and their noses more sharp; their dress is exactly the same, except in the manner of wearing their hair.

The Indians, who are mixed with the Dutch and Portuguese in the town of Batavia, and the country adjacent, are not, as might be supposed, Javanese, the original natives of the island, but natives of the various islands from which the Dutch import slaves, and are either such as have themselves been manumised, or the descendants of those who formerly received manumission; and they are all comprehended under the general name of *Oranslam*, or *Isalam*, signifying Believers of the true Faith. The natives of every country, however, in other respects, keep themselves distinct from the rest, and are not less strongly marked than the slaves by the vices or virtues of their respective nations. Many of these employ themselves in the cultivation of gardens, and in selling fruit and flowers. The betel and areca, which are here called *Siri* and *Pinang*, and chewed by both sexes and every rank in amazing quantities, are all grown by these Indians: lime is also mixed with these roots here as it is in Savu, but it is less pernicious to the teeth, because it is first slaked, and, besides the lime, a substance called *gambir*, which is brought from the continent of India; the better sort of women also add cardamum, and many other aromatics, to give the breath an

agreeable smell. Some of the Indians, however, are employed in fishing, and as lightermen, to carry goods from place to place by water; and some are rich, and live with much of the splendour of their country, which chiefly consists in the number of their slaves.

In the article of food these Isalams are remarkably temperate: it consists chiefly of boiled rice, with a small proportion of buffalo, fish, or fowl, and sometimes of dried fish, and dried shrimps, which are brought hither from China; every dish, however, is highly seasoned with Cayenne pepper, and they have many kinds of pastry made of rice-flour, and other things to which I am a stranger; they eat also a great deal of fruit, particularly plantains.

But notwithstanding their general temperance, their feasts are plentiful, and, according to their manner, magnificent. As they are Mahometans, wine and strong liquors professedly make no part of their entertainment, neither do they often indulge with them privately, contenting themselves with their betel and opium.

The principal solemnity among them is a wedding, upon which occasion both the families borrow as many ornaments of gold and silver as they can, to adorn the bride and bridegroom, so that their dresses are very showy and magnificent. The feasts that are given upon these occasions among the rich, last sometimes a fortnight, and sometimes longer; and during this time, the man, although married on the first day, is, by the women, kept from his wife.

The language that is spoken among all these people, from what place soever they originally came, is the Malay; at least it is a language so called, and probably it is a very corrupt dialect of that spoken at Malacca. Every little island indeed has a language of its own, and Java has two or three, but this lingua franca is the only language that is now spoken here, and, as I am told, it prevails over a great part of the East Indies. A dictionary of Malay and English was published in London by Thomas Bowrey, in the year 1701.

Their women wear as much hair as can grow upon the head, and to increase the quantity, they use oils, and other preparations of various kinds. Of this ornament nature has been very liberal; it is universally black, and is formed into a kind of circular wreath upon the top of the head, where it is fastened with a bodkin, in a taste which we thought inexpressibly elegant; the wreath of hair is surrounded by another of flowers, in which the Arabian jessamine is beautifully intermixed with the golden stars of the *Bonger Tanjong*.

Both sexes constantly bathe themselves in the river at least once a day, a practice which, in this hot country, is equally necessary both to personal delicacy and health. The teeth of these people also, whatever they may suffer in their colour by chewing betel, are an object of great attention: the ends of them, both in the upper and under jaw, are rubbed with a kind of whetstone, by a very troublesome and painful operation, till they are perfectly even and flat, so that they cannot lose less than half a line in their length. A deep groove is then made across the teeth of the upper jaw, parallel with the gums, and in the middle between them and the extremity of the teeth; the depth of this groove is at least equal to one-fourth of the thickness of the teeth, so that it penetrates far beyond what is called the enamel, the least injury to which, according to the dentists of Europe, is fatal; yet among these people where the practice of thus wounding the enamel is universal, we never saw a rotten tooth; nor is the blackness a stain, but a covering, which may be washed off at pleasure, and the teeth then appear as white as ivory, which however is not an excellence in the estimation of the belles and beaux of these nations.

These are the people among whom the practice that is called *a mock*, or running a muck, has prevailed for time immemorial. It is well known, that to run a muck, in the original sense of the word, is to get intoxicated with opium, and then rush into the street with a drawn weapon, and kill whoever comes in the way, till the party is himself either killed or taken prisoner; of this several instances happened while we were at Batavia, and one of the officers, whose business it is, among other things, to apprehend such people, told us, that there was scarcely a week in which he, or some of his brethren, were not called upon to take one of them into custody. In one of the instances that came to our knowledge, the party had been severely injured by the perfidy of women, and was mad with jealousy before he made himself drunk with opium; and we were told, that the Indian who runs a muck is

always first driven to desperation by some outrage, and always first revenges himself upon those who have done him wrong: we were also told, that though these unhappy wretches afterwards run into the street with a weapon in their hand, frantic and foaming at the mouth, yet they never kill any but those who attempt to apprehend them, or those whom they suspect of such an intention, and that whoever gives them way is safe. They are generally slaves, who indeed are most subject to insults, and least able to obtain legal redress: freemen, however, are sometimes provoked into this extravagance, and one of the persons who ran a muck while we were at Batavia, was free and in easy circumstances. He was jealous of his own brother, whom he first killed, and afterwards two others, who attempted to oppose him: he did not, however, come out of his house, but endeavoured to defend himself in it, though the opium had so far deprived him of his senses, that of three muskets, which he attempted to use against the officers of justice, not one was either loaded or primed. If the officer takes one of these amocks, or mohawks, as they have been called by an easy corruption, alive, his reward is very considerable, but if he kills them, nothing is added to his usual pay; yet such is the fury of their desperation, that three out of four are of necessity destroyed in the attempt to secure them, though the officers are provided with instruments like large tongs, or pincers, to lay hold of them without coming within the reach of their weapon. Those who happen to be taken alive are generally wounded, but they are always broken alive upon the wheel; and if the physician who is appointed to examine their wounds, thinks them likely to be mortal, the punishment is inflicted immediately, and the place of execution is generally the spot where the first murder was committed.

Among these people, there are many absurd practices and opinions which they derive from their pagan ancestors: they believe that the devil, whom they call Satan, is the cause of all sickness and adversity, and for this reason, when they are sick, or in distress, they consecrate meat, money, and other things to him, as a propitiation. If any one among them is restless, and dreams for two or three nights successively, he concludes that Satan has taken that method of laying his commands upon him, which, if he neglects to fulfil, he will certainly suffer sickness or death, though they are not revealed with sufficient perspicuity to ascertain their meaning: to interpret his dream, therefore, he taxes his wits to the uttermost, and if, by taking it literally or figuratively, directly or by contraries, he can put no explanation upon it that perfectly satisfies him, he has recourse to the cawin or priest, who assists him with a comment and illustrations, and perfectly reveals the mysterious suggestions of the night. It generally appears that the devil wants victuals or money, which are always allotted him, and being placed on a little plate of cocoa-nut leaves, are hung upon the branch of a tree near the river, so that it seems not to be the opinion of these people, that, in prowling the earth, "the devil walketh through dry places." Mr. Banks once asked, whether they thought Satan spent the money, or ate the victuals; he was answered, that as to the money it was considered rather as a mulct upon an offender, than a gift to him who had enjoined it, and that therefore, if it was devoted by the dreamer, it mattered not into whose hands it came, and they supposed that it was generally the prize of some stranger who wandered that way; but as to the meat, they were clearly of opinion, that although the devil did not eat the gross parts, yet by bringing his mouth near it, he sucked out all its savour without changing its position, so that afterwards it was as tasteless as water.

But they have another superstitious opinion that is still more unaccountable. They believe that women, when they are delivered of children, are frequently at the same time delivered of a young crocodile, as a twin to the infant: they believe that these creatures are received most carefully by the midwife, and immediately carried down to the river, and put into the water. The family in which such a birth is supposed to have happened, constantly put victuals into the river for their amphibious relation, and especially the twin, who, as long as he lives, goes down to the river at stated seasons, to fulfil this fraternal duty, for the neglect of which, it is the universal opinion that he will be visited with sickness or death. What could at first produce a notion so extravagant and absurd, it is not easy to guess, especially as it seems to be totally unconnected with any religious mystery, and how a fact which never happened, should be pretended to happen every day, by those who cannot be deceived into a belief of it by appearances, nor have any apparent interest in the fraud, is a problem

himself upon
appy wretches
at the mouth,
se whom they
are generally
redress: free-
persons who
e was jealous
attempted to
nd himself in
ets, which he
med. If the
easy corrup-
l to his usual
ity destroyed
ts like large
eir weapon.
ways broken
unds, thinks
of execution

they derive
is the cause
stress, they
among them
n has taken
e will cer-
rspicuity to
the utter-
can put no
priest, who
suggestions
are always
the branch
, in prowl-
l, whether
as to the
who had
nto whose
anger who
hough the
out all
r.
ey believe
delivered
received
into the
antly put
, as long
, for the
or death.
ess, espe-
ct which
deceived
problem

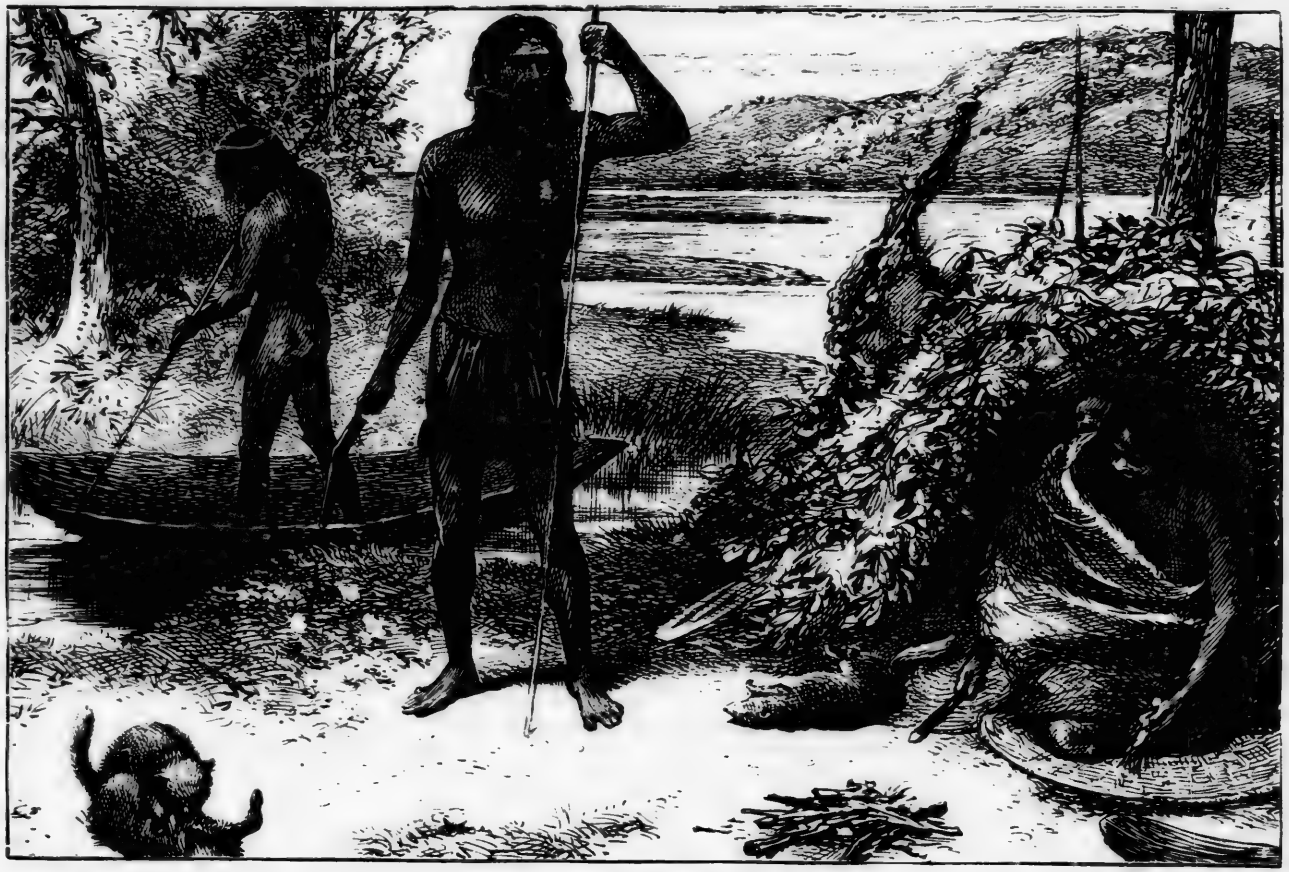


Plate IX.] A NEW ZEALAND FAMILY *Cook's Voyages.*

still more difficult to solve. Nothing however can be more certain than the firm belief of this strange absurdity among them, for we had the concurrent testimony of every Indian who was questioned about it, in its favour. It seems to have taken its rise in the islands of Celebes and Boutou, where many of the inhabitants keep crocodiles in their families; but however that be, the opinion has spread over all the eastern islands, even to Timor and Ceram, and westward as far as Java and Sumatra, where, however, young crocodiles are, I believe, never kept.

These crocodile twins are called *Sudaras*, and I shall relate one of the innumerable stories that were told us, in proof of their existence, from ocular demonstration.

A young female slave, who was born and bred up among the English at Bencoolen, and had learnt a little of the language, told Mr. Banks that her father, when he was dying, acquainted her that he had a crocodile for his *Sudara*, and solemnly charged her to give him meat when he should be dead, telling her in what part of the river he was to be found, and by what name he was to be called up. That, in pursuance of her father's instructions and command, she went to the river, and, standing upon the bank, called out *Radja Pouti*, White King, upon which a crocodile came to her out of the water, and ate from her hand the provisions that she had brought him. When she was desired to describe this paternal uncle, who in so strange a shape had taken up his dwelling in the water, she said, that he was not like other crocodiles, but much handsomer; that his body was spotted and his nose red; that he had bracelets of gold upon his feet, and ear-rings of the same metal in his ears. Mr. Banks heard this tale of ridiculous falsehood patiently to the end, and then dismissed the girl, without reminding her, that a crocodile with ears was as strange a monster as a dog with a cloven foot. Some time after this, a servant whom Mr. Banks had hired at Batavia, and who was the son of a Dutchman by a Javanese woman, thought fit to acquaint his master that he had seen a crocodile of the same kind, which had also been seen by many others, both Dutchmen and Malays: that being very young, it was but two feet long, and had bracelets of gold upon its feet. There is no giving credit to these stories, said Mr. Banks, for I was told the other day that a crocodile had ear-rings; and you know that could not be true, because crocodiles have no ears. Ah, sir, said the man, these Sudara Oran are not like other crocodiles; they have five toes upon each foot, a large tongue that fills their mouth, and ears also, although they are indeed very small.

How much of what these people related they believed, cannot be known: for there are no bounds to the credulity of ignorance and folly. In the girl's relation, however, there are some things in which she could not be deceived; and therefore must have been guilty of wilful falsehood. Her father might perhaps give her a charge to feed a crocodile, in consequence of his believing that it was his Sudara; but its coming to her out of the river, when she called it by the name of White King, and taking the food she had brought it, must have been a fable of her own invention; for this being false, it was impossible that she should believe it to be true. The girl's story, however, as well as that of the man, is a strong proof that they both firmly believe the existence of crocodiles that are Sudaras to men; and the girl's fiction will be easily accounted for, if we recollect, that the earnest desire which every one feels to make others believe what he believes himself, is a strong temptation to support it by unjustifiable evidence. And the averring what is known to be false, in order to produce in others the belief of what is thought to be true, must, upon the most charitable principles, be imputed to many, otherwise venerable characters, through whose hands the doctrines of Christianity passed for many ages in their way to us, as the source of all the silly fables related of the Romish saints, many of them not less extravagant and absurd than this story of the White King, and all of them the invention of the first relater.

The Bougis, Macassars, and Boetons, are so firmly persuaded that they have relations of the crocodile species in the rivers of their own country, that they perform a periodical ceremony in remembrance of them. Large parties of them go out in a boat, furnished with great plenty of provisions, and all kinds of music, and row backwards and forwards, in places where crocodiles and alligators are most common, singing and weeping by turns, each invoking his kindred, till a crocodile appears, when the music instantly stops, and provisions, betel, and tobacco, are thrown into the water. By this civility to the species, they hope to recom-

Cook's Voyages.

A NEW ZEALAND FAMILY

Plate IX.]

mend themselves to their relations at home; and that it will be accepted instead of offerings immediately to themselves, which it is not in their power to pay.

In the next rank to the Indians stand the Chinese, who in this place are numerous, but possess very little property; many of them live within the walls, and keep shops. The fruit-sellers of Passar Pissang have been mentioned already; but others have a rich show of European and Chinese goods: the far greater part, however, live in a quarter by themselves, without the walls, called Campang China. Many of them are carpenters, joiners, smiths, tailors, slipper-makers, dyers of cotton, and embroiderers; maintaining the character of industry that is universally given of them: and some are scattered about the country, where they cultivate gardens, sow rice and sugar, and keep cattle and buffaloes, whose milk they bring daily to town.

CHINESE SHOPS, MERCHANTS, &c., AT BATAVIA.

There is nothing clean or dirty, honest or dishonest, provided there is not too much danger of a halter, that the Chinese will not readily do for money. But though they work with great diligence, and patiently undergo any degree of labour; yet no sooner have they laid down their tools than they begin to game, either at cards or dice, or some other play among the multitude that they have invented, which are altogether unknown in Europe: to this they apply with such eagerness, as scarcely to allow time for the necessary refreshments of food and sleep; so that it is as rare to see a Chinese idle, as it is to see a Dutchman or an Indian employed.

In manners they are always civil, or rather obsequious; and in dress they are remarkably neat and clean, to whatever rank of life they belong. I shall not attempt a description either of their persons or habits, for the better kind of China paper, which is now common in England, exhibits a perfect representation of both, though perhaps with some slight exaggerations approaching towards the caricatura.

In eating they are easily satisfied, though the few that are rich have many savoury dishes. Rice, with a small proportion of flesh or fish, is the food of the poor; and they have greatly the advantage of the Mahometan Indians, whose religion forbids them to eat of many things which they could most easily procure. The Chinese, on the contrary, being under no restraint, eat, besides pork, dogs, cats, frogs, lizards, serpents of many kinds, and a great variety of sea animals, which the other inhabitants of this country do not consider as food: they eat also many vegetables, which a European, except he was perishing with hunger, would never touch.

The Chinese have a singular superstition with regard to the burial of their dead; for they will upon no occasion open the ground a second time, where a body has been interred. Their burying-grounds, therefore, in the neighbourhood of Batavia, cover many hundred acres, and the Dutch, grudging the waste of so much land, will not sell any for this purpose but at the most exorbitant price. The Chinese, however, contrive to raise the purchase-money, and afford another instance of the folly and weakness of human nature, in transferring a regard for the living to the dead, and making that the object of solicitude and expense, which cannot receive the least benefit from either. Under the influence of this universal prejudice, they take an uncommon method to preserve the body entire, and prevent the remains of it from being mixed with the earth that surrounds it. They inclose it in a large thick coffin of wood, not made of planks joined together, but hollowed out of the solid timber like a canoe; this

being covered, and let down into the grave, is surrounded with a coat of their mortar, called Chinam, about eight or ten inches thick, which in a short time becomes as hard as a stone. The relations of the deceased attend the funeral ceremony, with a considerable number of women that are hired to weep: it might reasonably be supposed that the hired appearance of sorrow could no more flatter the living than benefit the dead: yet the appearance of sorrow is known to be hired among people much more reflective and enlightened than the Chinese. In Batavia, the law requires that every man should be buried according to his rank, which is in no case dispensed with; so that, if the deceased has not left sufficient to pay his debts, an officer takes an inventory of what was in his possession when he died, and out of the produce buries him in the manner prescribed, leaving only the overplus to his creditors. Thus in many instances are the living sacrificed to the dead, and money that should discharge a debt, or feed an orphan, lavished in idle processions, or materials that are deposited in the earth to rot.

Another numerous class among the inhabitants of this country is the slaves; for by slaves the Dutch, Portuguese, and Indians, however different in their rank or situation, are constantly attended: they are purchased from Sumatra, Malacca, and almost all the eastern islands. The natives of Java, very few of whom, as I have before observed, live in the neighbourhood of Batavia, have an exemption from slavery under the sanction of very severe penal laws, which I believe are seldom violated. The price of these slaves is from ten to twenty pounds sterling; but girls, if they have beauty, sometimes fetch a hundred. They are a very lazy set of people; but as they will do but little work, they are content with a little victuals, subsisting altogether upon boiled rice, and a small quantity of the cheapest fish. As they are natives of different countries, they differ from each other extremely, both in person and disposition. The African negroes, called here *Papua*, are the worst, and consequently may be purchased for the least money: they are all thieves, and all incorrigible. Next to these are the Bougis and Macassars, both from the island of Celebes; these are lazy in the highest degree, and though not so much addicted to theft as the negroes, have a cruel and vindictive spirit, which renders them extremely dangerous; especially as, to gratify their resentment, they will make no scruple of sacrificing life. The best slaves, and consequently the dearest, are procured from the island of Bali: the most beautiful women from Nias, a small island on the coast of Sumatra; but they are of a tender and delicate constitution, and soon fall a sacrifice to the unwholesome air of Batavia. Besides these, there are Malays, and slaves of several other denominations, whose particular characteristics I do not remember.

These slaves are wholly in the power of their masters with respect to any punishment that does not take away life; but if a slave dies in consequence of punishment, though his death should not appear to have been intended, the master is called to a severe account, and he is generally condemned to suffer capitally. For this reason the master seldom inflicts punishment upon the slave himself, but applies to an officer called a Marineu, one of whom is stationed in every district. The duty of the Marineu is to quell riots, and take offenders into custody; but more particularly to apprehend runaway slaves, and punish them for such crimes as the master, supported by proper evidence, lays to their charge: the punishment however is not inflicted by the Marineu in person, but by slaves who are bred up to the business. Men are punished publicly, before the door of their master's house; but women within it. The punishment is by stripes, the number being proportioned to the offence; and they are given with rods made of rattans, which are split into slender twigs for the purpose, and fetch blood at every stroke. A common punishment costs the master a rix-dollar, and a severe one a ducatoon, about six shillings and eightpence. The master is also obliged to allow the slave three dubbelcheys, equal to about sevenpence halfpenny a week, as an encouragement, and to prevent his being under temptations to steal, too strong to be resisted.

Concerning the government of this place I can say but little. We observed, however, a remarkable subordination among the people. Every man who is able to keep house has a certain specific rank acquired by the length of his services to the company: the different ranks which are thus acquired are distinguished by the ornaments of the coaches and the

dresses of the coachmen: some are obliged to ride in plain coaches, some are allowed to paint them in different manners and degrees, and some to gild them. The coachman also appears in clothes that are quite plain, or more or less adorned with lace. The officer who presides here has the title of governor-general of the Indies, and the Dutch governors of all the other settlements are subordinate to him, and obliged to repair to Batavia that he may pass their accounts. If they appear to have been criminal, or even negligent, he punishes them by delay, and detains them during pleasure, sometimes one year, sometimes two years, and sometimes three: for they cannot quit the place till he gives them a dismission. Next to the governor are the members of the council, called here *Edele Heeren*, and by the corruption of the English, *Idoleers*. These Idoleers take upon them so much state, that whoever meets them in a carriage is expected to rise up and bow, then to drive on one side of the road, and there stop till they are past: the same homage is required also to their wives, and even their children; and it is commonly paid them by the inhabitants. But some of our captains have thought so slavish a mark of respect beneath the dignity which they derive from the service of his Britannic Majesty, and have refused to pay it; yet, if they were in a hired carriage, nothing could deter the coachman from honouring the Dutch grandee at their expense, but the most peremptory menace of immediate death.

Justice is administered here by a body of lawyers, who have ranks of distinction among themselves. Concerning their proceedings in questions of property, I know nothing; but their decisions in criminal cases seem to be severe with respect to the natives, and lenient with respect to their own people, in a criminal degree. A Christian always is indulged with an opportunity of escaping before he is brought to a trial, whatever may have been his offence; and if he is brought to a trial and convicted, he is seldom punished with death; while the poor Indians, on the contrary, are hanged, and broken upon the wheel, and even impaled alive, without mercy.

The Malays and Chinese have judicial officers of their own, under the denominations of captains and lieutenants, who determine in civil cases, subject to an appeal to the Dutch court.

The taxes paid by these people to the Company are very considerable; and that which is exacted of them for liberty to wear their hair, is by no means the least. They are paid monthly, and to save the trouble and charge of collecting them, a flag is hoisted upon the top of a house in the middle of the town when a payment is due, and the Chinese have experienced that it is their interest to repair thither with their money without delay.

The money current here consists of ducats, worth a hundred and thirty-two stivers; ducatoons, eighty stivers; imperial rix-dollars, sixty; rupees of Batavia, thirty; schellings, six; dubbelcheys, two stivers and a half; and doits, one fourth of a stiver. Spanish dollars, when we were here, were at five shillings and fivepence; and we were told, that they were never lower than five shillings and fourpence, even at the company's warehouse. For English guineas we could never get more than nineteen shillings upon an average; for though the Chinese would give twenty shillings for some of the brightest, they would give no more than seventeen shillings for those that were much worn.

It may, perhaps, be of some advantage to strangers to be told that there are two kinds of coin here, of the same denomination, milled and unmilled, and that the milled is of most value. A milled ducatoon is worth eighty stivers; but an unmilled ducatoon is worth no more than seventy-two. All accounts are kept in rix-dollars and stivers, which, here at least, are mere nominal coins, like our pound sterling. The rix-dollar is equal to forty-eight stivers, about four shillings and sixpence English currency.

CHAPTER XIII.—THE PASSAGE FROM BATAVIA TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE; SOME ACCOUNT OF PRINCE'S ISLAND AND ITS INHABITANTS, AND A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THEIR LANGUAGE WITH THE MALAY AND JAVANESE.

On Thursday the 27th of December, at six o'clock in the morning, we weighed again and stood out to sea. After much delay by contrary winds, we weathered Pulo Pare on the

29th, and stood in for the main; soon after we fetched a small island under the main, in the midway between Batavia and Bantam, called Maneater's Island. The next day, we weathered first Wapping Island, and then Pulo Babi. On the 31st, we stood over to the Sumatra shore; and, on the morning of New-year's day, 1771, we stood over for the Java shore.

We continued our course as the wind permitted us till three o'clock in the afternoon of the 5th, when we anchored under the south-east side of Prince's Island in eighteen fathom, in order to recruit our wood and water, and procure refreshments for the sick, many of whom were now become much worse than they were when we left Batavia. As soon as the ship was secured, I went ashore, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, and we were met upon the beach by some Indians, who carried us immediately to a man, who, they said, was their king. After we had exchanged a few compliments with his majesty, we proceeded to business; but, in settling the price of turtle, we could not agree: this however did not discourage us, as we made no doubt but that we should buy them at our own price in the morning. As soon as we parted, the Indians dispersed, and we proceeded along the shore in search of a watering-place. In this we were more successful; we found water very conveniently situated; and, if a little care was taken in filling it, we had reason to believe that it would prove good. Just as we were going off, some Indians, who remained with a canoe upon the beach, sold us three turtle; but exacted a promise of us that we should not tell the king.

The next morning, while a party was employed in filling water, we renewed our traffic for turtle: at first, the Indians dropped their demands slowly, but soon they agreed to take the price that we offered, so that before night we had turtle in plenty: the three that we had purchased the evening before, were in the mean time served to the ship's company, who, till the day before, had not once been served with salt provisions from the time of our arrival at Savu, which was now near four months. In the evening, Mr. Banks went to pay his respects to the king, at his palace, in the middle of a rice-field, and though his majesty was busily employed in dressing his own supper, he received the stranger very graciously.

The next day, the natives came down to the trading place, with fowls, fish, monkeys, small deer, and some vegetables, but no turtle; for they said that we had bought them all the day before. The next day, however, more turtle appeared at market, and some were brought down every day afterwards during our stay, though the whole, together, was not equal to the quantity that we bought the day after our arrival.

On the 11th, Mr. Banks having learnt from the servant whom he had hired at Batavia, that the Indians of this island had a town upon the shore, at some distance to the westward, he determined to see it; with this view he set out in the morning, accompanied by the second lieutenant, and as he had some reason to think that his visit would not be agreeable to the inhabitants, he told the people whom he met, as he was advancing along the shore, that he was in search of plants, which indeed was also true. In about two hours they arrived at a place where there were four or five houses, and meeting with an old man, they ventured to make some inquiries concerning the town. He said that it was far distant; but they were not to be discouraged in their enterprise, and he, seeing them proceed in their journey, joined company and went on with them. He attempted several times to lead them out of the way, but without success; and at length they came within sight of the houses. The old man then entered cordially into their party, and conducted them into the town. The name of it is Samadang; it consists of about four hundred houses, and is divided by a river of brackish water into two parts, one of which is called the old town, and the other the new. As soon as they entered the old town, they met several Indians whom they had seen at the trading-place, and one of them undertook to carry them over to the new town, at the rate of twopence ahead. When the bargain was made, two very small canoes were produced, in which they embarked; the canoes being placed alongside of each other, and held together, a precaution which was absolutely necessary to prevent their oversetting, the navigation was at length safely performed, though not without some difficulty; and when they landed in the new town, the people received them with great friendship, and showed them the houses of their kings and principal people, which are in this district: a few of

them however were open, for at this time the people had taken up their residence in the rice-grounds, to defend the crop against the birds and monkeys, by which it would otherwise have been destroyed. When their curiosity was satisfied, they hired a large sailing boat for two rupees, four shillings, which brought them back to the ship time enough to dine upon one of the small deer, weighing only forty pounds, which had been bought the day before, and proved to be very good and savoury meat.

We went on shore in the evening, to see how the people who were employed in wooding and watering went on, and were informed that an axe had been stolen. As the passing over this fault might encourage the commission of others of the same kind, application was immediately made to the king, who, after some altercation, promised that the axe should be restored in the morning; and kept his word, for it was brought to us by a man who pretended that the thief, being afraid of a discovery, had privately brought it and left it at his house in the night.

We continued to purchase between two and three hundred weight of turtle in a day, besides fowls and other necessaries; and, in the evening of the 13th, having nearly completed our wood and water, Mr. Banks went ashore to take leave of his majesty, to whom he had made several trifling presents, and at parting gave him two quires of paper, which he graciously received. They had much conversation, in the course of which his majesty inquired, why the English did not touch there as they had been used to do. Mr. Banks replied, that he supposed it was because they found a deficiency of turtle, of which there not being enough to supply one ship, many could not be expected. To supply this defect, he advised his majesty to breed cattle, buffaloes, and sheep, a measure which he did not seem much inclined to adopt.

On the 14th we made ready to sail, having on board a good stock of refreshments, which we purchased of the natives, consisting of turtle, fowl, fish, two species of deer, one as big as a sheep, the other not larger than a rabbit; with cocoa-nuts, plantains, limes, and other vegetables. The deer however served only for present use, for we could seldom keep one of them alive more than four-and-twenty hours after it was on board. On our part, the trade was carried on chiefly with Spanish dollars, the natives seeming to set little value upon anything else; so that our people, who had a general permission to trade, parted with old shirts and other articles, which they were obliged to substitute for money to great disadvantage. In the morning of the 15th, we weighed, with a light breeze, at N.E. and stood out to sea. Java Head, from which I took my departure, lies in latitude 6° 49′ S., longitude 253° 12′ W.

Prince's Island, where we lay about ten days, is, in the Malay language, called *Pulo Selan;* and, in the language of the inhabitants, *Pulo Paneitan.* It is a small island, situated in the western mouth of the Strait of Sunda. It is woody, and a very small part of it only has been cleared: there is no remarkable hill upon it, yet the English call the small eminence, which is just over the landing-place, the Pike. It was formerly much frequented by the India ships of many nations, but especially those of England, which of late have forsaken it, as it is said, because the water is bad; and touch either at North Island, a small island that lies on the coast of Sumatra, without the east entrance of the Strait, or at Mew Bay, which lies only a few leagues from Prince's Island, at neither of which places any considerable quantity of other refreshments can be procured. Prince's Island is, upon the whole, certainly more eligible than either of them; and though the water is brackish, if it is filled at the lower part of the brook, yet higher up it will be found excellent.

The first and second, and perhaps the third ship that comes in the season, may be tolerably supplied with turtle: but those that come afterwards must be content with small ones. Those that we bought were of the green kind, and at an average cost us about a halfpenny or three farthings a pound. We were much disappointed to find them neither fat nor well-flavoured; and we imputed it to their having been long kept in crawls or pens of brackish water, without food. The fowls are large, and we bought a dozen of them for a Spanish dollar, which is above fivepence a piece: the small deer cost us twopence a piece, and the larger, of which two only were brought down, a rupee. Many kinds of fish are to be had here, which the natives sell by hand, and we found them tolerably cheap. Cocoa-nuts we

bought at the rate of a hundred for a dollar, if they were picked: and if they were taken promiscuously, one hundred and thirty. Plantains we found in great plenty; we procured also some pine-apples, water-melons, jaccas*, and pumpkins; besides rice, the greater part of which was of the mountain-kind, that grows on dry land; yams, and several other vegetables, at a very reasonable rate.

The inhabitants are Javanese, whose raja is subject to the sultan of Bantam. Their customs are very similar to those of the Indians about Batavia; but they seem to be more jealous of their women, for we never saw any of them during all the time we were there, except one by chance in the woods, as she was running away to hide herself. They profess the Mahometan religion, but I believe there is not a mosque in the whole island: we were among them during the fast, which the Turks call *Ramadan*, which they seemed to keep with great rigour, for not one of them would touch a morsel of victuals, or even chew their betel till sunset.

Their food is nearly the same as that of the Batavian Indians, except the addition of the nuts of the palm, called *Cycas circinalis*, with which, upon the coast of New Holland, some of our people were made sick, and some of our hogs poisoned.

Upon observing these nuts to be part of their food, we inquired by what means they deprived them of their deleterious quality; and they told us, that they first cut them into thin slices and dried them in the sun, then steeped them in fresh water for three months, and afterwards, pressing out the water, dried them in the sun a second time, but we learnt that, after all, they are eaten only in times of scarcity, when they mix them with their rice to make it go farther.

The houses of their town are built upon piles, or pillars, four or five feet above the ground: upon these is laid a floor of bamboo canes, which are placed at some distance from each other, so as to leave a free passage for the air from below: the walls also are of bamboo, which are interwoven, hurdlewise, with small sticks, that are fastened perpendicularly to the beams which form the frame of the building: it has a sloping roof, which is so well thatched with palm leaves, that neither the sun nor the rain can find entrance. The ground over which this building is erected, is an oblong square. In the middle of one side is the door, and in the middle between that and the end of the house, towards the left hand, is a window: a partition runs out from each end towards the middle, which, if continued, would divide the whole floor into two equal parts, longitudinally; but they do not meet in the middle, so that an opening is left over-against the door; each end of the house, therefore, to the right and left of the door, is divided into two rooms, like stalls in a stable, all open towards the passage from the door to the wall on the opposite side: in that next the door to the left hand, the children sleep; that opposite to it, on the right hand, is allotted to strangers; the master and his wife sleep in the inner room on the left hand, and that opposite to it is the kitchen. There is no difference between the houses of the poor and the rich, but in the size; except that the royal palace, and the house of a man, whose name is *Gundang*, the next in riches and influence to the king, is walled with boards instead of being wattled with sticks and bamboo.

As the people are obliged to abandon the town, and live in the rice-fields at certain seasons, to secure their crops from the birds and the monkeys, they have occasional houses there for their accommodation. They are exactly the same as the houses in the town, except that they are smaller, and are elevated eight or ten feet above the ground instead of four.

The disposition of the people, as far as we could discover it, is good. They dealt with us very honestly, except, like all other Indians, and the itinerant retailers of fish in London, they ask sometimes twice, and sometimes thrice as much for their commodities as they would take. As what they brought to market belonged, in different proportions, to a considerable number of the natives, and it would have been difficult to purchase it in separate lots, they found out a very easy expedient with which every one was satisfied: they put all that was bought of one kind, as plantains, or cocoa-nuts together, and when we had agreed for the heap, they divided the money that was paid for it, among those of whose separate

* The fruit of the Jaca tree *Artocarpus integrifolia*, a species of the bread-fruit, seems to be here alluded to.—ED.

property it consisted, in a proportion corresponding with their contributions. Sometimes, indeed, they changed our money, giving us 240 doits, amounting to five shillings, for a Spanish dollar, and ninety-six, amounting to two shillings, for a Bengal rupee.

They all speak the Malay language, though they have a language of their own, different both from the Malay and the Javanese. Their own language they call *Catta Gunung*, the language of the mountains; and they say that it is spoken upon the mountains of Java, whence their tribe originally migrated, first to Mew Bay, and then to their present station, being driven from their first settlement by tigers, which they found too numerous to subdue. I have already observed, that several languages are spoken by the native Javanese, in different parts of their island; but when I say that the language of these people is different from the Javanese, I mean that it is different from the language which is spoken at Samarang, a place that is distant only one day's journey from the residence of the emperor of Java. The following is a list of corresponding words in the languages of Prince's Island, Java, and Malacca.

ENGLISH.	PRINCE'S ISLAND.	JAVANESE.	MALAY.
A man	Jalma	Oong Lanang	Oran Lacki Lacki.
A woman	Becang	Oong Wadong	Parampuan.
A child	Oroculatacke	Lari	Anack.
The head	Holo	Undase	Capalla.
The nose	Erung	Erung	Edung.
The eyes	Mata	Moto	Mata.
The ears	Chole	Cuping	Cuping.
The teeth	Cutock	Untu	Ghigi.
The belly	Beatung	Wuttong	Prot.
The back	Serit	Celit	Pantat.
The thigh	Pimping	Poopoo	Paha.
The knee	Hullootoor	Duncul	Lontour.
The leg	Metis	Sickil	Kauki.
A nail	Cucu	Cucu	Cucu.
A hand	Langan	Tangan	Tangan.
A finger	Ramo Langan	Jari	Jaring.

In this specimen of the languages of places so near to each other, the names of different parts of the body are chosen, because they are easily obtained from people whose language is utterly unknown, and because they are more likely to be part of the original stamen of the language, than any other, as types of the first objects to which they would give names. It is very remarkable that the Malay, the Javanese, and the Prince's Island language, have words, which, if not exactly similar to the corresponding words in the languge of the islands in the South Seas, are manifestly derived from the same source, as will appear from the following table:

ENGLISH.	SOUTH SEA.	MALAY.	JAVANESE.	PRINCE'S ISL.
An eye	Matta	Mata	Moto	Mata.
To eat	Man	Macan	Mangan.	
To drink	Einu	Menum	Gnumbe.	
To kill	Matte	Matte	Matte.	
A louse	Outou	Coutou.		
Rain	Euwa	Udian	Udan.	
Bamboo cane	Owhe			Awe.
A beast	Eu	Sousou	Sousou.	
A bird	Mannu		Mannu	Mannuck.
A fish	Eyca	Ican	Iwa.	
The foot	Tapao		Tapaan.	
A lobster	Toonra	Udang	Urang.	
Yams	Eufwhe	Ubi	Urve.	
To bury	Etannou	Tannam	Tandour.	
A moschito	Enammou	Gnammuck.		
To scratch	Hearu	Garru	Garu.	
Coccos roots	Taro	Tallas	Talas.	
In-land	Uta	Utan.		

This similitude is particularly remarkable in the words expressing number, which, at first sight, seems to be no inconsiderable proof that the science at least of these different people has a common root. But the names of numbers in the island of Madagascar are, in

some instances, similar to all these, which is a problem still more difficult to solve. That the names of numbers, in particular, are in a manner common to all these countries, will appear from the following comparative table, which Mr. Banks drew up, with the assistance of a negro slave, born at Madagascar, who was on board an English ship at Batavia, and sent to him to gratify his curiosity on this subject.

ENGLISH.	S. SEA ISLANDS.	MALAY.	JAVANESE.	PRINCE'S ISL.	MADAGAS.
One	Tahie	Satou	Sigi	Hegie	Isse.
Two	Rua	Dua	Lorou	Dua	Rua.
Three	Toron	Tiga	Tullu	Tollu	Tellou.
Four	Haa	Ampat	Pappat	Opat	Effats.
Five	Reina	Lima	Limo	Limah	Limi.
Six	Wheney	Aanam	Nunnam	Gunnap	Ene.
Seven	Hetu	Tudju	Petu	Tudju	Titou.
Eight	Waru	Delapau	Wolo	Delapan	Walou.
Nine	Iva	Sembilan	Songo	Salapan	Sivi.
Ten	Ahouroa	Sapoulou	Sapoulou	Sapoulou	Tourou.

In the language of Madagascar, there are other words similar to words of the same import in the Malay. The nose in Malay is called *Erung*, at Madagascar *Ourou; Lida*, the tongue, is *Lala; Tangan*, the hand, is *Tang;* and *Tanna*, the ground, is *Taan*.

From the similitude between the language of the Eastern Indies, and the islands of the South Sea, conjectures may be formed with respect to the peopling those countries, which cannot easily be referred to Madagascar. The inhabitants of Java and Madagascar appear to be a different race; the Javanese is of an olive complexion, and has long hair; the native of Madagascar is black, and his head is not covered with hair, but wool; and yet perhaps this will not conclude against their having common ancestors so strongly as at first appears. It does not seem less difficult to account for the personal difference between a native of England and France, as an effect of mere local situation, than for the difference between the natives of Java and Madagascar; yet it has never been supposed, that England and France were not peopled from common ancestors. If two natives of England marry in their own country, and afterwards remove to our settlements in the West Indies, the children that are conceived and born there will have the complexion and cast of countenance that distinguish the Creole; if they return, the children conceived and born afterwards will have no such characteristics. If it be said that the mother's mind being impressed with different external objects, impresses corresponding features and complexion upon the child during her pregnancy, it will be as difficult to refer the effect into this cause, upon mere physical principles, as into the other; for it can no more be shown how a mere idea, conceived in the mother's imagination, can change the corporeal form of her infant, than how its form can be changed by mere local situation. We know that people within the small circle of Great Britain and Ireland, who are born at the distance of two or three hundred miles from each other, will be distinguished by the Scotch face, the Welsh face, and the Irish face; may we not then reasonably suppose, that there are in nature qualities which act powerfully as efficient causes, and yet are not cognizable by any of the five modes of perception which we call senses? A deaf man, who sees the string of a harpsichord vibrate, when a corresponding tone is produced by blowing into a flute at a distance, will see an effect of which he can no more conceive the cause to exist in the blowing air into the flute, than we can conceive the cause of the personal difference of the various inhabitants of the globe to exist in mere local situation; nor can he any more form an idea of the cause itself in one case, than we can in the other: what happens to him, then, in consequence of having but four senses instead of five, may, with respect to many phenomena of nature, happen to us, in consequence of having but five senses instead of six, or any greater number.

Possibly, however, the learning of ancient Egypt might run in two courses, one through Africa, and the other through Asia, disseminating the same words in each, especially terms of number, which might thus become part of the language of people who never had any communication with each other.

We now made the best of our way for the Cape of Good Hope, but the seeds of disease which we had received at Batavia began to appear with the most threatening symptoms in

dysenteries and slow fevers. Lest the water which we had taken in at Prince's Island should have had any share in our sickness, we purified it with lime, and we washed all parts of the ship between decks with vinegar, as a remedy against infection. Mr. Banks was among the sick, and for some time there was no hope of his life. We were very soon in a most deplorable situation; the ship was nothing better than an hospital, in which those that were able to go about were too few to attend the sick, who were confined to their hammocks; and we had almost every night a dead body to commit to the sea. In the course of about six weeks, we buried Mr. Sporing, a gentleman who was in Mr. Banks's retinue; Mr. Parkinson, his natural history painter; Mr. Green the astronomer, the boatswain, the carpenter and his mate; Mr. Monkhouse the midshipman, who had fothered the ship after she had been stranded on the coast of New Holland; our old jolly sail-maker and his assistant, the ship's cook, the corporal of the marines, two of the carpenter's crew, a midshipman, and nine seamen; in all three-and-twenty persons, besides the seven that we buried at Batavia.

CHAPTER XIV.—OUR ARRIVAL AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE—SOME REMARKS ON THE RUN FROM JAVA HEAD TO THAT PLACE—A DESCRIPTION OF THE CAPE, AND OF ST. HELENA: WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE HOTTENTOTS, AND THE RETURN OF THE SHIP TO ENGLAND.

On Friday, the 15th of March, about ten o'clock in the morning, we anchored off the Cape of Good Hope, in seven fathom, with an oozy bottom. The west point of the bay, called the Lion's Tail, bore W.N.W. and the castle S.W., distant about a mile and a half. I immediately waited upon the governor, who told me that I should have everything the country afforded. My first care was to provide a proper place ashore for the sick, which were not a few; and a house was soon found, where it was agreed they should be lodged and boarded at the rate of two shillings a-head per day.

Our run from Java Head to this place afforded very few subjects of remark that can be of use to future navigators; such as occurred, however, I shall set down. We had left Java Head eleven days before we got the general south-east trade-wind, during which time we did not advance above 5° to the southward, and 3° to the west, having variable light airs, interrupted by calms, with sultry weather, and an unwholesome air, occasioned probably by the load of vapours which the eastern trade-wind and westerly monsoons bring into these latitudes, both which blow in these seas at the time of year when we happened to be there. The easterly wind prevails as far as 10° or 12° S., and the westerly as far as 6° or 8°; in the intermediate space the winds are variable, and the air, I believe, always unwholesome; it certainly aggravated the diseases which we brought with us from Batavia, and particularly the flux, which was not in the least degree checked by any medicine, so that whoever was seized with it, considered himself as a dead man; but we had no sooner got into the trade-wind, than we began to feel its salutary effects: we buried, indeed, several of our people afterwards, but they were such as had been taken on board in a state so low and feeble, that there was scarcely a possibility of their recovery. At first we suspected that this dreadful disorder might have been brought upon us by the water that we took on board at Prince's Island, or even by the turtle that we bought there; but there is not the least reason to believe that this suspicion was well grounded, for all the ships that came from Batavia at the same season, suffered in the same degree, and some of them even more severely, though none of them touched at Prince's Island in their way.

A few days after we left Java, we saw boobies about the ship for several nights successively, and as these birds are known to roost every night on shore, we thought them an indication that some island was not far distant; perhaps it might be the island of Selam, which, in different charts, is very differently laid down both in name and situation.

The variation of the compass off the west coast of Java is about 3° W., and so it continued without any sensible variation, in the common track of ships to the longitude of 288° W. latitude 22° S., after which it increased apace, so that in longitude 295°, latitude 23° the variation was 10° 20′ W.: in seven degrees more of longitude, and one of latitude, it increased two degrees; in the same space farther to the west, it increased five degrees: in

latitude 28°, longitude 314°, it was 24° 20′; in latitude 29°, longitude 317°, it was 26° 10′; and was then stationary for the space of about ten degrees farther to the west; but in latitude 34°, longitude 333°, we observed it twice to be 28½° W., and this was its greatest variation, for in latitude 35½°, longitude 337, it was 24°, and continued gradually to decrease; so that off Cape Anguillas, it was 22° 30′, and in Table Bay 20° 30′ W.

As to currents, it did not appear that they were at all considerable, till we came within a little distance of the meridian of Madagascar; for, after we had made 52° of longitude from Java Head, we found, by observation, that our error in longitude was only two degrees, and it was the same when we had made only nineteen. This error might be owing partly to a current setting to the westward, partly to our not making proper allowances for the setting of the sea before which we run, and perhaps to an error in the assumed longitude of Java Head. If that longitude is erroneous, the error must be imputed to the imperfection of the charts of which I made use in reducing the longitude from Batavia to that place, for there can be no doubt but that the longitude of Batavia is well determined. After we had passed the longitude of 307°, the effects of the westerly currents began to be considerable; for in three days, our error in longitude was 1° 5′: the velocity of the current kept increasing, as we proceeded to the westward, insomuch that, for five days successively after we made the land, we were driven to the S.W. or S.W. by W., not less than twenty leagues a day; and this continued till we were within sixty or seventy leagues of the Cape, where the current set sometimes one way, and sometimes the other, though inclining rather to the westward.

After the boobies had left us, we saw no more birds till we got nearly abreast of Madagascar, where, in latitude 27¾° S., we saw an albatross, and after that time we saw them every day in great numbers, with birds of several other sorts, particularly one about as big as a duck, of a very dark brown colour with a yellowish bill. These birds became more numerous as we approached the shore, and as soon as we got into soundings, we saw gannets, which we continued to see as long as we were upon the bank which stretches off Anguillas to the distance of forty leagues, and extends along the shore to the eastward from Cape False, according to some charts, one hundred and sixty leagues. The real extent of this bank is not exactly known; it is, however, useful as a direction to shipping when to haul in, in order to make the land.

While we lay here, the Houghton Indiaman sailed for England, who, during her stay in India, lost by sickness between thirty and forty men, and when she left the Cape had many in a helpless condition with the scurvy. Other ships suffered in the same proportion, who had been little more than twelve months absent from England; our sufferings, therefore, were comparatively light, considering that we had been absent near three times as long.

Having lain here to recover the sick, procure stores, and perform several necessary operations upon the ship and rigging, till the 13th of April, I then got all the sick on board, several of whom were still in a dangerous state, and having taken leave of the governor, I unmoored the next morning, and got ready to sail.

The Cape of Good Hope has been so often described, and is so well known in Europe, that I shall mention only a few particulars, which, in other relations, are omitted or misrepresented.

Notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, no country that we saw during the voyage makes a more forlorn appearance, or is in reality a more sterile desert. The land over the Cape, which constitutes the peninsula formed by Table Bay on the north, and False Bay on the south, consists of high mountains, altogether naked and desolate: the land behind these to the east, which may be considered as the isthmus, is a plain of vast extent, consisting almost wholly of a light kind of sea-sand, which produces nothing but heath, and is utterly incapable of cultivation. All the spots that will admit of improvement, which together bear about the same proportion to the whole as one to one thousand, are laid out in vineyards, orchards, and kitchen-grounds; and most of these little spots lie at a considerable distance from each other. There is also the greatest reason to believe, that, in the interior parts of this country, that which is capable of cultivation does not bear a greater proportion to that which is incorrigibly barren; for the Dutch told us, that they had settlements eight-and-twenty days' journey up the country, a distance equal to a less

nine hundred miles, from which they bring provisions to the Cape by land; so that it seems reasonable to conclude that provisions are not to be had within a less compass. While we were at the Cape, a farmer came thither from the country, at the distance of fifteen days' journey, and brought his young children with him. We were surprised at this, and asked him, if it would not have been better to have left them with his next neighbour. Neighbour! said the man, I have no neighbour within less than five days' journey of me.—Surely the country must be deplorably barren in which those who settle only to raise provisions for a market are dispersed at such distances from each other! That the country is everywhere destitute of wood appears to demonstration; for timber and planks are imported from Batavia, and fuel is almost as dear as food. We saw no tree, except in plantations near the town, that was six feet high; and the stems, that were not thicker than a man's thumb, had roots as thick as an arm or a leg; such is the influence of the winds here to the disadvantage of vegetation, setting the sterility of the soil out of the question.

TABLE BAY—CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

The only town which the Dutch have built here is, from its situation, called Cape Town, and consists of about a thousand houses, neatly built of brick, and in general whited on the outside; they are, however, covered only with thatch, for the violence of the south-east winds would render any other roof inconvenient and dangerous. The streets are broad and commodious, all crossing each other at right angles. In the principal street there is a canal, on each side of which is planted a row of oaks, that have flourished tolerably well, and yield an agreeable shade: there is a canal also in one other part of the town, but the slope of the ground in the course of both is so great, that they are furnished with flood-gates, or locks, at intervals of little more than fifty yards.

A much greater proportion of the inhabitants are Dutch in this place than in Batavia; and as the town is supported principally by entertaining strangers, and supplying them with necessaries, every man, to a certain degree, imitates the manners and customs of the nation with which he is chiefly concerned. The ladies, however, are so faithful to the mode of their country, that not one of them will stir without a chaudpied or chauffet, which is carried by a servant, that it may be ready to place under her feet whenever she shall sit down This practice is the more remarkable, as very few of these chauffets have fire in them, which indeed the climate renders unnecessary.

The women, in general, are very handsome; they have fine clear skins, and a bloom of

colour that indicates a purity of constitution, and high health. They make the best wives in the world, both as mistresses of a family and mothers; and there is scarcely a house that does not swarm with children.

The air is salutary in a high degree; so that those who bring diseases hither from Europe, generally recover perfect health in a short time; but the diseases that are brought from India are not so certainly cured.

Notwithstanding the natural sterility of the climate, industry has supplied this place with all the necessaries, and even the luxuries of life, in the greatest profusion. The beef and mutton are excellent, though the cattle and sheep are natives of the country; the cattle are lighter than ours, more neatly made, and have horns that spread to a much wider extent. The sheep are clothed with a substance between wool and hair, and have tails of an enormous size; we saw some that weighed twelve pounds, and were told that there were many much larger. Good butter is made of the milk of the cows, but the cheese is very much inferior to our own. Here are goats, (but they are never eaten,) hogs, and a variety of poultry. Hares are also found here, exactly like those of Europe; antelopes of many kinds, quails of two sorts, and bustards, which are well-flavoured, but not juicy. The fields produce European wheat and barley, and the gardens European vegetables, and fruit of all kinds, besides plantains, guavas, jambu, and some other Indian fruits, but these are not in perfection; the plantains, in particular, are very bad, and the guavas no larger than gooseberries. The vineyards also produce wine of various sorts, but not equal to those of Europe, except the Constantia, which is made genuine only at one vineyard, about ten miles distant from the town. There is another vineyard near it, where wine is made that is called by the same name, but it is greatly inferior.

The common method in which strangers live here, is to lodge and board with some of the inhabitants, many of whose houses are always open for their reception: the rates are from five shillings to two shillings a day, for which all necessaries are found. Coaches may be hired at four-and-twenty shillings a day, and horses at six shillings; but the country affords very little temptation to use them. There are no public entertainments; and those that are private, to which strangers of the rank of gentlemen are always admitted, were suspended while we were there by the breaking out of the measles.

At the farther end of the High-street, the Company have a garden, which is about two-thirds of an English mile long; the whole is divided by walks that intersect each other at right angles, and are planted with oaks that are clipt into wall-hedges, except in the centre walk, where they are suffered to grow to their full size, and afford an agreeable shade, which is the more welcome, as, except the plantations by the sides of the two canals, there is not a single tree that would serve even for a shepherd's bush, within many miles of the town. The greater part of this garden is kitchen ground; but two small squares are allotted to botanical plants, which did not appear to be so numerous by one half as they were when Oldenland wrote his catalogue. At the farther end of the garden is a menagerie, in which there are many birds and beasts that are never seen in Europe; particularly a beast called by the Hottentots *Coe doe*, which is as large as a horse, and has the fine spiral horns which are sometimes seen in private and public collections or curiosities *.

Of the natives of this country, we could learn but little, except from report; for there were none of their habitations, where alone they retain their original customs, within less than four days' journey from the town; those that we saw at the Cape were all servants to Dutch farmers, whose cattle they take care of, and are employed in other drudgery of the meanest kind. These are in general of a slim make, and rather lean than plump, but remarkably strong, nimble, and active. Their size is nearly the same with that of Europeans, and we saw some that were six feet high; their eyes are dull and without expression; their skins are of the colour of soot, but that is in a great measure caused by the dirt, which is so wrought into the grain that it cannot be distinguished from complexion; for I believe they

* This is the Coudous or Koodoo, *Ant. Strepciseros* of Cuvier; improperly described as *Condoma* by Buffon, while he gave the name of Coudou to another species, the Impooto or Potto, *Ant. Ocas* of Cuvier. It stands four feet high at the shoulder, and is eight feet long. It inhabits the rocky plains of the Karoo mountains. The female is without horns.—Ed.

never wash any part of their bodies. Their hair curls strongly, not like a negro's, but falls in ringlets about seven or eight inches long. Their clothing consists of a skin, generally that of a sheep, thrown over their shoulders; besides which, the men wear a small pouch in the middle of the waist, and the women, a broad leather flap, both which hang from a girdle or belt that is adorned with beads and small pieces of copper. Both men and women wear necklaces, and sometimes bracelets of beads; and the women wear rings of hard leather round their ancles, to defend them from the thorns, with which their country everywhere abounds: some of them have a sandal, made of wood or bark; but the greater part of them are unshod.

To a European, their language appears to be scarcely articulate; besides which it is distinguished by a very remarkable singularity. At very frequent intervals, while they are speaking, they cluck with the tongue against the roof of the mouth: these clucks do not appear to have any meaning, but rather to divide what they say into sentences. Most of these Hottentots speak Dutch, without any peculiarity of pronunciation.

They are all modest, even to sheepishness; for it was not without the greatest difficulty that we could persuade any of them to dance, or even to speak in their own language to each other, in our presence. We did however both see them dance, and hear them sing their dances are, by turns, active and sluggish to excess; sometimes consisting of quick and violent motions, with strange distortions of the body, and unnatural leaps backwards and forwards, with the legs crossing each other; and being sometimes so spiritless that the dancer only strikes the ground first with one foot and then with the other, neither changing place nor moving any other part of his body: the songs also are alternately to quick and slow movements, in the same extremes as the dance.

We made many inquiries concerning these people of the Dutch, and the following particulars are related upon the credit of their report.

Within the boundaries of the Dutch settlements, there are several nations of these people, who very much differ from each other in their customs and manner of life: all, however, are friendly and peaceable, except one clan that is settled to the eastward, which the Dutch call *Bosch men*, and these live entirely by plunder, or rather by theft; for they never attack their neighbours openly, but steal the cattle privately in the night. They are armed however to defend themselves, if they happen to be detected, with lances or assagays, and arrows, which they know how to poison by various ways, some with the juice of herbs, and some with the venom of the serpent, called *Cobra di Capello;* in the hands of these people a stone also is a very formidable weapon, for they can throw it with such force and exactness as repeatedly to hit a dollar at the distance of a hundred paces. As a defence against these freebooters, the other Indians train up bulls, which they place round their towns in the night, and which, upon the approach of either man or beast, will assemble and oppose them, till they hear the voice of their masters encouraging them to fight, or calling them off, which they obey with the same docility as a dog.

Some nations have the art of melting and preparing copper, which is found among them, probably native; and of this they make broad plates, which they wear as ornaments upon their foreheads. Some of them also know how to harden bits of iron, which they procure from the Dutch, and form into knives, so as to give them a temper superior to that of any they can buy.

The chiefs, many of whom are possessors of very numerous herds of cattle, are generally clad in the skins of lions, tigers, or zebras, to which they add fringes, and other ornaments, in a very good taste. Both sexes frequently anoint the body with grease, but never use any that is rancid or fetid, if fresh can be had. Mutton suet and butter are generally used for this purpose; butter is preferred, which they make by shaking the milk in a bag made of the skin of some beast.

We were told that the priest certainly gives the nuptial benediction, by sprinkling the bride and bridegroom with liquid. But the Dutch universally declared that the women never wrapped the entrails of sheep round their legs, as they have been said to do, and afterwards make them part of their food.

This much for the country, its productions, and inhabitants. The bay is large, safe, and commodious; it lies open indeed to the north-west winds, but they seldom blow hard; yet as they sometimes send in a great sea, the ships moor N.E. and S.W., so as to have an

open hawser with north-west winds: the south-east winds blow frequently with great violence, but as the direction is right out of the bay, they are not dangerous. Near the town a wharf of wood is run out to a proper distance for the convenience of landing and shipping goods. To this wharf water is conveyed in pipes, from which several boats may fill water at the same time; and several large boats or hoys are kept by the Company to carry stores and provisions to and from the shipping in the harbour. The bay is defended by a square fort, situated close to the beach on the east side of the town, and by several outworks and batteries extending along the shore, as well on this side of the town as the other; but they are so situated as to be cannonaded by shipping, and are in a manner defenceless against an enemy of any force by land. The garrison consists of eight hundred regular troops, besides militia of the country, in which is comprehended every man able to bear arms. They have contrivances to alarm the whole country by signals in a very short time, and the militia is then to repair immediately to the town.

The French at Mauritius are supplied from this place with salted beef, biscuit, flour, and wine: the provisions for which the French contracted this year were 500,000 lbs. weight of salt beef, 400,000 lbs. of flour, 400,000 lbs. of biscuit, and 1,200 leagers of wine.

On the morning of the 14th, we weighed and stood out of the bay; and at five in the evening anchored under Penquin, or Robin island: we lay here all night, and as I could not sail in the morning for want of wind, I sent a boat to the island for a few trifling articles which we had forgot to take in at the Cape. But as soon as the boat came near the shore,

ST. HELENA.

the Dutch hailed her, and warned the people not to land, at their peril, bringing down at the same time six men armed with muskets, who paraded upon the beach. The officer who commanded the boat, not thinking it worth while to risk the lives of the people on board for the sake of a few cabbages, which were all we wanted, returned to the ship. At first we were at a loss to account for our repulse, but we afterwards recollected, that to this island the Dutch at the Cape banish such criminals as are not thought worthy of death, for a certain number of years, proportioned to the offence; and employ them as slaves in digging limestone, which, though scarce upon the continent, is plenty here: and that a Danish ship, which by sickness had lost great part of her crew, and had been refused assistance at the Cape, came down to this island, and sending her boat ashore, secured the guard, and took on board as many of the criminals as she thought proper to navigate her home: we concluded therefore that the Dutch, to prevent the rescue of their criminals in time to come, had given order to their people here to suffer no boat of any foreign nation to come ashore.

On the 25th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, we weighed with a light breeze at S.E., and put to sea. About an hour afterwards, we lost our master, Mr. Robert Mollineux, a young man of good parts, but unhappily given up to intemperance, which brought on disorders that put an end to his life.

We proceeded in our voyage homeward without any remarkable incident; and in the morning of the 29th we crossed our first meridian, having circumnavigated the globe in the direction from east to west and consequently lost a day, for which we made an allowance at Batavia.

At daybreak, on the first of May, we saw the island of St. Helena; and at noon, we anchored in the road before James's Fort.

We staid here till the 4th, to refresh, and Mr. Banks improved the time in making the complete circuit of the island, and visiting the most remarkable places upon it.

It is situated, as it were, in the middle of the vast Atlantic Ocean, being four hundred leagues distant from the coast of Africa, and six hundred from that of America. It is the summit of an immense mountain rising out of the sea, which, at a little distance all round it, is of an unfathomable depth; and is no more than twelve leagues long, and six broad.

The seat of volcanoes has, without exception, been found to be the highest part of the countries in which they are found. Ætna and Vesuvius have no land higher than themselves, in their neighbourhood; Hecla is the highest hill in Iceland: volcanoes are frequent in the highest part of the Andes in South America; and the Peak of Teneriffe is known to be the covering of subterraneous fire: these are still burning, but there are innumerable other mountains which bear evident marks of fire that is now extinct, and has been so from the time of our earliest traditions: among these is Saint Helena, where the inequalities of the ground, in its external surface, are manifestly the effect of the sinking of the earth, for the opposite ridges, though separated always by deep, and sometimes by broad valleys, are exactly similar both in appearance and direction; and that the sinking of the earth in these parts was caused by subterraneous fire, is equally manifest from the stones; for some of them, especially those in the bottom of the valleys, are burnt almost to a cinder: in some there are small bubbles, like those that are seen in glass which has been urged almost to fusion, and some, though at first sight they do not appear to have been exposed to the action of great heat, will be found, upon a closer inspection, to contain small pieces of extraneous bodies, particularly mundick, which have yielded to the power of fire, though it was not sufficient to alter the appearance of the stone which contained them.

It appeared, as we approached it on the windward side, like a rude heap of rocks, bounded by precipices of amazing height, and consisting of a kind of half friable stone, which shows not the least sign of vegetation; nor is it more promising upon a nearer view: in sailing along the shore, we came so near the huge cliffs, that they seemed to overhang the ship, and the tremendous effect of their giving way made us almost fear the event: at length we opened a valley, called Chapel Valley, which resembles a large trench; and in this valley we discovered the town. The bottom of it is slightly covered with herbage, but the sides are as naked as the cliffs that are next the sea. Such is the first appearance of the island in its present cultivated state, and the first hills must be passed before the valleys look green, or the country displays any other marks of fertility.

The town stands just by the sea-side, and the far greater part of the houses are ill built; the church, which originally was a mean structure, is in ruins, and the market-house is nearly in the same condition.

The white inhabitants are all English, who, as they are not permitted by the East India Company, to whom the island belongs, to carry on any trade or commerce on their own account, subsist wholly by supplying such ships as touch at the place with refreshments, which, however, they do not provide in proportion to the fertility of the soil, and the temperament of the climate, which would enable them, by cultivation, to produce all the fruits and vegetables both of Europe and India. This island, indeed, small as it is, enjoys the different advantages of different climates, for the cabbage-trees, which grow upon the highest ridges, can by no art be cultivated upon the ridges next below, where the red-wood and gum-wood both flourish, which will not grow upon the ridges above, and neither of the three are to be found in the valleys, which, in general, are covered with European plants, and the more common ones of India. Here are a few horses, but they are kept only for the saddle, so that all labour is performed by slaves; nor are they furnished with any of the various machines which art has invented to facilitate their task. The ground is not everywhere too steep for a cart, and where it is, the wheelbarrow might be used with great advantage, yet there is no wheelbarrow in the whole island; everything is conveyed from place to place by the slaves, and they are not furnished even with the simple convenience of a porter's knot, but carry their burden upon their heads. They are indeed very numerous, and are brought to

almost every part of the world, but they appeared to be a miserable race, worn out partly by excessive labour, and partly by ill usage, of which they frequently complained; and I am sorry to say, that instances of wanton cruelty are much more frequent among my countrymen here, than among the Dutch, who are, and perhaps not without reason, generally reproached with want of humanity at Batavia and the Cape*.

Among the native products of this island, which are not numerous, must be reckoned ebony, though the trees are now nearly extinct, and are not remembered to have been plenty: pieces of the wood are frequently found in the valleys, of a fine black colour, and a hardness almost equal to iron: these pieces, however, are always so short and crooked, that no use can be made of them. Whether the tree is the same with that which produces ebony upon the Isle of Bourbon, or the islands adjacent, is not known, as the French have not yet published any account of it.

There are but few insects in this place, but there is a species of snail found upon the tops of the highest ridges, which probably has been there since the original creation of their kind, at the beginning of the world. It is indeed very difficult to conceive how anything which was not deposited here at its creation, or brought hither by the diligence of man, could find its way to a place so severed from the rest of the world, by seas of immense extent, except the hypothesis that has been mentioned on another occasion be adopted, and this rock be supposed to have been left behind, when a large tract of country, of which it was part, subsided by some convulsion of nature, and was swallowed up in the ocean.

At one o'clock in the afternoon of the 4th of May, we weighed and stood out of the road, in company with the Portland man-of-war, and twelve sail of Indiamen.

We continued to sail in company with the fleet, till the 10th in the morning, when, perceiving that we sailed much heavier than any other ship, and thinking it for that reason probable that the Portland would get home before us, I made the signal to speak with her, upon which Captain Elliot himself came on board, and I delivered to him a letter to the Admiralty, with a box, containing the common log-books of the ship, and the journals of some of the officers. We continued in company, however, till the 23d in the morning, and then there was not one of the ships in sight. About one o'clock in the afternoon died our first lieutenant Mr. Hicks, and in the evening we committed his body to the sea, with the usual ceremonies. The disease of which he died was a consumption, and as he was not free from it when we sailed from England, it may truly be said that he was dying during the whole voyage, though his decline was very gradual till we came to Batavia: the next day I gave Mr. Charles Clerk an order to act as lieutenant in his room, a young man who was extremely well qualified for that station.

Our rigging and sails were now become so bad, that something was giving way every day. We continued our course, however, in safety till the 10th of June, when land, which proved to be the Lizard, was discovered by Nicholas Young, the same boy that first saw New Zealand: on the 11th, we run up the channel; at six in the morning of the 12th we passed Beachy Head; at noon we were abreast of Dover, and about three came to an anchor in the Downs, and went ashore at Deal.

* This statement is retracted in a note to the introduction to the Second Voyage.—ED.

END OF THE FIRST VOYAGE.

COOK'S SECOND VOYAGE.

A VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD,

PERFORMED IN

HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S SHIPS THE RESOLUTION AND ADVENTURE, IN THE YEARS 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775.

WRITTEN

BY JAMES COOK, COMMANDER OF THE RESOLUTION;
AND GEORGE FORSTER, F.R.S.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE SECOND VOYAGE.

WHETHER the unexplored part of the *Southern Hemisphere* be only an immense mass of water, or contain another continent, as speculative geography seemed to suggest, was a question which had long engaged the attention, not only of learned men, but of most of the maritime powers of Europe. To put an end to all diversity of opinion about a matter so curious and important, was his Majesty's principal motive in directing this voyage to be undertaken, the history of which is now submitted to the public.

But in order to give the reader a clear idea of what has been done in it, and to enable him to judge more accurately how far the great object that was proposed has been obtained, it will be necessary to prefix a short account of the several voyages which have been made on discoveries to the Southern Hemisphere prior to that which I had lately the honour to conduct, and which I am now going to relate.

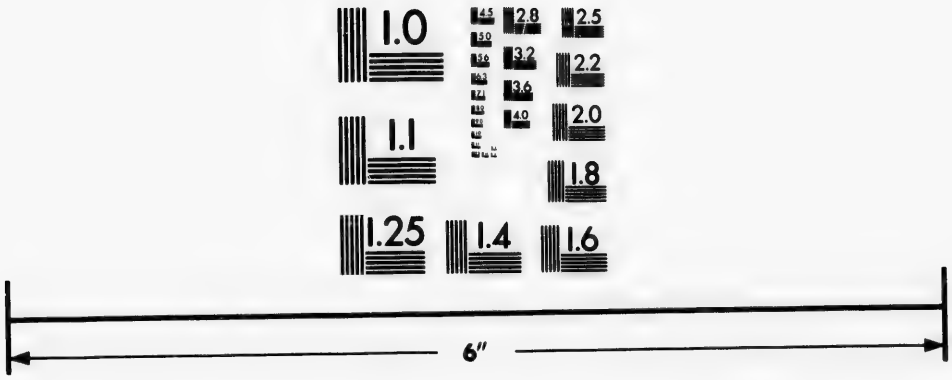
The first who crossed the vast Pacific Ocean was Ferdinand Magalhaens, a Portuguese, who, in the service of Spain, sailed from Seville, with five ships, on the 10th of April, 1519. He discovered the Straits which bear his name; and having passed through them on the 27th of November, 1520, entered the South Pacific Ocean. In this sea he discovered two uninhabited islands, whose situations are not well known. He afterwards crossed the Line, discovered the Ladrone Islands, and then proceeded to the Philippines, in one of which he was killed in a skirmish with the natives. His ship, called the Victory, was the first that circumnavigated the globe, and the only one of his squadron that surmounted the dangers and distresses which attended his heroic enterprise.

The Spaniards, after Magalhaens had showed them the way, made several voyages from America to the westward, previous to that of Alvaro Mendana De Neyra, in 1595, which is the first that can be traced step by step; for the antecedent expeditions are not handed down to us with much precision. We know, however, in general, that in them New Guinea, the islands called Solomon's, and several others, were discovered. Geographers differ greatly concerning the situation of the Solomon Islands: the most probable opinion is, that they are the cluster which comprises what has since been called New Britain, New Ireland, &c.

On the 9th of April, 1595, Mendana, with intention to settle these islands, sailed from Callao with four ships; and his discoveries in his route to the West were, the Marquesas, in the latitude of 10° south; the island of St. Bernardo, which I take to be the same that Commodore Byron calls the Island of Danger; after that, Solitary Island, in the latitude 10° 40′ south, longitude 178° west; and, lastly, Santa Cruz, which is undoubtedly the same that Captain Carteret calls Egmont Island. In this last island, Mendana, with many of his companions, died; and the shattered remains of the squadron were conducted to Manilla by Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, the chief pilot.

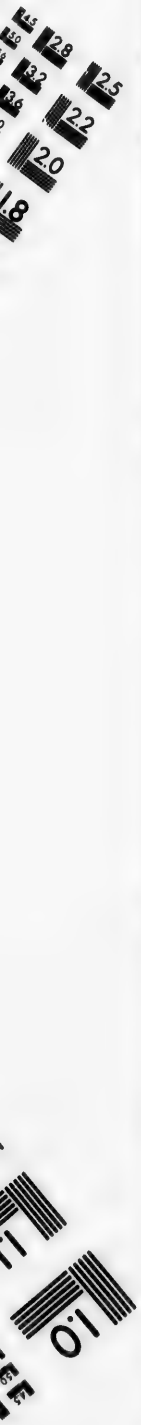
This same Quiros was the first sent out, with the sole view of discovering a Southern Continent; and, indeed, he seems to have been the first who had any idea of the existence of one. He sailed from Callao the 21st of December, 1605, as pilot of the fleet, commanded by Luis Paz de Torres, consisting of two ships and a tender; and steering to the W.S.W. on the 26th of January, 1606, being then, by their reckoning, a thousand Spanish leagues from the coast of America, they discovered a small low island in latitude 25° South.—Two

IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)



Photographic
Sciences
Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503


2.8
2.5
3.2
2.2
3.6
2.0
1.8
1.1
1.0

days after, they discovered another that was high, with a plain on the top. This is, probably, the same that Captain Carteret calls Pitcairn's Island. After leaving these islands, Quiros seems to have directed his course to the W.N.W. and N.W. to 10° or 11° South latitude, and then westward, till he arrived at the bay of St. Philip and Jago, in the island of Tierra del Espiritu Santo. In this route he discovered several islands; probably, some of those that have been seen by later navigators. On leaving the Bay of St. Philip and St. Jago, the two ships were separated. Quiros, with the Capitana, stood to the north, and returned to New Spain, after having suffered greatly for want of provisions and water.—Torres, with the Almiranta and the tender, steered to the west, and seems to have been the first who sailed between New Holland and New Guinea.

The next attempt to make discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean was conducted by Le Maire and Schouten.—They sailed from the Texel on the 14th of June, 1615, with the ships Concord and Horn. The latter was burnt by accident in Port Desire. With the other, they discovered the Strait that bears the name of Le Maire, and were the first who ever entered the Pacific Ocean, by the way of Cape Horn. They discovered the Island of Dogs, in latitude 15° 15′ South, longitude 136° 30′ West;—Sondre Grondt, in 15° South latitude, and 143° 10′ West longitude;—Waterland, in 14° 46′ South, and 144° 10′ West;—and, twenty-five leagues westward of this, Fly Island, in latitude 15° 20′;—Traitor's and Cocos Islands, in latitude 15° 43′ S. longitude 173° 13′ W.:—two degrees more to the westward, the Isle of Hope;—and, in the latitude of 14° 56′ South, longitude 179° 30′ East, Horn Island. They next coasted the north side of New Britain and New Guinea, and arrived at Batavia in October 1616.

Except some discoveries on the western and northern coasts of New Holland, no important voyage to the Pacific Ocean was undertaken till 1642, when Captain Tasman sailed from Batavia, with two ships belonging to the Dutch East India Company, and discovered Van Diemen's Land;—a small part of the western coast of New Zealand;—the Friendly Isles; and those called Prince William's.

Thus far I have thought it best not to interrupt the progress of discovery in the South Pacific Ocean; otherwise I should before have mentioned, that Sir Richard Hawkins in 1594, being about fifty leagues to the eastward of the river Plate, was driven by a storm to the eastward of his intended course, and when the weather grew moderate, steering towards the Straits of Magalhaens, he unexpectedly fell in with land; about sixty leagues of which he coasted, and has very particularly described. This he named Hawkins's Maiden Land, in honour of his royal mistress, Queen Elizabeth, and says it lies some threescore leagues from the nearest part of South America. This land was afterwards discovered to be two large islands by Captain John Strong, of the Farewell, from London, who, in 1689, passed through the Strait which divides the eastern from the western of those islands. To this Strait he gave the name of Falkland's Sound, in honour of his patron, Lord Falkland; and the name has since been extended, through inadvertency, to the two islands it separates.

Having mentioned these islands, I will add, that future navigators will misspend their time, if they look for Pepys's Island in 47° South; it being now certain, that Pepys's Island is no other than these Islands of Falkland.

In April 1675, Anthony la Roche, an English merchant, in his return from the South Pacific Ocean, where he had been on a trading voyage, being carried, by the winds and currents, far to the east of Strait Le Maire, fell in with a coast, which may possibly be the same with that which I visited during this voyage, and have called the Island of Georgia. Leaving this land, and sailing to the north, La Roche, in the latitude of 45° South, discovered a large island, with a good port, towards the eastern part, where he found wood, water, and fish.

In 1699, that celebrated astronomer Dr. Edmund Halley was appointed to the command of his Majesty's ship the Paramour Pink, on an expedition for improving the knowledge of the longitude, and of the variation of the compass; and for discovering the unknown lands supposed to lie in the southern part of the Atlantic Ocean. In this voyage he determined the longitude of several places; and after his return, constructed his Variation Chart, and proposed a method of observing the longitude at sea, by means of the appulses, and occulta-

tions of the fixed stars. But, though he so successfully attended to the two first articles of his instructions, he did not find any unknown southern land.

The Dutch, in 1721, fitted out three ships to make discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, under the command of Admiral Roggewein. He left the Texel on the 21st of August, and arriving in that ocean, by going round Cape Horn, discovered Easter Island; probably seen before, though not visited by Davis*;—then, between 14° 41′ and 15° 47′ South latitude, and between the longitude of 142° and 150° West, fell in with several other islands, which I take to be some of those seen by the late English navigators.—He next discovered two islands in latitude 15° South, longitude 170° West, which he called Baumen's islands;—and, lastly, Single Island, in latitude 13° 41′ South, longitude 171° 30′ West.—These three islands are, undoubtedly, the same that Bougainville calls the Isles of Navigators.

In 1738, the French East India Company sent Lozier Bouvet with two ships, the Eagle and Mary, to make discoveries in the South Atlantic Ocean. He sailed from Port L'Orient on the 19th of July, in that year; touched at the island of St. Catherine; and from thence shaped his course towards the S.E. On the 1st of January, 1739, he discovered land, or what he judged to be land, in the latitude 54° South, longitude 11° East. It will appear in the course of the following narrative, that we made several attempts to find this land without success. It is, therefore, very probable, that what Bouvet saw was nothing more than a large ice-island. From hence he stood to the East, in 51° of latitude, to 35° of East longitude: after which the two ships separated; one going to the island of Mauritius, and the other returning to France.

After this voyage of Bouvet, the spirit of discovery ceased, till his present Majesty formed a design of making discoveries, and exploring the Southern Hemisphere; and, in the year 1764, directed it to be put in execution. Accordingly, Commodore Byron, having under his command the Dolphin and Tamer, sailed from the Downs on the 21st of June the same year; and having visited the Falkland Islands, passed through the Straits of Magalhaens into the Pacific Ocean, where he discovered the Islands of Disappointment; George's; Prince of Wales's; the Isles of Danger; York Island; and Byron Island.

He returned to England the 9th of May, 1766; and, in the month of August following, the Dolphin was again sent out, under the command of Captain Wallis, with the Swallow, commanded by Captain Carteret. They proceeded together, till they came to the west end of the Straits of Magalhaens, and the Great South Sea in sight, where they were separated. Captain Wallis directed his course more westerly than any navigator had done before him in so high a latitude; but met with no land till he got within the tropic, where he discovered the islands Whitsunday; Queen Charlotte; Egmont; Duke of Gloucester; Duke of Cumberland; Maitea; Otaheite; Eimeo; Tapamanou; How; Scilly; Boscawen; Keppel, and Wallis; and returned to England in May 1768. His companion Captain Carteret kept a different route; in which he discovered the islands Osnaburg; Gloucester; Queen Charlotte's Isles; Carteret's; Gower's; and the Strait between New Britain and New Ireland; and returned to England in March 1769.

In November, 1766, Commodore Bougainville sailed from France, in the frigate La Boudeuse, with the store-ship L'Etoile. After spending some time on the coast of Brazil, and at Falkland Islands, he got into the Pacific Sea, by the Straits of Magalhaens, in January 1768. In this ocean he discovered the Four Facardines; the Isle of Lanciers; and Harpe Island, which I take to be the same that I afterwards named Lagoon; Thrum Cap, and Bow Island. About twenty leagues farther to the west, he discovered four other islands; afterwards fell in with Maitea; Otaheite; Isles of Navigators; and Forlorn Hope; which to him were new discoveries. He then passed through between the Hebrides; discovered the Shoal of Diana, and some others; the land of Cape Deliverance; several islands more to the north; passed to the north of New Ireland; touched at Batavia; and arrived in France in March 1769.

This year was rendered remarkable by the transit of the planet Venus over the sun's disc; a phenomenon of great importance to astronomy; and which everywhere engaged the attention of the learned in that science. In the beginning of the year 1768, the Royal

* See Wafer's Description of the Isthmus of Darien.

Society presented a memorial to his Majesty, setting forth the advantages to be derived from accurate observations of this transit in different parts of the world; particularly from a set of such observations made in a southern latitude, between the 140th and 180th degrees of longitude, west from the Royal Observatory at Greenwich; and that vessels, properly equipped, would be necessary to convey the observers to their destined stations; but that the Society were in no condition to defray the expense of such an undertaking. In consequence of this memorial, the Admiralty were directed by his Majesty to provide proper vessels for this purpose. Accordingly, the Endeavour bark, which had been built for the coal-trade, was purchased and fitted out for the southern voyage; and I was honoured with the command of her. The Royal Society soon after appointed me, in conjunction with Mr. Charles Green the astronomer, to make the requisite observations on the transit.

It was at first intended to perform this great, and now a principal business of our voyage, either at the Marquesas, or else at one of those islands which Tasman had called Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Middleburgh, now better known under the name of the Friendly Islands. But while the Endeavour was getting ready for the expedition, Captain Wallis returned from his voyage round the world, in the course of which he had discovered several islands in the South Sea; and amongst others, Otaheite. This island was preferred to any of those before mentioned, on account of the conveniences it afforded; and because its place had been well ascertained, and found to be extremely well suited to our purpose. I was therefore ordered to proceed directly to Otaheite; and, after the astronomical observations should be completed, to prosecute the design of making discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, by proceeding to the south as far as the latitude of 40°; then, if I found no land, to proceed to the west between 40° and 35°, till I fell in with New Zealand, which I was to explore; and thence to return to England, by such route as I should think proper.

In the prosecution of these instructions, I sailed from Deptford the 30th of July, 1768; from Plymouth the 26th of August; touched at Madeira, Rio de Janeiro, and Straits Le Maire; and entered the South Pacific Ocean by Cape Horn, in January the following year. I endeavoured to make a direct course to Otaheite, and in part succeeded; but I made no discovery till I got within the tropic, where I fell in with Lagoon Island; Two Groups; Bird Island; Chain Island; and on the 13th of April arrived at Otaheite, where I remained three months, during which time the observations on the transit were made. I then left it; discovered, and visited the Society Isles, and Oheteroa; thence proceeded to the south till I arrived in the latitude of 40° 22′, longitude 147° 29′ West; and on the 6th of October fell in with the east side of New Zealand.

I continued exploring the coast of this country till the 31st of March, 1770, when I quitted it, and proceeded to New Holland; and having surveyed the eastern coast of that vast country, which part had not before been visited, I passed between its northern extremity and New Guinea; landed on the latter; touched at the island of Savu, Batavia, the Cape of Good Hope, and St. Helena*; and arrived in England on the 12th of July, 1771.

In this voyage I was accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander; the first a gentleman of ample fortune; the other an accomplished disciple of Linnæus, and one of the librarians of the British Museum: both of them distinguished in the learned world for their extensive and accurate knowledge of natural history. These gentlemen, animated by the love of science, and by a desire to pursue their inquiries in the remote regions I was preparing to visit, desired permission to make the voyage with me. The Admiralty readily complied with a request that promised such advantage to the republic of letters. They accordingly embarked with me, and participated in all the dangers and sufferings of our tedious and fatiguing navigation.

To illustrate this short abstract of the several discoveries made in the Southern Pacific, Atlantic, and Indian Oceans, before my departure on this second voyage, now laid before the public, I have delineated on the general chart hereunto annexed the tracks of most of

* In the account given of St. Helena in the narrative of my former voyage I find two mistakes. Its inhabitants are far from exercising a wanton cruelty over their slaves; and they have had wheel-carriages and porters' knots for many years.

the navigators, without which the abstract could not be so easily understood.* The voyages of Messrs. de Surville, Kerguelen, and Marion, of which some account is given in the following work, did not come to my knowledge time enough to afford me any advantage; and as they have not been communicated to the world in a public way, I can say little about them, or about two other voyages which, I am told, have been made by the Spaniards; one to Easter Island in the year 1769, and the other to Otaheite in 1773.

Before I begin my narrative of the expedition intrusted to my care, it will be necessary to add here some account of its equipment, and of some other matters, equally interesting, connected with my subject. Soon after my return home in the Endeavour, it was resolved to equip two ships, to complete the discovery of the Southern Hemisphere. The nature of this voyage required ships of a particular construction, and the Endeavour being gone to Falkland Isles, as a store-ship, the Navy-board was directed to purchase two such ships as were most suitable for this service. At this time various opinions were espoused by different people, touching the size and kind of vessels most proper for such a voyage. Some were for having large ships; and proposed those of forty guns, or East India Company's ships. Others preferred large good sailing frigates, or three-decked ships, employed in the Jamaica trade, fitted with round-houses. But of all that was said and offered to the Admiralty's consideration on this subject, as far as has come to my knowledge, what, in my opinion, was most to the purpose, was suggested by the Navy-board.

As the kind of ships most proper to be employed on discoveries is a very interesting consideration to the adventurers in such undertakings, it may possibly be of use to those who, in future, may be so employed, to give here the purport of the sentiments of the Navy-board thereon, with whom, after the experience of two voyages of three years each, I perfectly agree. The success of such undertakings as making discoveries in distant parts of the world will principally depend on the preparations being well adapted to what ought to be the first considerations, namely, the preservation of the adventurers and ships; and this will ever chiefly depend on the kind, the size, and the properties of the ships chosen for the service. These primary considerations will not admit of any other that may interfere with the necessary properties of the ships. Therefore, in choosing the ships, should any of the most advantageous properties be wanting, and the necessary room in them be in any degree diminished, for less important purposes, such a step would be laying a foundation for rendering the undertaking abortive in the first instance†.

As the greatest danger to be apprehended and provided against on a voyage of discovery, especially to the most distant parts of the globe, is that of the ship's being liable to be run aground on an unknown desert, or, perhaps, savage coast, so no consideration should be set in competition with that of her being of a construction of the safest kind, in which the officers may, with the least hazard, venture upon a strange coast. A ship of this kind must not be of a great draught of water, yet of a sufficient burden and capacity to carry a proper quantity of provisions and necessaries for her complement of men, and for the time requisite to perform the voyage. She must also be of a construction that will bear to take the ground; and of a size which, in case of necessity, may be safely and conveniently laid on shore, to repair any accidental damage or defects. These properties are not to be found in ships of war of forty guns, nor in frigates, nor in East India Company's ships, nor in large three-decked West India ships, nor indeed in any other but north-country built ships, or such as are built for the coal-trade, which are peculiarly adapted to this purpose. In such a vessel an able sea-officer will be most venturesome, and better enabled to fulfil his instructions, than he possibly can (or indeed than would be prudent for him to attempt) in one of any other sort or size.

* It has been thought better to exclude the tracks of all other navigators, except Cook himself, from the general map annexed to this edition of his voyages, to avoid the confusion attendant on the multiplication of such details. —Ed.

† An allusion is here made to a misunderstanding which took place between Captain Cook and Sir Joseph Banks, relative to the alterations judged necessary to remedy the defects of the "Resolution," mentioned in the commencement of the first chapter. Sir Joseph had formed the determination of accompanying Captain Cook, in his second, as in his first voyage, but conceiving that his convenience had been unnecessarily disregarded in the alterations made in the vessel at Sheerness, under the directions of the captain, he took offence and abandoned his design.—Ed.

Upon the whole, I am firmly of opinion, that no ships are so proper for discoveries in distant unknown parts as those constructed as was the Endeavour, in which I performed my former voyage. For no ships of any other kind can contain stores and provisions sufficient (in proportion to the necessary number of men), considering the length of time it will be necessary they should last. And, even if another kind of ships could stow a sufficiency, yet, on arriving at the parts for discovery, they would still, from the nature of their construction and size, be less fit for the purpose. Hence, it may be concluded, so little progress had been hitherto made in discoveries in the southern hemisphere. For all ships which attempted it before the Endeavour were unfit for it, although the officers employed in them had done the utmost in their power.

It was upon these considerations that the Endeavour was chosen for that voyage. It was to these properties in her that those on board owed their preservation; and hence we were enabled to prosecute discoveries in those seas so much longer than any other ship ever did or could do. And, although discovery was not the first object of that voyage, I could venture to traverse a far greater space of sea, till then unnavigated, to discover greater tracts of country in high and low south latitudes, and to persevere longer in exploring and surveying more correctly the extensive coasts of those new-discovered countries, than any former navigator, perhaps, had done during one voyage. In short, these properties in the ships, with perseverance and resolution in their commanders, will enable them to execute their orders; to go beyond former discoverers; and continue to Britain the reputation of taking the lead of all nations in exploring the globe.

These considerations concurring with Lord Sandwich's opinion on the same subject, the Admiralty determined to have two such ships as are here recommended. Accordingly, two were purchased of Captain William Hammond of Hull. They were both built at Whitby, by the same person who built the Endeavour, being about fourteen or sixteen months old at the time they were purchased, and were, in my opinion, as well adapted to the intended service as if they had been built for the purpose. The largest of the two was four hundred and sixty-two tons burthen. She was named Resolution, and sent to Deptford to be equipped. The other was three hundred and thirty-six tons burthen. She was named Adventure, and sent to be equipped at Woolwich.

It was first proposed to sheath them with copper; but, on considering that copper corrodes the iron-work, especially about the rudder, this intention was laid aside, and the old method of sheathing and fitting pursued, as being the most secure; for, although it is usual to make the rudder-bands of the same composition, it is not, however, so durable as iron, nor would it, I am well assured, last out such a voyage as the Resolution performed. Therefore, till a remedy is found to prevent the effect of copper upon the iron-work, it would not be advisable to use it on a voyage of this kind, as the principal fastenings of the ship being iron, they may be destroyed.*

On the 28th of November, 1771, I was appointed to the command of the Resolution; and Tobias Furneaux (who had been second lieutenant with Captain Wallis) was promoted, on this occasion, to the command of the Adventure.

I had all the reason in the world to be perfectly satisfied with the choice of the officers. The second and third lieutenants, the lieutenant of marines, two of the warrant officers, and

* Notwithstanding the strong opinion here expressed by Captain Cook, copper-sheathing has now for a long period been in use, not only in our navy, but in our merchant service, even on occasions of the longest and most arduous service; upon surveys of the stormy coasts of South America, which, under the direction of Captains King and Fitzroy, extended on one occasion for four, and another for five years, and in all recent voyages of discovery, (except those whose destination has been to force their passage through the fields of arctic and antarctic icebergs,) and in our merchant service, when vessels are frequently three and four years, and even longer away, with very imperfect opportunities of refitting, copper-sheathing and fastening are constantly made use of.

Captain Cook's estimate of the relative strength and durability of iron and copper rudder-bands, was, however, perfectly correct, but experience has since shown that copper bands, although not equal to iron, can still be manufactured of sufficient strength to remain perfectly serviceable during the whole period in which a vessel will continue fit to keep the sea, without damage from other causes. When Captain Cook wrote, this fact had not been sufficiently tested, for no vessel in the British navy was copper-sheathed before 1761, when the experiment was tried upon the "Alarm" frigate. The result was so favourable that the practice was strongly recommended, and at the close of the American war (of Independence) it was generally adopted.—Ed.

several of the petty officers, had been with me during the former voyage. The others were men of known abilities; and all of them, on every occasion, showed their zeal for the service in which they were employed, during the whole voyage.

Our complements of officers and men were fixed, as in the following table:—

OFFICERS AND MEN.	RESOLUTION.		ADVENTURE.	
	No.	OFFICERS' NAMES.	No.	OFFICERS' NAMES.
Captain	1	James Cook.	1	Tobias Furneaux.
Lieutenants	3	Robert P. Cooper.	2	Joseph Shank.
		Charles Clarke.		Arthur Kempe.
		Richard Pickersgill.		
Master	1	Joseph Gilbert.	1	Peter Fannin.
Boatswain	1	James Gray.	1	Edward Johns.
Carpenter	1	James Wallis.	1	William Offord.
Gunner	1	Robert Anderson.	1	Andrew Gloag.
Surgeon	1	James Patten.	1	Thomas Andrews.
Master's Mates	3		2	
Midshipmen	6		4	
Surgeon's Mates	2		2	
Captain's Clerk	1		1	
Master at Arms	1		1	
Corporal	1			
Armourer	1		1	
Ditto Mate	1		1	
Sail Maker	1		1	
Ditto Mate	1		1	
Boatswain's Mates	3		2	
Carpenter's Ditto	3		2	
Gunner's Ditto	2		1	
Carpenter's Crew	4		4	
Cook	1		1	
Ditto Mate	1			
Quarter Masters	6		4	
Able Seamen	45		33	
		Marines.		
Lieutenant	1	John Edgcumbe.	1	James Scott.
Serjeant	1		1	
Corporals	2		1	
Drummer	1		1	
Privates	15		8	
Total	112		81	

In the equipping of these ships, they were not confined to ordinary establishments, but were fitted in the most complete manner, and supplied with every extra article that was suggested to be necessary. Lord Sandwich paid an extraordinary attention to this equipment, by visiting the ships from time to time, to satisfy himself that the whole was completed to his wish, and to the satisfaction of those who were to embark in them. Nor were the Navy and Victualling Boards wanting in providing them with the very best of stores and provisions, and whatever else was necessary for so long a voyage. Some alterations were adopted in the species of provisions usually made use of in the navy. That is, we were supplied with wheat in lieu of so much oatmeal, and sugar in lieu of so much oil; and when completed, each ship had two years and a half provisions on board, of all species.

We had, besides, many extra articles, such as *malt*, *sour-krout*, *salted cabbage*, *portable broth*, *saloup*, *mustard*, *marmalade of carrots*, and *inspissated juice of wort and beer*. Some of these articles had before been found to be highly antiscorbutic; and others were now sent out on trial, or by way of experiment;—the inspissated juice of beer and wort, and marmalade of carrots especially.—As several of these antiscorbutic articles are not generally known, a more particular account of them may not be amiss.

Of *malt* is made *sweet wort*, which is given to such persons as have got the scurvy, or whose habit of body threatens them with it, from one to five or six pints a day, as the

surgeon sees necessary. *Sour-krout*, is cabbage cut small, to which is put a little salt, juniper-berries, and annis-seeds; it is then fermented, and afterwards close packed in casks: in which state it will keep good a long time. This is a wholesome vegetable food, and a great antiscorbutic. The allowance to each man is two pounds a week, but I increased or diminished their allowance as I thought proper. *Salted cabbage* is cabbage cut to pieces, and salted down in casks, which will preserve it a long time. *Portable broth* is so well known, that it needs no description. We were supplied with it both for the sick and well, and it was exceedingly beneficial. *Saloup*, and *rob of lemons* and *oranges*, were for the sick and scorbutic only, and wholly under the surgeon's care. *Marmalade of carrots* is the juice of yellow carrots inspissated till it is of the thickness of fluid honey, or treacle, which last it resembles both in taste and colour. It was recommended by Baron Storsch, of Berlin, as a very great antiscorbutic; but we did not find that it had much of this quality.

For the *inspissated juice of wort* and *beer*, we were indebted to Mr. Pelham, secretary to the commissioners of the Victualling-office. This gentleman, some years ago, considered that if the juice of malt, either as beer or wort, was inspissated by evaporation, it was probable this inspissated juice would keep good at sea; and if so, a supply of beer might be had at any time, by mixing it with water. Mr. Pelham made several experiments, which succeeded so well, that the commissioners caused thirty-one half-barrels of this juice to be prepared, and sent out with our ships for trial; nineteen on board the Resolution, and the remainder on board the Adventure. The success of the experiments will be mentioned in the narrative, in the order they were made.

The frame of a small vessel, twenty tons burthen, was properly prepared, and put on board each of the ships, to be set up, (if found necessary,) to serve as tenders upon any emergency, or to transport the crew in case the ship was lost. We were also well provided with fishing-nets, lines, and hooks of every kind for catching of fish. And, in order to enable us to procure refreshments in such inhabited parts of the world as we might touch at, where money was of no value, the Admiralty caused to be put on board both the ships, several articles of merchandize; as well to trade with the natives for provisions, as to make them presents to gain their friendship and esteem. Their Lordships also caused a number of medals to be struck, the one side representing His Majesty, and the other the two ships. These medals were to be given to the natives of new-discovered countries, and left there, as testimonies of our being the first discoverers.

Some additional clothing, adapted to a cold climate, was put on board; to be given to the seamen whenever it was thought necessary. In short, nothing was wanting that could tend to promote the success of the undertaking, or contribute to the conveniences and health of those who embarked in it.

The Admiralty showed no less attention to science in general, by engaging Mr. William Hodges, a landscape painter, to embark in this voyage, in order to make drawings and paintings of such places, in the countries we should touch at, as might be proper to give a more perfect idea thereof than could be formed from written descriptions only. And it being thought of public utility, that some persons skilled in natural history should be engaged to accompany me in this voyage, the parliament granted an ample sum for that purpose, and Mr. John Reinhold Forster, with his son, were pitched upon for this employment.

The Board of Longitude agreed with Mr. William Wales, and Mr. William Bayley, to make astronomical observations; the former on board the Resolution, the latter on board the Adventure. The great improvements which astronomy and navigation have met with from the many interesting observations they have made, would have done honour to any person whose reputation for mathematical knowledge was not so well known as theirs. The same Board furnished them with the best of instruments, for making both astronomical and nautical observations and experiments; and likewise with four time-pieces, or watch machines; three made by Mr. Arnold, and one made by Mr. Kendal on Mr. Harrison's principles. A particular account of the going of these watches, as also the astronomical and nautical observations made by the astronomers, will be laid before the public by order of the Board of Longitude, under the inspection of Mr. Wales.

Besides the obligations I was under to this gentleman for communicating to me the

observations he made, from time to time, during the voyage, I have since been indebted to him for the perusal of his journal, with leave to take from it whatever I thought might contribute to the improvement of this work. For the convenience of the generality of readers, I have reduced the time from the nautical to the civil computation, so that whenever the terms A. M. and P. M. are used, the former signifies the forenoon, and the latter the afternoon of the same day. In all the courses, bearings, &c. the variation of the compass is allowed, unless the contrary is expressed.

And now it may be necessary to say, that, as I am on the point of sailing on a third expedition, I leave this account of my last voyage in the hands of some friends, who in my absence have kindly accepted the office of correcting the press for me; who are pleased to think, that what I have here to relate is better to be given in my own words, than in the words of another person, especially as it is a work designed for information and not merely for amusement; in which it is their opinion, that candour and fidelity will counterbalance the want of ornament.

I shall, therefore, conclude this introductory discourse with desiring the reader to excuse the inaccuracies of style, which doubtless he will frequently meet with in the following narrative; and that, when such occur, he will recollect that it is the production of a man who has not had the advantage of much school education, but who has been constantly at sea from his youth; and though, with the assistance of a few good friends, he has passed through all the stations belonging to a seaman, from an apprentice boy in the coal trade, to a post captain in the Royal Navy, he has had no opportunity of cultivating letters. After this account of myself, the public must not expect from me the elegance of a fine writer, or the plausibility of a professed book-maker; but will, I hope, consider me as a plain man, zealously exerting himself in the service of his country, and determined to give the best account he is able of his proceedings.

Plymouth Sound,
July 7, 1776.

FR

CHAPTE
OF

I SA
was det
the next
guns, g
On th
plying
to put i
works.
Sandwi
effectua
On t
and on
met off
visiting
lordship
mark o
satisfy
answer
At
under
there t
to refre
stand i
and en
lie in t
I disco
had so
island.
great a

A

VOYAGE TOWARDS THE SOUTH POLE, AND ROUND THE WORLD.

In 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775.

BOOK I.

FROM OUR DEPARTURE FROM ENGLAND TO LEAVING THE SOCIETY ISLES, THE FIRST TIME.

CHAPTER I.—PASSAGE FROM DEPTFORD TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF SEVERAL INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED BY THE WAY, AND TRANSACTIONS THERE.

I sailed from Deptford, April 9th, 1772, but got no farther than Woolwich; where I was detained by easterly winds till the 22nd, when the ship fell down to Long Reach, and the next day was joined by the Adventure. Here both ships received on board their powder, guns, gunner's stores, and marines.

On the 10th of May, we left Long Reach with orders to touch at Plymouth; but in plying down the river, the Resolution was found to be very crank, which made it necessary to put into Sheerness, in order to remove this evil, by making some alterations in her upper works. These the officers of the yard were ordered to take in hand immediately; and Lord Sandwich and Sir Hugh Palliser came down to see them executed in such a manner as might effectually answer the purpose intended.

On the 22nd of June the ship was again completed for sea, when I sailed from Sheerness; and on the 3rd of July, joined the Adventure in Plymouth Sound. The evening before we met off the Sound, Lord Sandwich, in the Augusta yacht (who was on his return from visiting the several dockyards), with the Glory frigate and Hazard sloop. We saluted his lordship with seventeen guns; and soon after he and Sir Hugh Palliser gave us the last mark of the very great attention they had paid to this equipment, by coming on board, to satisfy themselves that everything was done to my wish, and that the ship was found to answer to my satisfaction.

At Plymouth I received my instructions, dated the 25th of June, directing me to take under my command the Adventure; to make the best of my way to the island of Madeira, there to take in a supply of wine, and then proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, where I was to refresh the ships' companies, and take on board such provisions and necessaries as I might stand in need of. After leaving the Cape of Good Hope, I was to proceed to the southward, and endeavour to fall in with Cape Circumcision, which was said by Monsieur Bouvet to lie in the latitude of 54° south, and in about 11° 20′ east longitude from Greenwich *. If I discovered this cape, I was to satisfy myself whether it was a part of the continent, which had so much engaged the attention of geographers and former navigators, or a part of an island. If it proved to be the former, I was to employ myself diligently in exploring as great an extent of it as I could; and to make such notations thereon, and observations of

* See further as to this supposed discovery in the Introduction to the Third Voyage.—Ed.

every kind, as might be useful either to navigation or commerce, or tend to the promotion of natural knowledge. I was also directed to observe the genius, temper, disposition, and number of the inhabitants, if there were any, and endeavour, by all proper means, to cultivate a friendship and alliance with them; making them presents of such things as they might value; inviting them to traffic, and showing them every kind of civility and regard. I was to continue to employ myself on this service, and making discoveries, either to the eastward or westward, as my situation might render most eligible; keeping in as high a latitude as I could, and prosecuting my discoveries as near to the South Pole as possible, so long as the condition of the ships, the health of their crews, and the state of their provisions, would admit of, taking care to reserve as much of the latter as would enable me to reach some known port, where I was to procure a sufficiency to bring me home to England. But if Cape Circumcision should prove to be part of an island only, or if I should not be able to find the said cape, I was, in the first case, to make the necessary survey of the island, and then to stand on to the southward, so long as I judged there was a likelihood of falling in with the continent; which I was also to do in the latter case; and then to proceed to the eastward, in further search of the said continent, as well as to make discoveries of such islands as might be situated in that unexplored part of the southern hemisphere; keeping in high latitudes, and prosecuting my discoveries as above-mentioned, as near the Pole as possible, until I had circumnavigated the globe; after which I was to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, and from thence to Spithead.

In the prosecution of these discoveries, whenever the season of the year rendered it unsafe for me to continue in high latitudes, I was to retire to some known place to the northward, to refresh my people, and refit the ships; and to return again to the southward, as soon as the season of the year would admit of it. In all unforeseen cases, I was authorised to proceed according to my own discretion; and in case the Resolution should be lost or disabled, I was to prosecute the voyage on board the Adventure. I gave a copy of these instructions to Captain Furneaux, with an order directing him to carry them into execution; and in case he was separated from me, appointed the island of Madeira for the first place of rendezvous. Port Praya in the island of St. Jago for the second, Cape of Good Hope for the third, and New Zealand for the fourth.

During our stay at Plymouth, Messieurs Wales and Bayley, the two astronomers, made observations on Drake's Island, in order to ascertain the latitude, longitude, and true time for putting the time-pieces or watches in motion. The latitude was found to be 50° 21′ 30″ north; and the longitude 4° 20′ west of Greenwich, which, in this voyage, is everywhere to be understood as the first meridian, and from which the longitude is reckoned east and west to 180° each way. On the 10th of July, the watches were set a-going in the presence of the two astronomers, Captain Furneaux, the first lieutenants of the ships, and myself, and put on board. The two on board the Adventure were made by Mr. Arnold, and also one of those on board the Resolution; but the other was made by Mr. Kendal, upon the same principle, in every respect, as Mr. Harrison's time-piece. The commander, first lieutenant, and astronomer, on board each of the ships, kept each of them keys of the boxes which contained the watches, and were always to be present at the winding them up, and comparing the one with the other; or some other officer, if, at any time, through indisposition, or absence upon any other necessary duties, any of them could not conveniently attend. The same day, according to the custom of the navy, the companies of both ships were paid two months' wages in advance; and as a further encouragement for their going this extraordinary voyage, they were also paid the wages due to them to the 28th of the preceding May. This enabled them to provide necessaries for the voyage.

On the 13th, at six o'clock in the morning, I sailed from Plymouth Sound, with the Adventure in company; and on the evening of the 29th, anchored in Funchal Road, in the island of Madeira. The next morning I saluted the garrison with eleven guns; which compliment was immediately returned. Soon after I went on shore, accompanied by Capt. Furneaux, the two Mr. Forsters, and Mr. Wales. At our landing we were received by a gentleman from the vice-consul, Mr. Sills, who conducted us to the house of Mr. Loughnans, the most considerable English merchant in the place. This gentleman not only

obtained leave for Mr. Forster to search the island for plants, but procured us every other thing we wanted, and insisted on our accommodating ourselves at his house during our stay.

The town of Funchal, which is the capital of the island, is situated about the middle of the south side, in the bottom of the bay of the same name, in latitude 32° 33′ 34″ north, longitude 17° 12½′ west. The longitude was deduced from lunar observations made by Mr. Wales, and reduced to the town by Mr. Kendal's watch, which made the longitude 17° 10′ 14″ west. During our stay here, the crews of both ships were supplied with fresh beef and onions; and a quantity of the latter was distributed amongst them for a sea store.

Having got on board a supply of water, wine, and other necessaries, we left Madeira on the 1st of August, and stood to the southward, with a fine gale at N.E. On the 4th we passed Palma, one of the Canary Isles. It is of a height to be seen twelve or fourteen leagues, and lies in the latitude 28° 38′ north, longitude 17° 58′ west. The next day we saw the isle of Ferro and passed it at the distance of fourteen leagues. I judged it to lie in the latitude 27° 42′ north, and longitude 18° 9′ west.

I now made three puncheons of beer, of the inspissated juice of malt. The proportion I made use of was about ten of water to one of juice. Fifteen of the nineteen half-barrels of the inspissated juice which we had on board were produced from wort that was hopped before inspissated. The other four were made of beer that had been both hopped and fermented before inspissated. This last requires no other preparation to make it fit for use, than to mix it with cold water, from one part in eight, to one part in twelve of water (or in such other proportion as might be liked), then stop it down; and in a few days it will be brisk, and drinkable. But the other sort, after being mixed with water in the same manner, will require to be fermented with *yeast*, in the usual way of making beer; at least it was so thought. However, experience taught us that this will not always be necessary. For by the heat of the weather and the agitation of the ship, both sorts were at this time in the highest state of fermentation, and had hitherto evaded all our endeavours to stop it. If this juice could be kept from fermenting, it certainly would be a most valuable article at sea.

On finding that our stock of water would not last us to the Cape of Good Hope, without putting the people to a scanty allowance, I resolved to stop at St. Jago for a supply. On the 9th, at nine o'clock in the morning, we made the island of Bonavista, bearing S.W. The next day we passed the island of Mayo on our right; and the same evening anchored in Port Praya, in the island of St. Jago, in eighteen fathom water. The east point of the bay bore east; the west point S.W. ½ S., and the fort N.W. I immediately despatched an officer to ask leave to water, and purchase refreshments; which was granted. On the return of the officer I saluted the fort with eleven guns, on a promise of its being returned with an equal number. But by a mistake, as they pretended, the salute was returned with only nine; for which the governor made an excuse the next day The 14th, in the evening, having completed our water, and got on board a supply of refreshments; such as hogs, goats, fowls, and fruit; we put to sea, and proceeded on our voyage.

Port Praya is a small bay, situated about the middle of the south side of the island of St. Jago, in the latitude of 14° 53′ 30″ north, longitude 23° 30′ west. It may be known, especially in coming from the east, by the southernmost hill on the island; which is round, and peaked at top; and lies a little way inland, in the direction of west from the port. This mark is the more necessary, as there is a small cove about a league to the eastward, with a sandy beach in the bottom of it, a valley and cocoa-nut trees behind, which strangers may mistake for Port Praya, as we ourselves did. The two points which form the entrance of Port Praya Bay, are rather low, and in the direction of W.S.W. and E.N.E. half a league from each other. Close to the west point are sunken rocks, on which the sea continually breaks. The bay lies in N.W. near half a league; and the depth of water is from fourteen to four fathoms. Large ships ought not to anchor in less than eight, in which depth the south end of the Green Island (a small island lying under the west shore) will bear west. You water at a well that is behind the beach at the head of the bay. The water is tolerable,

but scarce, and bad getting off, on account of a great surf on the beach. The refreshments to be got here are, bullocks, hogs, goats, sheep, poultry, and fruits. The goats are of the antelope kind, so extraordinary lean, that hardly anything can equal them; and the bullocks, hogs, and sheep are not much better. Bullocks must be purchased with money; the price is twelve Spanish dollars a head, weighing between 250 and 300 pounds. Other articles may be got from the natives in exchange for old clothes, &c. But the sale of bullocks is confined to a company of merchants, to whom this privilege is granted, and who keep an agent residing upon the spot. The fort above-mentioned seems wholly designed for the protection of the bay, and is well situated for that purpose, being built on an elevation, which rises directly from the sea on the right, at the head of the bay.

We had no sooner got clear of Port Praya, than we got a fresh gale at N.N.E. which blew in squalls, attended with showers of rain. But the next day the wind and showers abated, and veered to the south. It was, however, variable and unsettled for several days, accompanied with dark, gloomy weather, and showers of rain. On the 19th, in the afternoon, one of the carpenter's mates fell overboard, and was drowned. He was over the side, fitting in one of the scuttles, from whence, it was supposed, he had fallen: for he was not seen till the very instant he sunk under the ship's stern, when our endeavours to save him were too late. This loss was sensibly felt during the voyage, as he was a sober man and a good workman. About noon the next day the rain poured down upon us not in drops, but in streams. The wind, at the same time, was variable, and squally, which obliged the people to attend the decks, so that few in the ships escaped a good soaking. We, however, benefited by it, as it gave us an opportunity of filling all our empty water-casks. This heavy rain at last brought on a dead calm, which continued twenty-four hours, when it was succeeded by a breeze from S.W. Betwixt this point and south it continued for several days, and blew, at times, in squalls, attended with rain and hot sultry weather. The mercury in the thermometers, at noon, kept generally from 79 to 82.

On the 27th, spake with Captain Furneaux, who informed us that one of his petty officers was dead. At this time *we* had not one sick on board; although we had everything of this kind to fear from the rain we had had, which is a great promoter of sickness in hot climates. To prevent this, and agreeable to some hints I had from Sir Hugh Palliser, and from Captain Campbell, I took every necessary precaution, by airing and drying the ship with fires made betwixt decks, smoking, &c., and by obliging the people to air their bedding, wash and dry their clothes, whenever there was an opportunity. A neglect of these things causeth a disagreeable smell below, affects the air, and seldom fails to bring on sickness; but more especially in hot and wet weather.

We now began to see some of those birds which are said never to fly far from land; that is, man-of-war and tropic birds, gannets, &c. No land, however, that we knew of, could be nearer than eighty leagues.

On the 30th, at noon, being in the latitude of 2° 35′ north, longitude 7° 30′ west, and the wind having veered to the east of south, we tacked and stretched to the S.W. In the latitude of 0° 52 north, longitude 9° 25′ west, we had one calm day, which gave us an opportunity of trying the current in a boat. We found it set to the north one-third of a mile an hour. We had reason to expect this from the difference we frequently found between the observed latitude and that given by the log: and Mr. Kendal's watch showed us, that it set to the east also. This was fully confirmed by the lunar observations; when it appeared that we were 3° more to the east than the common reckoning. At the time of trying the current, the mercury in the thermometer, in the open air, stood at 75½; and when immerged in the surface of the sea, at 74: but when immerged eighty fathoms deep (where it remained fifteen minutes), when it came up, the mercury stood at 66. At the same time we sounded, without finding bottom with a line of two hundred and fifty fathoms.

The calm was succeeded by a light breeze at S.W., which kept veering by little and little to the south, and at last to the eastward of south, attended with clear, serene weather. At length, on the 8th of September, we crossed the line in the longitude of 8° west; after which the ceremony of ducking, &c., generally practised on this occasion, was not omitted.

The wind now veering more and more to the east, and blowing a gentle top-gallant gale,

in eight days it carried us into the latitude of 9° 30′ south, longitude 18° west. The weather was pleasant; and we daily saw some of those birds, which are looked upon as signs of the vicinity of land; such as boobies, men-of-war, tropic birds, and gannets. We supposed they came from the Isle of St. Matthew, or Ascension; which isles we must have passed at no great distance.

On the 27th, in the latitude of 25° 29′, longitude 24° 54′, we discovered a sail to the west, standing after us. She was a snow; and the colours she showed, either a Portuguese or St. George's ensign, the distance being too great to distinguish the one from the other; and I did not choose to wait to get nearer, or to speak with her. The wind now began to be variable. It first veered to the north, where it remained two days with fair weather. Afterwards it came round by the west to the south, where it remained two days longer, and after a few hours' calm, sprang up at S.W. But here it remained not long before it veered to E.S.E., and to the north of east; blew fresh, and by squalls, with showers of rain.

With these winds we advanced but slowly, and without meeting with anything remarkable till the 11th of October, when at $6^h\ 24^m\ 12^s$, by Mr. Kendal's watch, the moon rose about four digits eclipsed; and soon after we prepared to observe the end of the eclipse, as follows, viz:—

	H.	M.	S.	
By me at . . .	6	53	51	with a common refractor.
By Mr. Forster . .	6	55	23	
By Mr. Wales . .	6	54	57	quadrant telescope.
By Mr. Pickersgill .	6	55	30	three feet refractor.
By Mr. Gilbert . .	6	53	24	naked eye.
By Mr. Hervey . .	6	55	34	quadrant telescope.
Mean	6	54	46½	by the watch.
Watch slow of apparent time -	0	3	59	
Apparent time . .	6	58	45½	end of the eclipse.
Ditto	7	25	0	at Greenwich.
Dif. of longitude . .	0	26	14½	= . . . 6° 33′ 30″

The longitude observed by Mr. Wales was,—

By the ☽ and α. Aquilæ	5°	51′	Mean . . .	6 13 0
By the ☽ and Aldebaran	6	35		
By Mr. Kendal's watch				6 53⅞

The next morning, having but little wind, we hoisted a boat out, to try if there was any current, but found none. From this time to the 16th, we had the wind between the north and east, a gentle gale. We had for some time ceased to see any of the birds before-mentioned; and were now accompanied by albatrosses, pintadoes, sheerwaters, &c., and a small grey peterel, less than a pigeon. It has a whitish belly, and grey back, with a black stroke across from the tip of one wing to the tip of the other. These birds sometimes visited us in great flights. They are, as well as the pintadoes, southern birds; and are, I believe, never seen within the tropics, or north of the line.

On the 17th, we saw a sail to the N.W. standing to the eastward, which hoisted Dutch colours. She kept us company for two days, but the third we outsailed her. On the 21st, at $7^h\ 30^m\ 20^s$ A. M., our longitude, by the mean of two observed distances of the sun and moon, was 8° 4′ 30″ east; Mr. Kendal's watch at the same time gave 7° 22′. Our latitude was 35° 20′ south. The wind was now easterly, and continued so till the 23d, when it veered to N. and N.W. after some hours' calm; in which we put a boat in the water, and Mr. Forster shot some albatrosses and other birds, on which we feasted the next day, and found them exceedingly good. At the same time we saw a seal, or, as some thought, a sea-lion, which probably might be an inhabitant of one of the isles of Tristian de Cunha, being now nearly in their latitude, and about 5° east of them.

The wind continued but two days at N.W. and S.W., then veered to the S.E., where it remained two days longer, then fixed at N.W., which carried us to our intended port. As we approached the land, the sea-fowl, which had accompanied us hitherto, began to leave us—at least they did not come in such numbers; nor did we see gannets, or the black bird

commonly called the Cape hen, till we were nearly within sight of the Cape; nor did we strike sounding till Penguin Island bore N.N.E. distant two or three leagues, where we had fifty fathom water. Not but that the soundings may extend farther off. However, I am very sure that they do not extend very far west from the Cape; for we could not find ground with a line of 210 fathoms, 25 leagues west of Table Bay; the same at 35 leagues, and at 64 leagues. I sounded these three times, in order to find a bank which, I had been told, lies to the west of the Cape; but how far I never could learn.

I was told, before I left England, by some gentlemen who were well enough acquainted with the navigation between England and the Cape of Good Hope, that I sailed at an improper season of the year, and that I should meet with much calm weather near and under the line. This probably may be the case some years; it is, however, not general; on the contrary, we hardly met with any calms; but a brisk S.W. wind in those very latitudes where the calms are expected. Nor did we meet with any of those tornadoes, so much spoken of by other navigators. However, what they have said of the current setting towards the coast of Guinea, as you approach that shore, is true; for, from the time of our leaving St. Jago to our arrival into the latitude of 1½° north, which was eleven days, we were carried by the current 3° of longitude more east than our reckoning. On the other hand, after we had crossed the line, and got the S.E. trade wind, we always found, by observation, that the ship outstripped the reckoning, which we judged to be owing to a current setting between the south and west. But, upon the whole, the currents in this run seemed to balance each other; for, upon our arrival at the Cape, the difference of longitude by dead reckoning kept from England, without once being corrected, was only three quarters of a degree less than that by observation.

At two in the afternoon, on the 29th, we made the land of the Cape of Good Hope. The Table Mountain, which is over the Cape Town, bore E.S.E. distance 12 or 14 leagues. At this time it was a good deal obscured by clouds, otherwise it might, from its height, have been seen at a much greater distance. We now crowded all the sail we could, thinking to get into the bay before dark. But when we found this could not be accomplished, we shortened sail, and spent the night standing off and on. Between eight and nine o'clock, the whole sea, within the compass of our sight, became at once, as it were, illuminated; or, what the seamen call, all on fire. This appearance of the sea, in some degree, is very common; but the cause is not so generally known. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander had satisfied me that it was occasioned by sea insects. Mr. Forster, however, seemed not to favour this opinion. I therefore had some buckets of water drawn up from along-side the ship, which we found full of an innumerable quantity of small globular insects, about the size of a common pin's head, and quite transparent. There was no doubt of their being living animals, when in their own proper element, though we could not perceive any life in them: Mr. Forster, whose province it is more minutely to describe things of this nature, was now well satisfied with the cause of the sea's illumination.

At length daylight came, and brought us fair weather; and having stood into Table Bay, with the Adventure in company, we anchored in five fathom water. We afterwards moored N.E. and S.W.; Green Point, on the west point of the bay, bearing N.W. by W.; and the church, in one with the valley between the Table Mountain and the Sugar-Loaf or Lion's Head, bearing S.W. by S., and distant from the landing-place, near the fort, one mile.

We had no sooner anchored than we were visited by the Captain of the port, or Master Attendant, some other officers belonging to the Company, and Mr. Brandt. This last gentleman brought us off such things as could not fail of being acceptable to persons coming from sea. The purport of the Master Attendant's visit was, according to custom, to take an account of the ships; to inquire into the health of the crews; and, in particular, if the small-pox was on board; a thing they dread, above all others, at the Cape, and for these purposes a surgeon is always one of the visitants.

My first step, after anchoring, was to send an officer to wait on Baron Plettenberg, the governor, to acquaint him with our arrival, and the reasons which induced me to put in there. To this the officer received a very polite answer; and, upon his return, we saluted the garrison with eleven guns, which compliment was returned. Soon after, I went on

shore myself, and waited upon the governor, accompanied by Captain Furneaux, and the two Mr. Forsters. He received us with great politeness, and promised me every assistance the place could afford. From him I learned that two French ships from the Mauritius, about eight months before, had discovered land, in the latitude of 48° south, and in the meridian of that island, along which they sailed forty miles, till they came to a bay into which they were about to enter, when they were driven off and separated in a hard gale of wind, after having lost some of their boats and people, which they had sent to sound the bay. One of the ships, viz. the La Fortune, soon after arrived at the Mauritius, the captain of which was sent home to France with an account of the discovery. The governor also informed me, that in March last two other French ships from the Island of Mauritius touched at the Cape in their way to the South Pacific Ocean; where they were going to make discoveries, under the command of M. Marion. Aotourou, the man M. de Bougainville brought from Otaheite, was to have returned with M. Marion, had he been living.

After having visited the governor and some other principal persons of the place, we fixed ourselves at Mr. Brandt's, the usual residence of most officers belonging to English ships. This gentleman spares neither trouble nor expense to make his house agreeable to those who favour him with their company, and to accommodate them with everything they want. With him I concerted measures for supplying the ships with provisions, and all other necessaries they wanted; which he set about procuring without delay, while the seamen on board were employed in overhauling the rigging; and the carpenters in caulking the ship's sides and decks, &c.

Messrs. Wales and Bayley got all their instruments on shore, in order to make astronomical observations for ascertaining the going of the watches, and other purposes. The result of some of these observations showed, that Mr. Kendal's watch had answered beyond all expectation, by pointing out the longitude of this place to within one minute of time to what it was observed by Messrs. Mason and Dixon in 1761. Three or four days after us, two Dutch Indiamen arrived here from Holland, after a passage of between four and five months, in which one lost, by the scurvy and other putrid diseases, 150 men; and the other 41. They sent, on their arrival, great numbers to the hospital in very dreadful circumstances. It is remarkable, that one of these ships touched at Port Praya, and left it a month before we arrived there; and yet we got here three days before her. The Dutch at the Cape, having found their hospital too small for the reception of their sick, were going to build a new one at the east part of the town; the foundation of which was laid with great ceremony while we were there.

By the healthy condition of the crews of both ships at our arrival, I thought to have made my stay at the Cape very short. But, as the bread we wanted was unbaked, and the spirit, which I found scarce, to be collected from different parts out of the country, it was the 18th of November before we had got everything on board, and the 22d before we could put to sea. During this stay the crews of both ships were served every day with fresh beef or mutton, new baked bread, and as much greens as they could eat. The ships were caulked and painted; and, in every respect, put in as good a condition as when they left England. Some alterations in the officers took place in the Adventure. Mr. Shank, the first lieutenant, having been in an ill state of health ever since we sailed from Plymouth, and not finding himself recover here, desired my leave to quit, in order to return home for the re-establishment of his health. As his request appeared to be well founded, I granted him leave accordingly, and appointed Mr. Kemp first lieutenant in his room; and Mr. Burney, one of my midshipmen, second, in the room of Mr. Kemp.

Mr. Forster, whose whole time was taken up in the pursuit of natural history and botany, met with a Swedish gentleman, one Mr. Sparman *, who understood something of these sciences, having studied under Dr. Linnæus. He being willing to embark with us, Mr. Forster strongly importuned me to take him on board; thinking that he would be of great assistance to him in the course of the voyage. I at last consented, and he embarked

* This is the celebrated Dr. Andrew Sparman, the friend and pupil of Linnæus, so well known for his extensive researches into the natural history of the Cape of Good Hope.—Ed.

with us accordingly, as an assistant to Mr. Forster; who bore his expenses on board, and allowed him a yearly stipend besides.

Mr. Hodges employed himself here in drawing a view of the Cape, town, and parts adjacent, in oil colours; which was properly packed up, with some others, and left with Mr. Brandt, in order to be forwarded to the Admiralty by the first ship that should sail for England.

CHAPTER II.—DEPARTURE FROM THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, IN SEARCH OF A SOUTHERN CONTINENT.

Having at length finished my business at the Cape, and taken leave of the governor and some others of the chief officers, who, with very obliging readiness, had given me all the assistance I could desire, on the 22d November we repaired on board, and at three o'clock in the afternoon weighed, and came to sail with the wind at N. by W. As soon as the anchor was up, we saluted the fort with fifteen guns, which was immediately returned; and after making a few trips, got out of the bay by seven o'clock, at which time the town bore S.E., distant four miles. After this we stood to the westward all night, in order to get clear of the land; having the wind at N.N.W. and N.W., blowing in squalls, attended with rain, which obliged us to reef our topsails. The sea was again illuminated for some time, in the same manner as it was the night before we arrived in Table Bay.

Having got clear of the land, I directed my course for Cape Circumcision. The wind continued at N.W. a moderate gale, until the 24th; when it veered round to the eastward. On the noon of this day, we were in the latitude of 35° 25′ south, and 29′ west of the Cape; and had abundance of albatrosses about us, several of which were caught with hook and line; and were very well relished by many of the people, notwithstanding they were at this time served with fresh mutton. Judging that we should soon come into cold weather, I ordered slops to be served to such as were in want; and gave to each man the fearnought jacket and trowsers allowed them by the Admiralty.

The wind continued easterly for two days, and blew a moderate gale, which brought us into the latitude of 39° 4′, and 2° of longitude west of the Cape; thermometer 52½. The wind now came to W. and S.W., and on the 29th fixed at W.N.W. and increased to a storm, which continued, with some few intervals of moderate weather, till the 6th of December; when we were in the latitude of 48° 41′ south, and longitude 18° 24′ east. This gale, which was attended with rain and hail, blew at times with such violence that we could carry no sails: by which means we were driven far to the eastward of our intended course, and no hopes were left me of reaching Cape Circumcision. But the greatest misfortune that attended us, was the loss of great part of our live stock; which we had brought from the Cape; and which consisted of sheep, hogs, and geese. Indeed this sudden transition from warm mild weather, to extreme cold and wet, made every man in the ship feel its effects. For by this time the mercury in the thermometer had fallen to 38; whereas at the Cape it was generally at 67 and upwards. I now made some addition to the people's allowance of spirit, by giving them a dram whenever I thought it necessary, and ordered Captain Furneaux to do the same. The night proved clear and serene, and the only one that was so since we left the Cape; and the next morning the rising sun gave us such flattering hopes of a fine day, that we were induced to let all the reefs out of the top-sails, and to get top-gallant-yards across, in order to make the most of a fresh gale at north. Our hopes, however, soon vanished; for before eight o'clock, the serenity of the sky was changed into a thick haze, accompanied with rain. The gale increasing, obliged us to hand the main-sail, close-reef our top-sails, and to strike top-gallant-yards. The barometer at this time was unusually low, which foreboded an approaching storm; and this happened accordingly; for, by one o'clock P.M., the wind, which was at N.W., blew with such strength as obliged us to take in all our sails, to strike top-gallant-masts, and to get the sprit-sail-yard in. And I thought proper to wear, and lie to, under a mizzen-stay-sail, with the ships' heads to the N.E., as they would bow the sea, which ran prodigiously high, better on this tack.

At eight o'clock next morning, being the 8th, we wore, and lay on the other tack; the gale was a little abated, but the sea ran too high to make sail, any more than the fore-top-mast stay-sail. In the evening, being in the latitude of 49° 40′ south, and 1½° east of the Cape, we saw two penguins, and some sea or rock weed, which occasioned us to sound, without finding ground at 100 fathoms. At eight, P. M. we wore, and lay with our heads to the N.E. till three o'clock in the morning of the 9th, then wore again to the southward, the wind blowing in squalls, attended with showers of snow. At eight, being something more moderate, I made the Adventure signal to make sail, and soon after made sail ourselves under the courses, and close-reefed top-sails. In the evening, took in the top-sails and main-sail, and brought to, under fore-sail and mizzen; thermometer at 36°. The wind, still at N.W., blew a fresh gale, accompanied with a very high sea. In the night, had a pretty smart frost with snow.

In the morning of the 10th, we made sail under courses and top-sails close-reefed; and made the signal for the Adventure to make sail and lead. At eight o'clock, saw an island of ice to the westward of us, being then in the latitude of 50° 40′ south, and longitude 2° 0′ east of the Cape of Good Hope. Soon after, the wind moderated, and we let all the reefs out of the top-sails, got the spritsail-yard out, and top-gallant-mast up. The weather coming hazy, I called the Adventure by signal under my stern; which was no sooner done, than the haze increased so much, with snow and sleet, that we did not see an island of ice, which we were steering directly for, till we were less than a mile from it. I judged it to be about 50 feet high, and half a mile in circuit. It was flat at top, and its sides rose in a perpendicular direction, against which the sea broke exceedingly high. Captain Furneaux at first took this ice for land, and hauled off from it, until called back by signal. As the weather was foggy, it was necessary to proceed with caution. We therefore reefed our topsails, and at the same time sounded, but found no ground with 150 fathoms. We kept on to the southward with the wind at north till night, which we spent in making short trips, first one way and then another, under an easy sail; thermometer this 24 hours from 36½ to 31.

At daylight in the morning of the 11th, we made sail to the southward with the wind at west, having a fresh gale, attended with sleet and snow. At noon we were in the latitude of 51° 50′ S., and longitude 21° 3′ E., where we saw some white birds about the size of pigeons, with blackish bills and feet. I never saw any such before; and Mr. Forster had no knowledge of them. I believe them to be of the peterel tribe, and natives of these icy seas. At this time we passed between two ice islands, which lay at a little distance from each other.

In the night, the wind veered to N.W., which enabled us to steer S.W. On the 12th, we had still thick hazy weather, with sleet and snow; so that we were obliged to proceed with great caution on account of the ice islands: six of these we passed this day; some of them near two miles in circuit, and 60 feet high. And yet, such was the force and height of the waves, that the sea broke quite over them. This exhibited a view, which for a few moments was pleasing to the eye; but when we reflected on the danger, the mind was filled with horror; for, were a ship to get against the weather-side of one of these islands when the sea runs high, she would be dashed to pieces in a moment. Upon our getting among the ice islands, the albatrosses left us; that is, we saw but one now and then; nor did our other companions, the pintadoes, sheer-waters, small grey birds, fulmars, &c. appear in such numbers; on the other hand, penguins began to make their appearance. Two of these birds were seen to-day.

The wind in the night veered to west, and at last fixed at S.W., a fresh gale, with sleet and snow, which froze on our sails and rigging as it fell, so that they were all hung with icicles. We kept on to the southward, passed no less than eighteen ice islands, and saw more penguins. At noon on the 13th, we were in the latitude of 54° south, which is the latitude of Cape Circumcision, discovered by M. Bouvet in 1739; but we were ten degrees of longitude east of it; that is, near 118 leagues in this latitude. We stood on to the S.S.E. till eight o'clock in the evening, the weather still continuing thick and hazy, with sleet and snow. From noon till this time, twenty ice islands, of various extent both for height and circuit, presented themselves to our view. At eight o'clock we sounded, but found no ground with 150 fathom of line.

We now tacked, and made a trip to the northward till midnight, when we stood again to the southward; and at half-an-hour past six o'clock in the morning of the 14th, we were stopped by an immense field of low ice; to which we could see no end, either to the east, west, or south. In different parts of this field, were islands, or hills of ice, like those we found floating in the sea; and some on board thought they saw land also over the ice, bearing S.W. by S. I even thought so myself; but changed my opinion upon more narrowly examining these ice hills, and the various appearances they made when seen through the haze; for at this time it was both hazy and cloudy in the horizon, so that a distant object could not be seen distinct. Being now in the latitude of 54° 50′ south, and longitude 21° 34′ east, and having the wind at N.W., we bore away along the edge of the ice, steering S.S.E. and S.E., according to the direction of the north side of it, where we saw many whales, penguins, some white birds, pintadoes, &c.

At eight o'clock, we brought to under a point of the ice, where we had smooth water: and I sent on board for Captain Furneaux. After we had fixed on rendezvouses in case of separation, and some other matters for the better keeping company, he returned on board, and we made sail again along the ice. Some pieces we took up along-side, which yielded fresh water. At noon we had a good observation, and found ourselves in latitude 54° 55′ south.

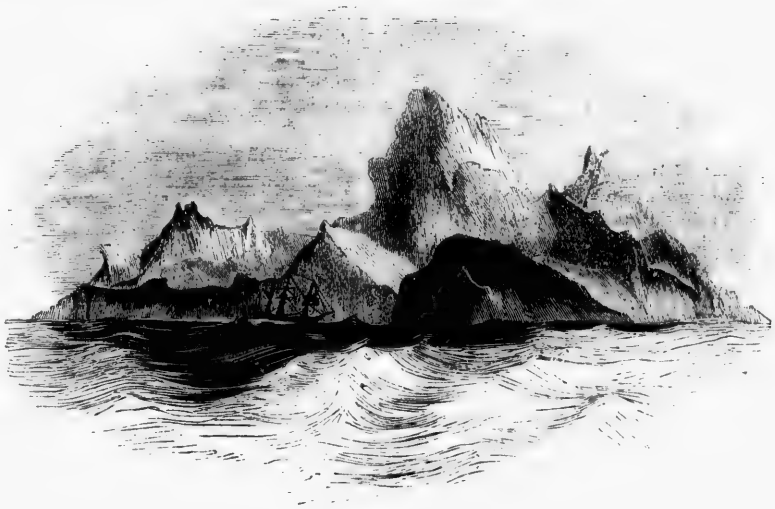
We continued a S.E. course along the edge of the ice till one o'clock, when we came to a point round which we hauled S.S.W., the sea appearing to be clear of ice in that direction. But after running four leagues upon this course, with the ice on our starboard side, we found ourselves quite embayed; the ice extending from N.N.E. round by the west and south, to east, in one compact body. The weather was indifferently clear; and yet we could see no end to it. At five o'clock, we hauled up east, wind at north, a gentle gale, in order to clear the ice. The extreme east point of it, at eight o'clock, bore E. by S., over which appeared a clear sea. We however spent the night in making short boards, under an easy sail. Thermometer, these 24 hours, from 32 to 30.

Next day, the 15th, we had the wind at N.W., a small gale, thick foggy weather, with much snow: thermometer from 32 to 27; so that our sails and rigging were all hung with icicles. The fog was so thick, at times, that we could not see the length of the ship; and we had much difficulty to avoid the many islands of ice that surrounded us. About noon, having but little wind, we hoisted out a boat to try the current, which we found set S.E. near $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile an hour. At the same time, a thermometer, which in the open air was at 32°, in the surface of the sea was at 30°; and, after being immerged 100 fathoms deep for about 15 or 20 minutes, came up at 34°, which is only 2° above freezing. Our latitude at this time was 55° 8′. The thick fog continued till two o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, when it cleared away a little, and we made sail to the southward, wind still at N.W., a gentle gale. We had not run long to the southward before we fell in with the main field of ice, extending from S.S.W. to E. We now bore away to east along the edge of it; but at night hauled off north, with the wind at W.N.W., a gentle gale attended with snow.

At four in the morning on the 17th, stood again to the south; but was again obliged to bear up on account of the ice, along the side of which we steered betwixt E. and S.S.W., hauling into every bay or opening, in hopes of finding a passage to the south. But we found everywhere the ice closed. We had a gentle gale at N.W. with showers of snow. At noon we were, by observation, in the latitude of 55° 16′ south. In the evening, the weather was clear and serene. In the course of this day, we saw many whales, one seal, penguins, some of the white birds, another sort of peterel, which is brown and white, and not much unlike a pintado; and some other sorts already known. We found the skirts of the loose ice to be more broken than usual; and it extended some distance beyond the main field, insomuch that we sailed amongst it the most part of the day; and the high ice islands without us were innumerable. At eight o'clock we sounded, but found no ground with 250 fathoms of line. After this we hauled close upon a wind to the northward, as we could see the field of ice extend as far as N.E. But this happened not to be the northern point; for at eleven o'clock, we were obliged to tack to avoid it.

At two o'clock the next morning, we stood again to the northward, with the wind at

N.W. by W., thinking to weather the ice upon this tack; on which we stood but two hours, before we found ourselves quite imbayed, being then in latitude 55° 8′, longitude 24° 3′. The wind veering more to the north, we tacked, and stood to the westward under all the sail we could carry, having a fresh breeze and clear weather, which last was of short duration. For at six o'clock, it became hazy, and soon after there was thick fog; the wind veered to the N.E., freshened, and brought with it snow and sleet, which froze on the rigging as it fell. We were now enabled to get clear of the field of ice; but at the same time we were carried in amongst the ice islands, in a manner equally dangerous, and which, with much difficulty, we kept clear of.



ICE ISLANDS.

Dangerous as it is to sail among these floating rocks (if I may be allowed to call them so) in a thick fog, this, however, is preferable to being entangled with immense fields of ice under the same circumstances. The great danger to be apprehended in this latter case, is the getting fast in the ice; a situation which would be exceedingly alarming. I had two men on board that had been in the Greenland trade; the one of them in a ship that lay nine weeks, and the other in one that lay six weeks, fast in this kind of ice; which they called packed ice. What *they* call field ice is thicker; and the whole field, be it ever so large, consists of one piece. Whereas this which *I* call field ice, from its immense extent, consists of many pieces of various sizes, both in thickness and surface, from 30 to 40 feet square to 3 or 4; packed close together; and in places heaped one upon another. This, I am of opinion, would be found too hard for a ship's side, that is not properly armed against it. How long it may have lain, or will lie here, is a point not easily determined. Such ice is found in the Greenland seas all the summer long; and I think it cannot be colder there in the summer, than it is here. Be this as it may, we certainly had no thaw; on the contrary, the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer kept generally below the freezing point, although it was the middle of summer.

It is a general opinion, that the ice I have been speaking of is formed in bays and rivers. Under this supposition, we were led to believe that land was not far distant; and that it even lay to the southward behind the ice, which alone hindered us from approaching to it. Therefore, as we had now sailed about 30 leagues along the edge of the ice, without finding a passage to the south, I determined to run 30 or 40 leagues to the east, afterwards endea-

vour to get to the southwards, and, if I met with no land, or other impediment, to get behind the ice, and put the matter out of all manner of dispute With this view, we kept standing to the N.W. with the wind at N.E. and N., thick foggy weather, with sleet and snow, till six in the evening, when the wind veered to N.W., and we tacked and stood to the eastward, meeting with many islands of ice of different magnitudes, and some loose pieces: the thermometer from 30 to 34; weather very hazy, with sleet and snow, and more sensibly colder than the thermometer seemed to point out, insomuch that the whole crew complained. In order to enable them to support this weather the better, I caused the sleeves of their jackets (which were so short as to expose their arms) to be lengthened with baize; and had a cap made for each man of the same stuff, together with canvas: which proved of great service to them.

Some of our people beginning to have symptoms of the scurvy, the surgeons began to give them fresh wort every day, made from the malt we had on board for that purpose. One man in particular was highly scorbutic; and yet he had been taking of the rob of lemon and orange for some time, without being benefited thereby. On the other hand, Captain Furneaux told me, that he had two men who, though far gone in this disease, were now in a manner entirely cured of it.

We continued standing to the eastward till eight o'clock in the morning of the 21st, when, being in the latitude of 53° 50′, and longitude 29° 24′ east, we hauled to the south with the wind at west, a fresh gale and hazy, with snow. In the evening the wind fell, and the weather cleared up, so as that we could see a few leagues round us; being in the latitude of 54° 43 south, longitude 29° 30′ east. At ten o'clock, seeing many islands of ice ahead, and the weather coming on foggy, with snow, we wore and stood to the northward, till three in the morning, when we stood again to the south. At eight the weather cleared up, and the wind came to W.S.W., with which we made all the sail we could to the south; having never less than ten or twelve islands of ice in sight.

Next day we had the wind at S.W. and S.S.W. a gentle gale, with now and then showers of snow and hail. In the morning, being in the latitude of 55° 20′ south, and longitude 31° 30′ east, we hoisted out a boat to see if there was any current, but found none. Mr. Forster, who went in the boat, shot some of the small grey birds before mentioned, which were of the peterel tribe, and about the size of a small pigeon. Their back, and upper side of their wings, their feet and bills, are of a blue-grey colour. Their bellies, and under side of their wings, are white, a little tinged with blue. The upper side of their quill-feathers is a dark blue tinged with black. A streak is formed by feathers nearly of this colour along the upper parts of the wings, and crossing the back a little above the tail. The end of the tail-feathers is also of the same colour. Their bills are much broader than any I have seen of the same tribe; and their tongues are remarkably broad. These blue peterels, as I shall call them, are seen nowhere but in the southern hemisphere, from about the latitude of 28°, and upwards. Thermometer at 33° in the open air, at 32° in the sea at the surface, and at 34½° when drawn, and 6½ minutes in drawing up from 100 fathoms below it, where it had been 16 minutes

On the 24th, the wind blew from N.W. to N.E. a gentle gale, fair and cloudy. At noon we were by observation in the latitude of 56° 31′ south, and longitude 31° 19′ east; the thermometer at 35°. And being near an island of ice which was about fifty feet high, and four hundred fathoms in circuit, I sent the master in the jolly-boat to see if any water ran from it. He soon returned with an account that there was not one drop, or any other appearances of thaw. In the evening, we sailed through several floats or fields of loose ice, lying in the direction of S.E. and N.W., at the same time we had continually several islands of the same composition in sight. On the 25th, the wind veering round from the N.E. by the east to south, it blew a gentle gale; with which we stood to the W.S.W., and at noon were in the latitude of 57° 50′ south, and longitude 29° 32′ east. The weather was fair and cloudy; the air sharp and cold, attended with a hard frost. And, although this was the middle of summer with us, I much question if the day was colder in any part of England. The wind continued at south, blew a fresh gale, fair and cloudy weather, till near noon the next day, when we had clear sunshine, and found ourselves, by observation, in the latitude of 58° 31 south, longitude 26° 57′ east.

In the course of the last twenty-four hours, we passed through several fields of broken,

loose ice. They were in general narrow, but of a considerable length, in the direction of N.W. and S.E. The ice was so close in one, that it would hardly admit the ship through it. The pieces were flat, from four to six or eight inches thick, and appeared of that sort of ice which is generally formed in bays or rivers. Others again were different; the pieces forming various honey-combed branches, exactly like coral rocks, and exhibiting such a variety of figures as can hardly be conceived. We supposed this ice to have broken from the main field we had lately left; and which I was determined to get to the south of, or behind, if possible, in order to satisfy myself whether or not it joined to any land, as had been conjectured. With this view, I kept on to the westward, with a gentle gale at S. and S.S.W., and soon after six o'clock in the evening we saw some penguins, which occasioned us to sound; but we found no ground with 150 fathoms.

In the morning of the 27th, we saw more loose ice, but not many islands; and those we did see were but small. The day being calm and pleasant, and the sea smooth, we hoisted out a boat, from which Mr. Forster shot a penguin and some peterels. These penguins differ not from those seen in other parts of the world, except in some minute particulars distinguishable only by naturalists. Some of the peterels were of the blue sort, but differed from those before mentioned, in not having a broad bill; and the ends of their tail-feathers were tipped with white instead of dark blue. But whether these were only the distinctions between the male and female, was a matter disputed by our naturalists. We were now in the latitude of 58° 19′ south, longitude 24° 39′ east, and took the opportunity of the calm to sound; but found no ground with a line of 220 fathoms. The calm continued till six in the evening, when it was succeeded by a light breeze from the east, which afterwards increased to a fresh gale.

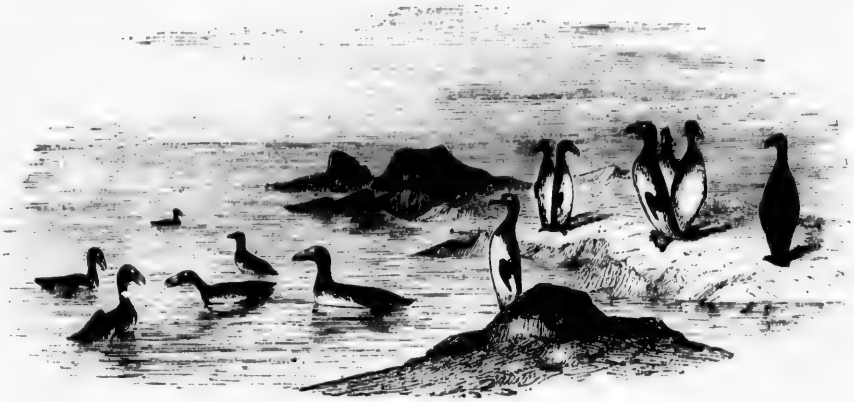
In the morning of the 28th, I made the signal to the Adventure to spread four miles on my starboard beam; and in this position we continued sailing W.S.W. until four o'clock in the afternoon, when the hazy weather, attended with snow showers, made it necessary for us to join. Soon after we reefed our top-sails, being surrounded on all sides with islands of ice In the morning of the 29th, we let them out again, and set top-gallant sails, still continuing our course to the westward, and meeting with several penguins. At noon we were, by observation, in the latitude of 59° 12′, longitude 19° 1′ east, which is 3° more to the west than we were when we first fell in with the field ice; so that it is pretty clear that it joined to no land, as was conjectured.

Having come to a resolution to run as far west as the meridian of Cape Circumcision, provided we met with no impediment, as the distance was not more than 80 leagues, the wind favourable, and the sea seemed to be pretty clear of ice, I sent on board for Captain Furneaux, to make him acquainted therewith; and after dinner he returned to his ship. At one o'clock we steered for an island of ice, thinking, if there were any loose ice round it, to take some on board, and convert it into fresh water. At four we brought to, close under the lee of the island, where we did not find what we wanted, but saw upon it eighty-six penguins. This piece of ice was about half a mile in circuit, and one hundred feet high, and upwards; for we lay for some minutes with every sail becalmed under it. The side on which the penguins were rose sloping from the sea, so as to admit them to creep up it.

It is a received opinion that penguins never go far from land, and that the sight of them is a sure indication of its vicinity. This opinion may hold good where there are no ice islands; but where such are, these birds, as well as many others which usually keep near the shores, finding a roosting-place upon these islands, may be brought by them a great distance from any land. It will however be said, that they must go on shore to breed; that probably the females were there, and that these were only the males which we saw. Be this as it may, I shall continue to take notice of these birds whenever we see them, and leave every one to judge for himself *.

* Mr. Darwin, in remarking on the habits of the penguin, as observed by him at the Falkland Islands, states, that "in diving its little plumeless wings are used as fins; out on the land, as front legs. When crawling (it may be said on four legs) through the tussocks, or on the side of grassy cliff, it moved so very quickly that it might readily have been mistaken for a quadruped. When at sea, and fishing, it comes to the surface, for the purpose of breathing, with such a spring, and dives again so instantaneously, that I defy any one, at first sight, to be sure that it is not a fish leaping for sport."—*Surveying Voyages of the Adventure and Beagle*, vol. iii. p. 257

We continued our course to the westward, with a gentle gale at E.N.E., the weather being sometimes tolerably clear, and at other times thick and hazy, with snow. The thermometer for a few days past was from 34 to 36. At nine o'clock the next morning, being the 30th, we shot one of the white birds; upon which we lowered a boat into the



PENGUINS.

water to take it up, and by that means killed a penguin which weighed 11½ pounds. The white bird was of the peterel tribe; the bill, which is rather short, is of a colour between black and dark blue, and their legs and feet are blue. I believe them to be the same sort of birds that Bouvet mentions to have seen when he was off Cape Circumcision.

We continued our westerly course till eight o'clock in the evening, when we steered N.W., the point on which I reckoned the above-mentioned cape to bear. At midnight we fell in with loose ice, which soon after obliged us to tack, and stretch to the southward. At half an hour past two o'clock in the morning of the 31st, we stood for it again, thinking to take some on board; but this was found impracticable. For the wind, which had been at N.E., now veered to S.E., and increasing to a fresh gale, brought with it such a sea as made it very dangerous for the ships to remain among the ice. The danger was yet farther increased by discovering an immense field to the north, extending from N.E. by E. to S.W. by W. farther than the eye could reach. As we were not above two or three miles from this, and surrounded by loose ice, there was no time to deliberate. We presently wore, got our tacks on board, hauled to the south, and soon got clear, but not before we had received several hard knocks from the loose pieces, which were of the largest sort, and among which we saw a seal. In the afternoon, the wind increased in such a manner as to oblige us to hand the topsails, and strike top-gallant-yards. At eight o'clock we tacked, and stood to the east till midnight, when, being in the latitude of 60° 21′ south, longitude 13° 32′ east, we stood again to the west. Next day, towards noon, the gale abated; so that we could carry close-reefed topsails. But the weather continued thick and hazy, with sleet and snow, which froze on the rigging as it fell, and ornamented the whole with icicles; the mercury in the thermometer being generally below the freezing point. This weather continued till near noon the next day; at which time we were in the latitude of 59° 12′ south, longitude 9° 45′ east, and here we saw some penguins.

The wind had now veered to the west, and was so moderate that we could bear two reefs out of the topsails. In the afternoon we were favoured with a sight of the moon, whose face we had seen but once since we left the Cape of Good Hope. By this a judgment may be formed of the sort of weather we had had since we left that place. We did not fail to seize the opportunity to make several observations of the sun and moon. The longitude

deduced from them was 9° 34′ 30′ east: Mr. Kendal's watch, at the same time, giving 10° 6′ east, and the latitude was 58° 53′ 30″ south. This longitude is nearly the same that is assigned to Cape Circumcision; and at the going down of the sun, we were about ninety-five leagues to the south of the latitude it is said to lie in. At this time the weather was so clear, that we might have seen land at fourteen or fifteen leagues' distance. It is therefore very probable that what Bouvet took for land was nothing but mountains of ice, surrounded by loose or field ice. We ourselves were undoubtedly deceived by the ice hills, the day we first fell in with the field ice. Nor was it an improbable conjecture that that ice joined to land. The probability was however now greatly lessened, if not entirely set aside. For the space between the northern edge of the ice, along which we sailed, and our route to the west, when south of it, nowhere exceeded a hundred leagues, and in some places not sixty. But a view of the chart will best explain this. The clear weather continued no longer than three o'clock the next morning, when it was succeeded by a thick fog, sleet, and snow. The wind also veered to N.E., and blew a fresh gale, with which we stood to S.E. It increased in such a manner, that before noon we were brought under close-reefed topsails. The wind continued to veer to the north, at last fixed at N.W., and was attended with intervals of clear weather.

Our course was east, ¾ north, till noon the next day, when we were in the latitude of 59° 2′ south, and nearly under the same meridian as we were when we fell in with the last field of ice, five days before; so that had it remained in the same situation, we must now have been in the middle of it; whereas we did not so much as see any. We cannot suppose that so large a float of ice as this was could be destroyed in so short a time; it therefore must have drifted to the northward; and this makes it probable that there is no land under this meridian, between the latitude of 55° and 59°, where we had supposed some to lie, as mentioned above.

As we were now only sailing over a part of the sea where we had been before, I directed the course E.S.E., in order to get more to the south. We had the advantage of a fresh gale, and the disadvantage of a thick fog; much snow and sleet, which, as usual, froze on our rigging as it fell, so that every rope was covered with the finest transparent ice I ever saw. This afforded an agreeable sight enough to the eye, but conveyed to the mind an idea of coldness much greater than it really was; for the weather was rather milder than it had been for some time past, and the sea less encumbered with ice. But the worst was, the ice so clogged the rigging, sails, and blocks, as to make them exceedingly bad to handle. Our people, however, surmounted those difficulties with a steady perseverance, and withstood this intense cold much better than I expected.

We continued to steer to the E.S.E., with a fresh gale at N.W., attended with snow and sleet, till the 8th, when we were in the latitude of 61° 12′ south, longitude 31° 47′ east. In the afternoon we passed more ice islands than we had seen for several days; indeed they were now so familiar to us, that they were often passed unnoticed, but more generally unseen, on account of the thick weather. At nine o'clock in the evening, we came to one which had a quantity of loose ice about it: as the wind was moderate, and the weather tolerably fair, we shortened sail, and stood on and off, with a view of taking some on board on the return of light; but at four o'clock in the morning, finding ourselves to leeward of this ice, we bore down to an island to leeward of us, there being about it some loose ice, part of which we saw break off. There we brought to, hoisted out three boats, and, in about five or six hours, took up as much ice as yielded fifteen tons of good fresh water. The pieces we took up were hard, and solid as a rock; some of them were so large that we were obliged to break them with pickaxes before they could be taken into the boats.

The salt water which adhered to the ice was so trifling as not to be tasted, and after it had lain on deck a short time entirely drained off; and the water which the ice yielded was perfectly sweet and well-tasted. Part of the ice we broke in pieces and put into casks, some we melted in the coppers, and filled up the casks with the water, and some we kept on deck for present use. The melting and stowing away the ice is a little tedious, and takes up some time, otherwise this is the most expeditious way of watering I ever met with.

Having got on board this supply of water, and the Adventure about two-thirds as much

(of which we stood in great need), as we had once broke the ice, I did not doubt of getting more whenever we were in want. I therefore, without hesitation, directed our course more to the south, with a gentle gale at N.W., attended, as usual, with snow showers. In the morning of the 11th, being then in the latitude of 62° 44′ south, longitude 37° east, the variation of the compass was 24° 10′ west, and the following morning in the latitude of 64° 12′ south, longitude 38° 14′ east, by the mean of three compasses, it was no more than 23° 52′ west. In this situation we saw some penguins, and being near an island of ice, from which several pieces had broken, we hoisted out two boats, and took on board as much as filled all our empty casks; and the Adventure did the same. While this was doing, Mr. Forster shot an albatross, whose plumage was of a colour between brown and dark grey, the head and upper side of the wings rather inclining to black, and it had white eye-brows. We began to see these birds about the time of our first falling in with the ice islands, and some had accompanied us ever since. These, and the dark-brown sort with a yellow bill, were the only albatrosses that had not now forsaken us.

At four o'clock P.M. we hoisted in the boats, and made sail to the S.E. with a gentle breeze at S. by W., attended with showers of snow. On the 13th, at two o'clock A.M., it fell calm. Of this we took the opportunity to hoist out a boat, to try the current, which we found to set N.W., near one-third of a mile an hour. At the time of trying the current, a Fahrenheit's thermometer was immerged in the sea 100 fathoms below its surface, where it remained twenty minutes. When it came up, the mercury stood at 32, which is the freezing point. Some little time after, being exposed to the surface of the sea, it rose to 33½, and in the open air to 36. The calm continued till five o'clock in the evening, when it was succeeded by a light breeze from the south and S.E., with which we stood to the N.E. with all our sails set.

Though the weather continued fair, the sky, as usual, was clouded. However, at nine o'clock the next morning it was clear, and we were enabled to observe several distances between the sun and moon; the mean result of which gave 39° 30′ 30″ east longitude. Mr. Kendal's watch, at the same time, gave 38° 27′ 45″, which is 1° 2′ 45″ west of the observations; whereas, on the 3rd instant, it was half a degree east of them.

In the evening I found the variation by the mean of azimuths taken with Gregory's compass, to be	28°	14′	0
By the mean of six azimuths by one of Dr. Knight's	28	32	0
And by another of Dr. Knight's	28	34	0

Our latitude at this time was 63° 57′, longitude 39° 38½″ east.

The succeeding morning, the 15th, being then in latitude 63° 33′ south, the longitude was observed by the following persons, viz.—

Myself, being the mean of six distances of the sun and moon	40°	1′	45″ E.
Mr. Wales, ditto	39	29	45
Ditto, ditto	39	56	45
Lieutenant Clerke, ditto	39	38	0
Mr. Gilbert, ditto	39	48	45
Mr. Smith, ditto	39	18	15
Mean	39	42	12
Mr. Kendal's watch made	38	41	30

Which is nearly the same difference as the day before. But Mr. Wales and I took each of us six distances of the sun and moon, with the telescopes fixed to our sextants, which brought out the longitude nearly the same as the watch. The results were as follows:— By Mr. Wales 38° 35′ 30″, and by me 38° 36′ 45″.

It is impossible for me to say whether these or the former are the nearest the truth, nor can I assign any probable reason for so great a disagreement. We certainly can observe with greater accuracy through the telescope, than with the common sight, when the ship is sufficiently steady. The use of the telescope is found difficult at first, but a little practice will make it familiar. By the assistance of the watch, we shall be able to discover the

greatest error this method of observing the longitude at sea is liable to; which, at the greatest, does not exceed a degree and a half, and in general will be found to be much less. Such is the improvement navigation has received by the astronomers and mathematical instrument-makers of this age; by the former from the valuable tables they have communicated to the public, under the direction of the Board of Longitude, and contained in the astronomical ephemeris; and by the latter, from the great accuracy they observe in making instruments, without which the tables would, in a great measure, lose their effect. The preceding observations were made by four different sextants, of different workmen: mine was made by Mr. Bird; one of Mr. Wales's by Mr. Dollond; the other, and Mr. Clerke's, by Mr. Ramsden; as also Mr. Gilbert's and Smith's, who observed with the same instrument.

Five tolerably fine days had now succeeded one another. This, besides giving us an opportunity to make the preceding observations, was very serviceable to us on many other accounts, and came at a very seasonable time. For having on board a good quantity of fresh water or ice, which was the same thing, the people were enabled to wash and dry their clothes and linen; a care that can never be enough attended to in all long voyages. The winds during this time blew in gentle gales, and the weather was mild. Yet the mercury in the thermometer never rose above 36, and was frequently as low as the freezing point.

In the afternoon, having but little wind, I brought to under an island of ice, and sent a boat to take up some. In the evening the wind freshened at east, and was attended with snow showers and thick hazy weather, which continued great part of the 16th. As we met with little ice, I stood to the south, close hauled; and at six o'clock in the evening, being in the latitude of 64° 56′ south, longitude 39° 35′ east, I found the variation by Gregory's compass to be 26° 41′ west. At this time, the motion of the ship was so great, that I could by no means observe with any of Dr. Knight's compasses.

As the wind remained invariably fixed at east, and E. by S., I continued to stand to the south; and on the 17th, between eleven and twelve o'clock, we crossed the Antarctic circle in the longitude of 39° 35′ east; for at noon we were by observation in the latitude of 66° 36′ 30″ south. The weather was now become tolerably clear, so that we could see several leagues round us; and yet we had only seen one island of ice since the morning. But about four P.M. as we were steering to the south, we observed the whole sea in a manner covered with ice, from the direction of S.E. round by the south to west.

In this space, thirty-eight ice islands, great and small, were seen, besides loose ice in abundance, so that we were obliged to luff for one piece, and bear up for another, and as we continued to advance to the south, it increased in such a manner, that at $\frac{3}{4}$ past six o'clock, being then in the latitude of 67° 15′ south, we could proceed no farther; the ice being entirely closed to the south, in the whole extent from E. to W.S.W., without the least appearance of any opening. This immense field was composed of different kinds of ice, such as high hills, loose or broken pieces packed close together, and what, I think, Greenlandmen call field ice. A float of this kind of ice lay to the S.E. of us, of such extent that I could see no end to it, from the mast-head. It was sixteen or eighteen feet high at least, and appeared of a pretty equal height and surface. Here we saw many whales playing about the ice, and for two days before had seen several flocks of the brown and white pintadoes, which we named Antarctic peterels, because they seem to be natives of that region. They are undoubtedly of the peterel tribe; are in every respect shaped like the pintadoes, differing only from them in colour. The head and fore part of the body of these are brown; and the hind part of the body, tail, and ends of the wings, are white. The white peterel also appeared in greater numbers than before; some few dark grey albatrosses, and our constant companion the blue peterel. But the common pintadoes had quite disappeared, as well as many other sorts, which are common in lower latitudes.

CHAPTER III.—SEQUEL OF THE SEARCH FOR A SOUTHERN CONTINENT BETWEEN THE MERIDIAN OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE AND NEW ZEALAND—WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE SEPARATION OF THE TWO SHIPS, AND THE ARRIVAL OF THE RESOLUTION IN DUSKY BAY.

AFTER meeting with this ice, I did not think it was at all prudent to persevere in getting farther to the south, especially as the summer was already half spent, and it would have taken up some time to have got round the ice, even supposing it to have been practicable, which, however, is doubtful. I therefore came to a resolution to proceed directly in search of the land lately discovered by the French. And as the winds still continued at E. by S., I was obliged to return to the north, over some part of the sea I had already made myself acquainted with, and for that reason wished to have avoided. But this was not to be done; as our course, made good, was little better than north. In the night, the wind increased to a strong gale, attended with sleet and snow, and obliged us to double-reef our top-sails. About noon the next day, the gale abated; so that we could bear all our reefs out; but the wind still remained in its old quarter.

In the evening, being in the latitude of 64° 12′ south, longitude 40° 15′ east, a bird called by us, in my former voyage, Port Egmont hen (on account of the great plenty of them at Port Egmont, in Falkland Isles), came hovering several times over the ship, and then left us in the direction of N.E. They are a short, thick bird, about the size of a large crow, of a dark brown or chocolate colour, with a whitish streak under each wing in the shape of a half-moon. I have been told that these birds are found in great plenty at the Fero Isles, north of Scotland, and that they never go far from land. Certain it is, I never before saw them above forty leagues off; but I do not remember ever seeing fewer than two together, whereas here was but one, which, with the islands of ice, may have come a good way from land.

At nine o'clock, the wind veering to E.N.E., we tacked and stood to the S.S.E.; but at four in the morning of the 20th, it returned back to its old point, and we resumed our northerly course. One of the above birds was seen this morning; probably the same we saw the night before, as our situation was not much altered. As the day advanced, the gale increased, attended with thick hazy weather, sleet and snow, and at last obliged us to close-reef our top-sails, and strike top-gallant yards. But in the evening, the wind abated so as to admit us to carry whole top-sails and top-gallant yards aloft. Hazy weather, with snow and sleet, continued.

In the afternoon of the 21st, being in the latitude of 62° 24′ south, longitude 42° 19′ east, we saw a white albatross with black-tipped wings, and a pintadoe bird. The wind was now at south and S.W. a fresh gale. With this we steered N.E. against a very high sea, which did not indicate the vicinity of land in that quarter; and yet it was there we were to expect it. The next day we had intervals of fair weather; the wind was moderate, and we carried our studding-sails.

ALBATROSS.

In the morning of the 23rd, we were in latitude 60° 27′ south, longitude 45° 33 east.

Snow showers continued, and the weather was so cold, that the water in our water vessels on deck had been frozen for several preceding nights. Having clear weather at intervals, I spread the ships abreast four miles from each other, in order the better to discover anything that might lie in our way. We continued to sail in this manner till six o'clock in the evening, when hazy weather, and snow showers, made it necessary for us to join.

We kept our course to the N.E. till eight o'clock in the morning of the 25th, when the wind having veered round to N.E. by E. by the west and north, we tacked, and stood to N.W. The wind was fresh, and yet we made but little way against a high northerly sea. We now began to see some of that sort of peterels so well known to sailors by the name of sheerwaters, latitude 58° 10′, longitude 50° 54′ east. In the afternoon the wind veered to the southward of east, and at eight o'clock in the evening it increased to a storm, attended with thick hazy weather, sleet and snow. During night we went under our fore-sail and main-top-sail close-reefed; at daylight the next morning, added to them the fore and mizzen top-sails. At four o'clock it fell calm; but a prodigious high sea from the N.E. and a complication of the worst of weather, viz. snow, sleet, and rain, continued, together with the calm, till nine o'clock in the evening. Then the weather cleared up, and we got a breeze at S.E. by S. With this we steered N. by E. till eight o'clock the next morning, being the 27th, when I spread the ships and steered N.N.E. all sails set, having a fresh breeze at S. by W. and clear weather.

At noon we were, by observation, in the latitude of 56° 28′ south, and about three o'clock in the afternoon, the sun and moon appearing at intervals, their distances were observed by the following persons, and the longitude resulting therefrom was—

By Mr. Wales (mean of two sets)	50°	59′ east
Lieutenant Clerke . .	51	11
Mr. Gilbert . .	50	14
Mr. Smith . .	50	50
Mr. Kendal's watch .	50	50

At six o'clock in the evening, being in latitude 56° 9′ S., I now made signal to the Adventure to come under my stern; and at eight o'clock the next morning, sent her to look out on my starboard beam, having at this time a fresh gale at west, and pretty clear weather. But this was not of long duration; for at two in the afternoon, the sky became cloudy and hazy; the wind increased to a fresh gale; blew in squalls attended with snow, sleet, and drizzling rain. I now made signal to the Adventure to come under my stern, and took another reef in each top-sail. At eight o'clock I hauled up the main-sail, and ran all night under the fore-sail, and two top-sails; our course being N.N.E. and N.E. by N. with a strong gale at N.W.

The 29th, at noon, we observed in latitude 52° 29′ south, the weather being fair and tolerably clear. But in the afternoon, it again became very thick and hazy, with rain; and the gale increased in such a manner as to oblige us to strike top-gallant yards, close-reef and hand the top-sails. We spent part of the night, which was very dark and stormy, in making a tack to the S.W., and in the morning of the 30th, stood again to the N.E., wind at N.W. and north, a very fresh gale; which split several of our small sails. This day no ice was seen; probably owing to the thick hazy weather. At eight o'clock in the evening we tacked and stood to the westward, under our courses; but as the sea ran high, we made our course no better than S.S.W. At four o'clock the next morning, the gale had a little abated; and the wind had backed to W. by S. We again stood to the northward, under courses and double-reefed top-sails, having a very high sea from the N.N.W., which gave us but little hopes of finding the land we were in search of. At noon, we were in the latitude of 50° 50′ S. longitude 56° 48′ east, and presently after we saw two islands of ice. One of these we passed very near, and found that it was breaking or falling to pieces, by the cracking noise it made; which was equal to the report of a four-pounder. There was a good deal of loose ice about it; and had the weather been favourable, I should have brought to, and taken some up. After passing this, we saw no more, till we returned again to the south. Hazy, gloomy weather continued, and the wind remained invariably fixed at N.W., so that

we could make our course no better than N.E. by N., and this course we held till four o'clock in the afternoon of the 1st of February. Being then in the latitude of 48° 30′, and longitude 58° 7′ east, nearly in the meridian of the island of Mauritius, and where we were to expect to find the land said to be discovered by the French, of which at this time we saw not the least signs, we bore away east.

I now made the signal to the Adventure to keep at the distance of four miles on my starboard beam. At half an hour past six, Captain Furneaux made the signal to speak with me; and upon his coming under my stern, he informed me that he had just seen a large float of sea or rock weed, and about it several birds (divers). These were certainly signs of the vicinity of land: but whether it lay to the east or west was not possible for us to know. My intention was to have got into this latitude four or five degrees of longitude to the west of the meridian we were now in, and then to have carried on my researches to the east. But the W. and N.W. winds we had had the five preceding days, prevented me from putting this in execution.

The continual high sea we had lately had from the N.E., N.N.W. and west, left me no reason to believe that land of any extent lay to the west. We therefore continued to steer to the E., only lying-to a few hours in the night, and in the morning resumed our course again, four miles north and south from each other; the hazy weather not permitting us to spread farther. We passed two or three small pieces of rock-weed, and saw two or three birds known by the name of egg-birds; but saw no other signs of land. At noon we observed, in latitude 48° 36′ south, longitude 59° 35′ east. As we could only see a few miles farther to the south, and as it was not impossible that there might be land not far off in that direction, I gave orders to steer S. ½ E., and made the signal for the Adventure to follow, she being, by this movement, thrown astern: the weather continuing hazy till half an hour past six o'clock in the evening, when it cleared up so as to enable us to see about five leagues round us.

Being now in the latitude of 49° 13′ south, without having the least signs of land, I wore and stood again to the eastward, and soon after spoke with Captain Furneaux. He told me that he thought the land was to the N.W. of us; as he had, at one time, observed the sea to be smooth when the wind blew in that direction. Although this was not conformable to the remarks *we* had made on the sea, I resolved to clear up the point, if the wind would admit of my getting to the west in any reasonable time.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 3rd, being in the latitude of 48° 56′ south, longitude 6° 47′ east, and upwards of 3° to the east of the meridian of Mauritius, I began to despair of finding land to the east; and as the wind had now veered to the northward, resolved to search for it to the west. I accordingly tacked and stood to the west with a fresh gale. This increased in such a manner, that before night we were reduced to our two courses; and at last, obliged to lie-to under the fore-sails, having a prodigious high sea from W.N.W., notwithstanding the height of the gale was from N. by W. At three o'clock the next morning, the gale abating, we made sail, and continued to ply to the west till ten o'clock in the morning of the 6th. At this time being in the latitude of 48° 6′ south, longitude 58° 22′ east, the wind seemingly fixed at W.N.W., and seeing no signs of meeting with land, I gave over plying, and bore away east a little southerly: being satisfied, that if there is any land hereabout, it can only be an isle of no great extent. And it was just as probable I might have found it to the east as west.

While we were plying about here, we took every opportunity to observe the variation of the compass, and found it to be from 27° 50′, to 30° 26′ west. Probably the mean of the two extremes, viz. 29° 4′, is the nearest the truth, as it nearly agrees with the variation observed on board the Adventure. In making these observations, we found that, when the sun was on the starboard side of the ship, the variation was the least; and when on the larboard side, the greatest. This was not the first time we had made this observation, without being able to account for it. At four o'clock in the morning of the 7th, I made the Adventure's signal to keep at the distance of four miles on my starboard beam, and continued to steer E.S.E. This being a fine day, I had all our men's bedding and clothes spread on deck to air, and the ship cleaned and smoked betwixt decks. At noon I steered

a point more to the south, being then in the latitude of 48° 49′ south, longitude 61° 48′ east. At six o'clock in the evening, I called in the Adventure; and at the same time took several azimuths, which gave the variation 31° 28′ west. These observations could not be taken with the greatest accuracy, on account of the rolling of the ship, occasioned by a very high westerly swell.

The preceding evening, three Port Egmont hens were seen; this morning another appeared. In the evening, and several times in the night, penguins were heard; and at daylight in the morning of the 8th, several of these were seen; and divers of two sorts, seemingly such as are usually met with on the coast of England. This occasioned us to sound; but we found no ground with a line of 210 fathoms. Our latitude now was 49° 53 south, and longitude 63° 39′ east. This was at eight o'clock. By this time the wind had veered round by the N.E. to E., blew a brisk gale, and was attended with hazy weather, which soon after turned to a thick fog; and at the same time, the wind shifted to N.E.

I continued to keep the wind on the larboard tack, and to fire a gun every hour till noon; when I made the signal to tack, and tacked accordingly. But as neither this signal, nor any of the former, was answered by the Adventure, we had but too much reason to think that a separation had taken place; though we were at a loss to tell how it had been effected. I had directed Captain Furneaux, in case he was separated from me, to cruise three days in the place where he last saw me. I therefore continued making short boards, and firing half-hour guns, till the 9th in the afternoon, when the weather having cleared up, we could see several leagues round us, and found that the Adventure was not within the limits of our horizon. At this time, we were about two or three leagues to the eastward of the situation we were in when we last saw her, and were standing to the westward with a very strong gale at N.N.W., accompanied with a great sea from the same direction. This, together with an increase of wind, obliged us to lie-to, till eight o'clock the next morning; during which time we saw nothing of the Adventure, notwithstanding the weather was pretty clear, and we had kept firing guns, and burning false fires, all night. I therefore gave over looking for her, made sail, and steered S.E. with a very fresh gale at W. by N., accompanied with a high sea from the same direction. While we were beating about here, we frequently saw penguins and divers, which made us conjecture that land was not far off; but in what direction, it was not possible for us to tell. As we advanced to the south, we lost the penguins, and most of the divers, and, as usual, met with abundance of albatrosses, blue peterels, sheerwaters, &c.

The 11th at noon, and in the latitude of 51° 15′ south, longitude 67° 20′ east, we again met with penguins; and saw an egg-bird, which we also look upon to be a sign of the vicinity of land. I continued to steer to the S.E., with a fresh gale in the N.W. quarter, attended with a long hollow swell, and frequent showers of rain, hail, and snow. The 12th, in the morning, being in the latitude of 52° 32′ south, longitude 69° 47′ east, the variation was 31° 38′ west. In the evening, in the latitude of 53° 7′ south, longitude 70° 50′ east, it was 32° 33′: and the next morning, in the latitude of 53° 37′ south, longitude 72° 10′, it was 33° 8′ west. Thus far we had continually a great number of penguins about the ship, which seemed to be different from those we had seen near the ice; being smaller, with reddish bills and brownish heads. The meeting with so many of these birds, gave us some hopes of finding land, and occasioned various conjectures about its situation. The great westerly swell, which still continued, made it improbable that land of any considerable extent lay to the west. Nor was it very probable that any lay to the north; as we were only about 160 leagues to the south of Tasman's track in 1642; and I conjectured that Captain Furneaux would explore this place; which accordingly happened. In the evening we saw a Port Egmont hen, which flew away in the direction of N.E. by E.; and the next morning, a seal was seen, but no penguins. In the evening, being in the latitude of 55° 49′ south, longitude 75° 52′ east, the variation was 34° 48′ west; and in the evening of the 15th, in latitude 57° 2′ south, longitude 79° 56′ east, it was 38° west. Five seals were seen this day, and a few penguins; which occasioned us to sound, without finding any bottom, with a line of 150 fathoms.

At daylight in the morning of the 16th, we saw an island of ice to the northward; for

which we steered, in order to take some on board; but the wind shifting to that direction, hindered us from putting this in execution. At this time we were in the latitude of 57° 8′ south, longitude 80° 59′ east, and had two islands of ice in sight. This morning we saw one penguin, which appeared to be of the same sort which we had formerly seen near the ice. But we had now been so often deceived by these birds, that we could no longer look upon them, nor indeed upon any other oceanic birds, which frequent high latitudes, as sure signs of the vicinity of land. The wind continued not long at north, but veered to E. by N.E., and blew a gentle gale, with which we stood to the southward; having frequent showers of sleet and snow. But in the night we had fair weather, and a clear serene sky; and between midnight and three o'clock in the morning, lights were seen in the heavens, similar to those in the northern hemisphere, known by the name of Aurora Borealis, or northern lights; but I never heard of the Aurora Australis being seen before. The officer of the watch observed, that it sometimes broke out in spiral rays, and in a circular form; then its light was very strong, and its appearance beautiful. He could not perceive it had any particular direction; for it appeared, at various times, in different parts of the heavens, and diffused its light throughout the whole atmosphere.

At nine in the morning, we bore down to an island of ice, which we reached by noon. It was full half a mile in circuit, and two hundred feet high at least; though very little loose ice about it. But while we were considering whether or not we should hoist out our boats to take some up, a great quantity broke from the island. Upon this we hoisted out our boats, and went to work to get some on board. The pieces of ice, both great and small, which broke from the island, I observed, drifted fast to the westward; that is, they left the island in that direction, and were, in a few hours, spread over a large space of sea. This, I have no doubt, was caused by a current setting in that direction; for the wind could have but little effect upon the ice; especially as there was a large hollow swell from the west. This circumstance greatly retarded our taking up ice. We, however, made a shift to get on board about nine or ten tons before eight o'clock, when we hoisted in the boats, and made sail to east, inclining to the south, with a fresh gale at south; which soon after veered to S.S.W. and S.W., with fair but cloudy weather. This course brought us among many ice isles; so that it was necessary to proceed with great caution. In the night the mercury in the thermometer fell two degrees below the freezing point; and the water in the scuttle casks on deck was frozen. As I have not taken notice of the thermometer of late, I shall now observe that, as we advanced to the north, the mercury gradually rose to 45, and fell again, as we advanced to the south, to what is above mentioned; nor did it rise, in the middle of the day, to above 34 or 35.

In the morning of the 18th, being in the latitude of 57° 54′ south, longitude 83° 14′ east, the variation was 39° 33′ west. In the evening, in latitude 58° 2′ south, longitude 84° 35′ east, it was only 37° 8′ west; which induced me to believe it was decreasing. But in the evening of the 20th, in the latitude of 58° 47′ south, longitude 90° 56′ east, I took nine azimuths, with Dr. Knight's compass, which gave the variation 40° 7′; and nine others, with Gregory's, which gave 40° 15′ west.

This day, at noon, being nearly in the latitude and longitude just mentioned, we thought we saw land to the S.W. The appearance was so strong, that we doubted not it was there in reality, and tacked to work up to it accordingly; having a light breeze at south, and clear weather. We were, however, soon undeceived, by finding that it was only clouds; which, in the evening, entirely disappeared, and left us a clear horizon, so that we could see a considerable way round us; in which space nothing was to be seen but ice islands.

In the night, the Aurora Australis made a very brilliant and luminous appearance. It was seen first in the east, a little above the horizon; and, in a short time, spread over the whole heavens. The 21st, in the morning, having little wind and a smooth sea, two favourable circumstances for taking up ice, I steered for the largest ice island before us, which we reached by noon. At this time, we were in the latitude of 59° south, longitude 92° 30′ east; having, about two hours before, seen three or four penguins. Finding here a good quantity of loose ice, I ordered two boats out, and sent them to take some on board. While this was doing, the island, which was not less than half a mile in circuit, and three or four hundred

feet high above the surface of the sea, turned nearly bottom up. Its height, by this circumstance, was neither increased nor diminished, apparently. As soon as we had got on board as much ice as we could dispose of, we hoisted in the boats, and made sail to the S.E., with a gentle breeze at N. by E., attended with showers of snow, and dark gloomy weather. At this time, we had but few ice islands in sight; but the next day, seldom less than twenty or thirty were seen at once.

The wind gradually veered to the east, and, at last, fixing at E. by S., blew a fresh gale With this, we stood to the south, till eight o'clock in the evening of the 23d; at which time, we were in the latitude 61° 52′ south, longitude 95° 2′ east. We now tacked, and spent the night, which was exceedingly stormy, thick, and hazy, with sleet and snow, in making short boards. Surrounded on every side with danger, it was natural for us to wish for daylight: this, when it came, served only to increase our apprehensions, by exhibiting to our view those huge mountains of ice which, in the night, we had passed without seeing.

These unfavourable circumstances, together with dark nights, at this advanced season of the year quite discouraged me from putting in execution a resolution I had taken of crossing the Antarctic circle once more. Accordingly, at four o'clock in the morning, we stood to the north, with a very hard gale at E.S.E., accompanied with snow and sleet, and a very high sea, from the same point, which made great destruction among the ice islands. This circumstance, far from being of any advantage to us, greatly increased the number of pieces we had to avoid. The large pieces which break from the ice islands are much more dangerous than the islands themselves; the latter are so high out of water, that we can generally see them, unless the weather be very thick and dark, before we are very near them; whereas the others cannot be seen in the night, till they are under the ship's bows. These dangers were, however, now become so familiar to us, that the apprehensions they caused were never of long duration, and were, in some measure, compensated, both by the seasonable supplies of fresh water these ice islands afforded us, (without which we must have been greatly distressed,) and also by their very romantic appearance, greatly heightened by the foaming and dashing of the waves into the curious holes and caverns which are formed in many of them; the whole exhibiting a view which at once filled the mind with admiration and horror, and can only be described by the hand of an able painter. Towards the evening, the gale abated; and in the night we had two or three hours' calm. This was succeeded by a light breeze at west; with which we steered east, under all the sail we could set, meeting with many ice islands.

This night we saw a Port Egmont hen; and next morning, being the 25th, another. We had lately seen but few birds; and those were albatrosses, sheer-waters, and blue peterels. It is remarkable, that we did not see one of either the white, or Antarctic peterels, since we came last amongst the ice. Notwithstanding the wind kept at W. and N.W. all day, we had a very high sea from the east; by which we concluded that no land could be near in that direction. In the evening, being in the latitude 60° 51′, longitude 95° 41′ east, the variation was 43° 6′ west; and the next morning, being the 26th, having advanced about a degree and a half more to the east, it was 41° 30′; both being determined by several azimuths. We had fair weather all the afternoon; but the wind was unsettled, veering round by the north to the east. With this, we stood to the S.E. and E. till three o'clock in the afternoon; when, being in the latitude of 61° 21′ south, longitude 97° 7′, we tacked, and stood to the northward and eastward, as the wind kept veering to the south. This, in the evening, increased to a strong gale, blew in squalls, attended with snow and sleet, and thick hazy weather, which soon brought us under our close-reefed top-sails.

Between eight in the morning of the 26th and noon next day, we fell in among several islands of ice; from whence such vast quantities had broken, as to cover the sea all round us, and render sailing rather dangerous. However, by noon, we were clear of it all. In the evening the wind abated, and veered to S.W.; but the weather did not clear up till the next morning; when we were able to carry all our sails, and met with but very few islands of ice to impede us. Probably the late gale had destroyed a great number of them. Such a very large hollow sea had continued to accompany the wind, as it veered from E. to S.W., that I was certain no land of considerable extent could lie within 100 or 150 leagues of our situation between these two points.

The mean height of the thermometer at noon, for some days past, was about 35; which is something higher than it usually was, in the same latitude, about a month or five weeks before, consequently the air was something warmer. While the weather was really *warm*, the gales were not only stronger, but more frequent; with almost continual misty, dirty, wet weather. The very animals we had on board felt its effects. A sow having in the morning farrowed nine pigs, every one of them was killed by the cold, before four o'clock in the afternoon, notwithstanding all the care we could take of them. From the same cause, myself, as well as several of my people, had fingers and toes chilblained. Such is the summer weather we enjoyed.

The wind continued unsettled, veering from the south to the west, and blew a fresh gale till the evening. Then it fell little wind; and, soon after, a breeze sprung up at north; which quickly veered to N.E. and N.E. by E., attended with a thick fog, snow, sleet, and rain. With this wind and weather, we kept on to the S.E. till four o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, being the 1st of March, when it fell calm; which continued for near twenty-four hours. We were now in the latitude of 60° 36′ south, longitude 107° 54′; and had a prodigious high swell from the S.W., and, at the same time, another from the S. or S.S.E. The dashing of the one wave against the other, made the ship both roll and pitch exceedingly; but, at length, the N.W. swell prevailed. The calm continued till noon the next day, when it was succeeded by a gentle breeze from S.E., which afterwards increased, and veered to S.W. With this we steered N.E. by E., and E. by N., under all the sail we could set.

In the afternoon of the 3rd, being in latitude 60° 13′, longitude 110° 18′, the variation was 39° 4′, west. But the observations by which this was determined, were none of the best; being obliged to make use of such as we could get, during the very few and short intervals when the sun appeared. A few penguins were seen this day, but not so many islands of ice as usual. The weather was also milder, though very changeable; thermometer from 36 to 38. We continued to have a N.W. swell, although the wind was unsettled, veering to N.E. by the west and north, attended with haze, sleet, and drizzling rain. We prosecuted our course to the east, inclining to the south, till three o'clock in the afternoon of the 4th, when (being in the latitude of 60° 37′, longitude 113° 24′) the wind shifting at once to S.W. and S.W. by S., I gave orders to steer E. by N. ½ N. But in the night we steered E. ½ S. in order to have the wind, which was at S.S.W., more upon the beam; the better to enable us to stand back, in case we fell in with any danger in the dark. For we had not so much time to spare, to allow us to lie-to.

In the morning of the 5th, we steered E. by N. under all the sail we could set, passing one ice island and many small pieces, and at nine o'clock the wind, which of late had not remained long upon any one point, shifted all at once to east, and blew a gentle gale. With this we stood to the north, at which time we were in the latitude of 60° 44′ south, and longitude 116° 50′ east. The latitude was determined by the meridian altitude of the sun, which appeared, now and then, for a few minutes, till three in the afternoon. Indeed the sky was, in general, so cloudy, and the weather so thick and hazy, that we had very little benefit of sun or moon; very seldom seeing the face of either the one or the other. And yet, even under these circumstances, the weather for some days past could not be called very cold. It, however, had not the least pretension to be called summer weather, according to my ideas of summer in the northern hemisphere, as far as 60° of latitude; which is nearly as far north as I have been.

In the evening we had three islands of ice in sight, all of them large; especially one, which was larger than any we had yet seen. The side opposed to us seemed to be a mile in extent; if so, it could not be less than three in circuit. As we passed it in the night, a continual cracking was heard, occasioned, no doubt, by pieces breaking from it. For, in the morning of the 6th, the sea, for some distance round it, was covered with large and small pieces; and the island itself did not appear so large as it had done the evening before. It could not be less than 100 feet high; yet such was the impetuous force and height of the waves, which were broken against it, by meeting with such a sudden resistance, that they rose considerably higher. In the evening, we were in latitude 59 58′ south, longitude 118° 39′ east. The 7th, the wind was variable in the N.E. and S.E. quarters, attended with snow and sleet,

till the evening. Then the weather became fair, the sky cleared up, and the night was remarkably pleasant, as well as the morning of the next day; which, for the brightness of the sky, and serenity and mildness of the weather, gave place to none we had seen since we left the Cape of Good Hope. It was such as is little known in this sea; and, to make it still more agreeable, we had not one island of ice in sight. The mercury in the thermometer rose to 40. Mr. Wales and the master made some observations of the moon and stars, which satisfied us that, when our latitude was 59° 44′, our longitude was 121° 9′. At three o'clock in the afternoon, the calm was succeeded by a breeze at S.E. The sky, at the same time, was suddenly obscured, and seemed to presage an approaching storm, which accordingly happened; for, in the evening, the wind shifted to south, blew in squalls, attended with sleet and rain, and a prodigious high sea. Having nothing to take care of but ourselves, we kept two or three points from the wind, and ran at a good rate to the E.N.E. under our two courses, and close-reefed top-sails.

The gale continued till the evening of the 10th; then it abated; the wind shifted to the westward; and we had fair weather, and but little wind, during the night, attended with a sharp frost. The next morning, being in the latitude of 57° 56′, longitude 130°, the wind shifted to N.E. and blew a fresh gale, with which we stood S.E., having frequent showers of snow and sleet, and a long hollow swell from S.S.E. and S.E. by S. This swell did not go down till two days after the wind which raised it had not only ceased to blow, but had shifted, and blown fresh at opposite points, good part of the time. Whoever attentively considers this, must conclude, that there can be no land to the south, but what must be at a great distance.

Notwithstanding so little was to be expected in that quarter, we continued to stand to the south till three o'clock in the morning of the 12th, when we were stopped by a calm; being then in the latitude of 58° 56′ south, longitude 131° 26′ east. After a few hours' calm, a breeze sprung up at west, with which we steered east. The S.S.E. swell having gone down, was succeeded by another from N.W. by W. The weather continued mild all this day, and the mercury rose to 39½. In the evening it fell calm, and continued so till three o'clock in the morning of the 13th, when we got the wind at E. and S.E., a fresh breeze, attended with snow and sleet. In the afternoon it became fair, and the wind veered to S. and S.S.W. In the evening, being then in the latitude of 58° 59′, longitude 134°, the weather was so clear in the horizon, that we could see many leagues round us. We had but little wind during the night, some showers of snow, and a very sharp frost. As the day broke, the wind freshened at S.E. and S.S.E., and soon after, the sky cleared up, and the weather became clear and serene; but the air continued cold, and the mercury in the thermometer rose only one degree above the freezing point. The clear weather gave Mr. Wales an opportunity to get some observations of the sun and moon. Their results reduced to noon, when the latitude was 58° 22′ south, gave us 136° 22′ east longitude. Mr. Kendal's watch, at the same time, gave 134° 42′; and that of Mr. Arnold, the same. This was the first and only time they pointed out the same longitude, since we left England. The greatest difference, however, between them, since we left the Cape, had not much exceeded two degrees.

The moderate, and I might almost say, the pleasant weather we had, at times, for the last two or three days, made me wish I had been a few degrees of latitude farther south, and even tempted me to incline our course that way. But we soon had weather which convinced us that we were full far enough; and that the time was approaching, when these seas were not to be navigated without enduring intense cold; which, by the bye, we were pretty well used to. In the afternoon, the serenity of the sky was presently obscured; the wind veered round by the S.W. to W., and blew in hard squalls, attended with thick and heavy showers of hail and snow, which continually covered our deck, sails, and rigging, till five o'clock in the evening of the 15th. At this time the wind abated and shifted to S.E.; the sky cleared up; and the evening was so serene and clear, that we could see many leagues round us; the horizon being the only boundary to our sight.

We were now in the latitude of 59° 17 south, longitude 140° 12′ east, and had such a large hollow swell from W.S.W. as assured us that we had left no land behind us in that direction. I was also well assured that no land lay to the south on this side 60° of latitude.

We had a smart frost during the night, which was curiously illuminated with the southern lights.

At ten o'clock in the morning of the 16th, (which was as soon as the sun appeared,) in the latitude of 58° 51′ south, our longitude was 143° 10′ east. This good weather was, as usual, of short duration. In the afternoon of this day, we had again thick snow showers; but at intervals it was tolerably clear; and in the evening, being in the latitude of 58° 58′ south, longitude 144° 37′ east, I found the variation, by several azimuths, to be 31° east. I was not a little pleased with being able to determine with so much precision this point of the line, in which the compass has no variation. For I look upon half a degree as next to nothing; so that the intersection of the latitude and longitude just mentioned may be reckoned the point, without any sensible error. At any rate, the line can only pass a very small matter west of it.

I continued to steer to the east, inclining to the south, with a fresh gale at S.W. till five o'clock the next morning, when, being in the latitude of 59° 7′ S., longitude 146° 53′ E., I bore away N.E. and at noon north, having come to a resolution to quit the high southern latitudes, and to proceed to New Zealand, to look for the Adventure, and to refresh my people. I had also some thoughts, and even a desire, to visit the east coast of Van Diemen's Land, in order to satisfy myself if it joined the coast of New South Wales. In the night of the 17th, the wind shifted to N.W. and blew in squalls, attended with thick hazy weather and rain. This continued all the 18th, in the evening of which day, being in the latitude of 56° 15′ S., longitude 150°, the sky cleared up, and we found the variation by several azimuths to be 13° 30′ E. Soon after we hauled up with the log a piece of rock-weed, which was in a state of decay, and covered with barnacles. In the night the southern lights were very bright.

The next morning we saw a seal, and towards noon some penguins, and more rock-weed, being at this time in the latitude of 55° 1′, longitude 152° 1′ E. In the latitude of 54° 4′, we also saw a Port-Egmont hen, and some weed. Navigators have generally looked upon all these to be certain signs of the vicinity of land; I cannot, however, support this opinion. At this time we knew of no land, nor is it even probable that there is any, nearer than New Holland, or Van Diemen's Land, from which we were distant 260 leagues. We had, at the same time, several porpoises playing about us; into one of which Mr. Cooper struck a harpoon; but, as the ship was running seven knots, it broke its hold, after towing it some minutes, and before we could deaden the ship's way.

As the wind, which continued between the north and the west, would not permit me to touch at Van Diemen's Land, I shaped my course to New Zealand; and, being under no apprehensions of meeting with any danger, I was not backward in carrying sail, as well by night as day, having the advantage of a very strong gale, which was attended with hazy rainy weather, and a very large swell from the W. and W.S.W. We continued to meet with, now and then, a seal, Port-Egmont hens, and sea-weed. On the morning of the 22d, the wind shifted to south, and brought with it fair weather. At noon, we found ourselves in the latitude of 49° 55′, longitude 159° 28′, having a very large swell out of the S.W. For the three days past the mercury in the thermometer had risen to 46, and the weather was quite mild. Seven or eight degrees of latitude had made a surprising difference in the temperature of the air, which we felt with an agreeable satisfaction.

We continued to advance to the N.E. at a good rate, having a brisk gale between the south and east; meeting with seals, Port-Egmont hens, egg-birds, sea-weed, &c. and having constantly a very large swell from the S.W. At ten o'clock in the morning of the 25th, the land of New Zealand was seen from the mast-head; and, at noon, from the deck; extending from N.E. by E. to east, distant ten leagues. As I intended to put into Dusky Bay, or any other port I could find, on the southern part of Tavai Poenammoo, we steered in for the land, under all the sail we could carry, having the advantage of a fresh gale at west, and tolerably clear weather. This last was not of long duration; for, at half an hour after four o'clock, the land, which was not above four miles distant, was in a manner wholly obscured in a thick haze. At this time, we were before the entrance of a bay, which I had mistaken for Dusky Bay, being deceived by some islands that lay in the mouth of it.

Fearing to run, in thick weather, into a place to which we were all strangers, and seeing some breakers and broken ground a-head, I tacked in twenty-five fathoms water, and stood out to sea with the wind at N.W. This bay lies on the S.E. side of Cape West, and may be known by a white cliff on one of the isles which lies in the entrance of the bay. This part of the coast I did not see but at a great distance, in my former voyage; and we now saw it under so many disadvantageous circumstances, that the less I say about it, the fewer mistakes I shall make. We stood out to sea, under close-reefed top-sails and courses, till eleven o'clock at night; when we wore and stood to the northward, having a very high and irregular sea. At five o'clock next morning, the gale abated, and we bore up for the land; at eight o'clock, the West Cape bore E. by N. ½ N. for which we steered, and entered Dusky Bay about noon. In the entrance of it, we found 44 fathoms water, a sandy bottom, the West Cape bearing S.S.E. and Five Fingers Point, or the north point of the bay, north. Here we had a great swell rolling in from S.W. The depth of water decreased to 40 fathoms; afterwards we had no ground with 60. We were, however, too far advanced to return; and therefore stood on, not doubting but that we should find anchorage. For in this bay we were all strangers; in my former voyage, having done no more than discover, and name it.

After running about two leagues up the bay, and passing several of the isles which lay in it, I brought to, and hoisted out two boats; one of which I sent away with an officer round a point on the larboard hand, to look for anchorage. This he found, and signified the same by signal. We then followed with the ship, and anchored in 50 fathoms water, so near the shore as to reach it with a hawser. This was on Friday the 26th of March, at three in the afternoon, after having been 117 days at sea; in which time we had sailed 3660 leagues, without having once sight of land.

After such a long continuance at sea, in a high southern latitude, it is but reasonable to think that many of my people must be ill of the scurvy. The contrary, however, happened. Mention hath already been made of sweet wort being given to such as were scorbutic. This had so far the desired effect, that we had only one man on board that could be called very ill of this disease; occasioned, chiefly, by a bad habit of body, and a complication of other disorders. We did not attribute the general good state of health in the crew wholly to the sweet wort, but to the frequent airing and sweetening the ship by fires, &c. We must also allow portable broth, and sour krout to have had some share in it. This last can never be enough recommended.

My first care, after the ship was moored, was to send a boat and people a-fishing; in the mean time, some of the gentlemen killed a seal (out of many that were upon a rock), which made us a fresh meal.

CHAPTER IV.—TRANSACTIONS IN DUSKY BAY, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF SEVERAL INTERVIEWS WITH THE INHABITANTS.

As I did not like the place we had anchored in, I sent Lieutenant Pickersgill over to the S.E. side of the bay, to search for a better; and I went myself to the other side, for the same purpose, where I met with an exceedingly snug harbour, but nothing else worthy of notice. Mr. Pickersgill reported, upon his return, that he had found a good harbour, with every conveniency. As I liked the situation of this better than the other of my own finding, I determined to go there in the morning. The fishing-boat was very successful; returning with fish sufficient for all hands for supper, and, in a few hours in the morning, caught as many as served for dinner. This gave us certain hopes of being plentifully supplied with this article. Nor did the shores and woods appear less destitute of wild-fowl; so that we hoped to enjoy with ease, what in our situation might be called the luxuries of life. This determined me to stay some time in this bay, in order to examine it thoroughly; as no one had ever landed before, on any of the southern parts of this country.

On the 27th, at nine o'clock in the morning, we got under sail with a light breeze at S.W. and working over to Pickersgill Harbour, entered it by a channel scarcely twice the width of the ship; and, in a small creek, moored head and stern, so near the shore as to

reach it with a brow or stage, which nature had in a manner prepared for us in a large tree, whose end or top reached our gunwale. Wood, for fuel and other purposes, was here so convenient, that our yards were locked in the branches of the trees; and, about 100 yards from our stern, was a fine stream of fresh water. Thus situated, we began to clear places in the woods, in order to set up the astronomer's observatory, the forge to repair our iron work, tents for the sail-makers and coopers to repair the sails and casks in; to land our empty casks, to fill water, and to cut down wood for fuel; all of which were absolutely necessary occupations. We also began to brew beer from the branches or leaves of a tree, which much resembles the American black spruce. From the knowledge I had of this tree, and the similarity it bore to the spruce, I judged that with the addition of inspissated juice of wort and molasses, it would make a very wholesome beer, and supply the want of vegetables, which this place did not afford; and the event proved that I was not mistaken.

Now I have mentioned the inspissated juice of wort, it will not be amiss, in this place, to inform the reader that I had made several trials of it since I left the Cape of Good Hope, and found it to answer in a cold climate, beyond all expectation. The juice, diluted in warm water, in the proportion of twelve parts water to one part juice, made a very good and well-tasted small beer. Some juice which I had of Mr. Pelham's own preparing, would bear sixteen parts water. By making use of warm water, (which I think ought always to be done,) and keeping it in a warm place, if the weather be cold, no difficulty will be found in fermenting it. A little grounds of either small or strong beer will answer as well as yeast.

The few sheep and goats we had left were not likely to fare quite so well as ourselves; there being no grass here, but what was coarse and harsh. It was, however, not so bad, but that we expected they would devour it with great greediness, and were the more surprised to find that they would not taste it; nor did they seem over-fond of the leaves of more tender plants. Upon examination, we found their teeth loose; and that many of them had every other symptom of an inveterate sea-scurvy. Out of four ewes and two rams which I brought from the Cape, with an intent to put ashore in this country, I had only been able to preserve one of each; and even these were in so bad a state, that it was doubtful if they could recover, notwithstanding all the care possible had been taken of them.

Some of the officers, on the 28th, went up the bay in a small boat on a shooting party; but discovering inhabitants, they returned before noon, to acquaint me therewith; for hitherto we had not seen the least vestige of any. They had but just got aboard, when a canoe appeared off a point about a mile from us, and soon after returned behind the point out of sight, probably owing to a shower of rain which then fell: for it was no sooner over, than the canoe again appeared, and came within musket-shot of the ship. There were in it seven or eight people. They remained looking at us for some time, and then returned; all the signs of friendship we could make, did not prevail on them to come nearer. After dinner I took two boats and went in search of them, in the cove where they were first seen, accompanied by several of the officers and gentlemen. We found the canoe (at least a canoe) hauled upon the shore near to two small huts, where were several fire-places, some fishing-nets, a few fish lying on the shore, and some in the canoe. But we saw no people; they, probably, had retired into the woods. After a short stay, and leaving in the canoe some medals, looking-glasses, beads, &c., we embarked and rowed to the head of the cove, where we found nothing remarkable. In returning back we put ashore at the same place as before; but still saw no people. However, they could not be far off, as we smelled the smoke of fire, though we did not see it. But I did not care to search farther, or to force an interview which they seemed to avoid; well knowing that the way to obtain this, was to leave the time and place to themselves. It did not appear that anything I had left had been touched; however, I now added a hatchet, and with the night returned on board. On the 29th, were showers till the afternoon; when a party of the officers made an excursion up the bay; and Mr. Forster and his party were out botanising. Both parties returned in the evening without meeting with anything worthy of notice; and the two following days, every one was confined to the ship on account of rainy stormy weather.

In the afternoon of the 1st of April, accompanied by several of the gentlemen, I went to see if any of the articles I had left for the Indians were taken away. We found every thing remaining in the canoe; nor did it appear that anybody had been there since. After shooting some birds, one of which was a duck, with a blue-grey plumage and soft bill, we, in the evening, returned on board. The 2nd, being a pleasant morning, Lieutenants Clerke and Edgcumb, and the two Mr. Forsters, went in a boat up the bay to search for the productions of nature; and myself, Lieutenant Pickersgill, and Mr. Hodges, went to take a view of the N.W. side. In our way, we touched at the seal rock, and killed three seals, one of which afforded us much sport. After passing several isles, we at length came to the most northern and western arms of the bay; the same as is formed by the land of Five Fingers Point. In the bottom of this arm or cove we found many ducks, wood-hens, and other wild fowl, some of which we killed, and returned on board at ten o'clock in the evening; where the other party had arrived several hours before us, after having had but indifferent sport. They took with them a black dog we had got at the Cape, who, at the first musket they fired, ran into the woods, from whence he would not return. The three following days were rainy, so that no excursions were made.

Early in the morning on the 6th, a shooting party, made up of the officers, went to Goose Cove, the place where I was the 2nd; and myself, accompanied by the two Mr. Forsters and Mr. Hodges, set out to continue the survey of the bay. My attention was directed to the north side, where I discovered a fine capacious cove, in the bottom of which is a fresh water river; on the west side several beautiful small cascades; and the shores are so steep that a ship might lie near enough to convey the water into her by a hose. In this cove we shot fourteen ducks, beside other birds, which occasioned my calling it Duck Cove.

As we returned in the evening, we had a short interview with three of the natives, one man and two women. They were the first that discovered themselves on the N.E. point of Indian Island, named so on this occasion. We should have passed without seeing them, had not the man hallooed to us. He stood with his club in his hand upon the point of a rock, and behind him, at the skirts of the wood, stood the two women, with each of them a spear. The man could not help discovering great signs of fear when we approached the rock with our boat. He, however, stood firm; nor did he move to take up some things we threw him ashore. At length I landed, went up, and embraced him; and presented him with such articles as I had about me, which at once dissipated his fears. Presently after, we were joined by the two women, the gentlemen that were with me, and some of the seamen. After this, we spent about half an hour in chit-chat, little understood on either side, in which the youngest of the two women bore by far the greatest share. This occasioned one of the seamen to say, that women did not want tongue in any part of the world. We presented them with fish and fowl which we had in our boat; but these they threw into the boat again, giving us to understand that such things they wanted not. Night approaching, obliged us to take leave of them; when the youngest of the two women, whose volubility of tongue exceeded every thing I ever met with, gave us a dance; but the man viewed us with great attention. Some hours after we got on board, the other party returned, having had but indifferent sport.

Next morning, I made the natives another visit, accompanied by Mr. Forster and Mr. Hodges, carrying with me various articles which I presented them with, and which they received with a great deal of indifference, except hatchets and spike-nails; these they most esteemed. This interview was at the same place as last night; and now we saw the whole family. It consisted of the man, his two wives (as we supposed), the young woman before mentioned, a boy about fourteen years old, and three small children, the youngest of which was at the breast. They were all well-looking, except one woman, who had a large wen on her upper lip, which made her look disagreeable; and she seemed, on that account, to be in a great measure neglected by the man. They conducted us to their habitation, which was but a little way within the skirts of the wood, and consisted of two mean huts made of the bark of trees. Their canoe, which was a small double one, just large enough to transport the whole family from place to place, lay in a small creek near the huts. During our stay, Mr. Hodges made drawings of most of them: this occasioned them to give him the name of

Toe-toe, which word, we supposed, signifies marking or painting. When we took leave, the chief presented me with a piece of cloth or garment of their own manufacturing, and some other trifles. I at first thought it was meant as a return for the presents I had made him; but he soon undeceived me, by expressing a desire for one of our boat cloaks. I took the hint, and ordered one to be made for him of red baize, as soon as I got aboard; where rainy weather detained me the following day.

The 9th, being fair weather, we paid the natives another visit, and made known our approach by hallooing to them; but they neither answered us, nor met us at the shore as usual. The reason of this we soon saw; for we found them at their habitations, all dressed and dressing, in their very best, with their hair combed and oiled, tied up upon the crowns of their heads, and stuck with white feathers. Some wore a fillet of feathers round their heads; and all of them had bunches of white feathers stuck in their ears: thus dressed, and all standing, they received us with great courtesy. I presented the chief with the cloak I had got made for him, with which he seemed so well pleased, that he took his pattapatton from his girdle, and gave it me. After a short stay, we took leave; and having spent the remainder of the day in continuing my survey of the bay, with the night returned on board.

Very heavy rains falling on the two following days, no work was done; but the 12th proved clear and serene, and afforded us an opportunity to dry our sails and linen, two things very much wanted, not having had fair weather enough for this purpose since we put into this bay. Mr. Forster and his party also profited by the day in botanising.

About ten o'clock, the family of the natives paid us a visit. Seeing that they approached the ship with great caution, I met them in a boat, which I quitted when I got to them, and went into their canoe. Yet, after all, I could not prevail on them to put alongside the ship, and at last was obliged to leave them to follow their own inclination. At length they put ashore in a little creek hard by us, and afterwards came and sat down on the shore abreast of the ship, near enough to speak with us. I now caused the bagpipes and fife to play, and the drum to beat. The two first they did not regard, but the latter caused some little attention in them; nothing, however, could induce them to come on board. But they entered, with great familiarity, into conversation (little understood) with such of the officers and seamen as went to them, paying much greater regard to some than to others, and these we had reason to believe they took for women. To one man, in particular, the young woman showed an extraordinary fondness until she discovered his sex, after which she would not suffer him to come near her. Whether it was that she before took him for one of her own sex; or that the man, in order to discover himself, had taken some liberties with her which she thus resented, I know not.

In the afternoon, I took Mr. Hodges to a large cascade, which falls from a high mountain on the south side of the bay, about a league above the place where we lay. He took a drawing of it on paper, and afterwards painted it in oil-colours; which exhibits, at once, a better description of it than any I can give. Huge heaps of stones lay at the foot of this cascade, which had been broken off and brought by the stream from the adjacent mountains. These stones were of different sorts; none, however, according to Mr. Forster's opinion (who I believe to be a judge), contains either minerals or metals. Nevertheless, I brought away specimens of every sort, as the whole country, that is, the rocky part of it, seemed to consist of those stones and no other. This cascade is at the east point of a cove, lying in S.W. two miles, which I named Cascade Cove. In it is good anchorage and other necessaries. At the entrance, lies an island, on each side of which is a passage; that on the east side is much the widest. A little above the isle, and near the S.E. shore, are two rocks, which are covered at high water. It was in this cove we first saw the natives.

When I returned aboard in the evening I found our friends the natives had taken up their quarters about 100 yards from our watering-place; a very great mark of the confidence they placed in us. This evening a shooting party of the officers went over to the north side of the bay, having with them a small cutter to convey them from place to place. Next morning, accompanied by Mr. Forster, I went in the pinnace to survey the isles and rocks which lie in the mouth of the bay. I began first with those which lie on the S.E.

side of Anchor Isle. I found here a very snug cove sheltered from all winds, which we called Luncheon Cove, because here we dined on cray-fish, on the side of a pleasant brook, shaded by the trees from both wind and sun. After dinner we proceeded, by rowing, out to the outermost isles, where we saw many seals, fourteen of which we killed and brought away with us; and might have got many more, would the surf have permitted us to land with safety on all the rocks. The next morning, I went out again to continue the survey, accompanied by Mr. Forster. I intended to have landed again on the seal isles; but there ran such a high sea that I could not come near them. With some difficulty we rowed out to sea, and round the S.W. point of Anchor Isle. It happened very fortunately that chance directed me to take this course, in which we found the sportsmen's boat adrift, and laid hold of her the very moment she would have been dashed against the rocks. I was not long at a loss to guess how she came there, nor was I under any apprehensions for the gentlemen that had been in her; and, after refreshing ourselves with such as we had to eat and drink, and securing the boat in a small creek, we proceeded to the place where we supposed them to be. This we reached about seven or eight o'clock in the evening, and found them upon a small isle in Goose Cove, where, as it was low water, we could not come with our boat until the return of the tide. As this did not happen till three o'clock in the morning, we landed on a naked beach, not knowing where to find a better place, and, after some time, having got a fire and broiled some fish, we made a hearty supper, having for sauce a good appetite. This done, we lay down to sleep, having a stony beach for a bed, and the canopy of heaven for a covering. At length the tide permitted us to take off the sportsmen; and with them we embarked, and proceeded for the place where we had left their boat, which we soon reached, having a fresh breeze of wind in our favour, attended with rain. When we came to the creek, which was on the N.W. side of Anchor Isle, we found there an immense number of blue peterels, some on the wing, others in the woods, in holes in the ground, under the roots of trees, and in the crevices of rocks, where there was no getting them, and where we supposed their young were deposited. As not one was to be seen in the day, the old ones were probably at that time out at sea searching for food, which in the evening they bring to their young. The noise they made was like the croaking of many frogs. They were, I believe, of the broad-bill kind, which are not so commonly seen at sea as the others. Here, however, they are in great numbers; and flying much about in the night, some of our gentlemen at first took them for bats. After restoring the sportsmen to their boat, we all proceeded for the ship, which we reached by seven o'clock in the morning, not a little fatigued with our expedition. I now learned that our friends the natives returned to their habitation at night, probably foreseeing that rain was at hand; which sort of weather continued the whole of this day.

On the morning of the 15th, the weather having cleared up and become fair, I set out with two boats to continue the survey of the N.W. side of the bay, accompanied by the two Mr. Forsters and several of the officers, whom I detached in one boat to Goose Cove, where we intended to lodge the night, while I proceeded in the other, examining the harbours and isles which lay in my way. In the doing of this, I picked up about a score of wild-fowl, and caught fish sufficient to serve the whole party; and, reaching the place of rendezvous a little before dark, I found all the gentlemen out duck-shooting. They, however, soon returned, not overloaded with game. By this time the cooks had done their parts, in which little art was required; and after a hearty repast on what the day had produced, we lay down to rest; but took care to rise early the next morning, in order to have the other bout among the ducks, before we left the cove.

Accordingly, at daylight, we prepared for the attack. Those who had reconnoitred the place before, chose their stations accordingly; whilst myself and another remained in the boat, and rowed to the head of the cove to start the game; which we did so effectually, that, out of some scores of ducks, we only detained one to ourselves, sending all the rest down to those stationed below. After this, I landed at the head of the cove and walked across the narrow isthmus that disjoins it from the sea, or rather from another cove which runs in from the sea about one mile, and lies open to the north winds. It, however, had all the appearance of a good harbour and safe anchorage. At the head is a fine sandy beach,

where I found an immense number of wood-hens, and brought away ten couple of them, which recompensed me for the trouble of crossing the isthmus, through the wet woods, up to the middle in water. About nine o'clock, we all got collected together, when the success of every one was known; which was by no means answerable to our expectations. The morning, indeed, was very unfavourable for shooting, being rainy the most of the time we were out. After breakfast, we set out on our return to the ship, which we reached by seven o'clock in the evening; with about seven dozen of wild-fowl, and two seals; the most of them shot while I was rowing about, exploring the harbours and coves which I found in my way; every place affording something; especially to us, to whom nothing came amiss.

It rained all the 17th; but the 18th bringing fair and clear weather, in the evening, our friends the natives before-mentioned paid us another visit; and the next morning, the chief and his daughter were induced to come on board, while the others went out in the canoe fishing. Before they came on board, I showed them our goats and sheep that were on shore; which they viewed, for a moment, with a kind of stupid insensibility. After this, I conducted them to the brow; but before the chief set his foot upon it to come into the ship, he took a small green branch in his hand, with which he struck the ship's side several times, repeating a speech or prayer. When this was over, he threw the branch into the main chains, and came on board. This custom and manner of making peace, as it were, is practised by all the nations in the South Seas that I have seen. I took them both down into the cabin, where we were to breakfast. They sat at table with us, but would not taste any of our victuals. The chief wanted to know where we slept, and, indeed, to pry into every corner of the cabin, every part of which he viewed with some surprise. But it was not possible to fix his attention to any one thing a single moment. The works of art appeared to him in the same light as those of nature, and were as far removed beyond his comprehension. What seemed to strike them most was the number and strength of our decks, and other parts of the ship. The chief, before he came aboard, presented me with a piece of cloth and a green talc hatchet; to Mr. Forster he also gave a piece of cloth; and the girl gave another to Mr. Hodges. This custom of making presents, before they receive any, is common with the natives of the South Sea Isles; but I never saw it practised in New Zealand before. Of all the various articles I gave my guest, hatchets and spike-nails were the most valuable in his eyes. These he never would suffer to go out of his hands after he had once laid hold of them; whereas many other articles he would lay carelessly down anywhere, and at last leave them behind him. As soon as I could get quit of them, they were conducted into the gun-room, where I left them, and set out with two boats to examine the head of the bay; myself in one, accompanied by Mr. Forster and Mr. Hodges; and Lieutenant Cooper in the other. We proceeded up the south side; and, without meeting with anything remarkable, got to the head of the bay by sunset; where we took up our lodging for the night at the first place we could land upon; for the flats hindered us from getting quite to the head.

At daylight in the morning, I took two men in the small boat, and, with Mr. Forster, went to take a view of the flat land at the head of the bay, near to where we spent the night. We landed on one side, and ordered the boat to meet us on the other side; but had not been long on shore before we saw some ducks, which by their creeping through the bushes, we got a shot at, and killed one. The moment we had fired, the natives, whom we had not discovered before, set up a most hideous noise in two or three places close by us. We hallooed in our turn; and, at the same time, retired to our boat, which was full half-a-mile off. The natives kept up their clamouring noise, but did not follow us. Indeed we found, afterwards, that they could not, because of a branch of the river between us and them; nor did we find their numbers answerable to the noise they made. As soon as we got to our boat, and found that there was a river that would admit us, I rowed in, and was soon after joined by Mr. Cooper, in the other boat. With this reinforcement I proceeded up the river, shooting wild ducks, of which there were great numbers; as we went along, now and then, hearing the natives in the woods. At length two appeared on the banks of the river, a man and a woman; and the latter kept waving something white in her hand, as a sign of friendship Mr. Cooper being near them, I called to him to land, as I wanted to take the

advantage of the tide to get as high up as possible, which did not much exceed half-a-mile, when I was stopped by the strength of the stream and great stones which lay in the bed of the river.

On my return, I found that, as Mr. Cooper did not land when the natives expected him, they had retired into the woods: but two others now appeared on the opposite bank. I endeavoured to have an interview with them; but this I could not effect. For, as I approached the shore they always retired farther into the woods, which were so thick as to cover them from our sight. The falling tide obliged me to retire out of the river, to the place where we had spent the night. There we breakfasted, and afterwards embarked, in order to return on board; but, just as we were going, we saw two men, on the opposite shore, hallooing to us, which induced me to row over to them. I landed, with two others, unarmed; the two natives standing about 100 yards from the water side, with each a spear in his hand. When we three advanced, they retired; but stood when I advanced alone. It was some little time before I could prevail upon them to lay down their spears: this, at last, one of them did, and met me with a grass plant in his hand, one end of which he gave me to hold, while he held the other: standing in this manner, he began a speech, not one word of which I understood; and made some long pauses; waiting, as I thought, for me to answer; for when I spoke he proceeded. As soon as this ceremony was over, which was not long, we saluted each other. He then took his hahou, or coat, from off his own back, and put it upon mine; after which, peace seemed firmly established. More people joining us did not in the least alarm them; on the contrary, they saluted every one as he came up.

I gave to each a hatchet and a knife, having nothing else with me: perhaps these were the most valuable things I could give them; at least they were the most useful. They wanted us to go to their habitation, telling us they would give us something to eat; and I was sorry that the tide, and other circumstances, would not permit me to accept of their invitation. More people were seen in the skirts of the wood, but none of them joined us; probably these were their wives and children. When we took leave they followed us to our boat, and seeing the muskets lying across the stern, they made signs for them to be taken away; which being done, they came alongside, and assisted us to launch her. At this time, it was necessary for us to look well after them, for they wanted to take away everything they could lay their hands upon, except the muskets; these they took care not to touch, being taught, by the slaughter they had seen us make among the wild-fowl, to look upon them as instruments of death.

We saw no canoes or other boats with them; two or three logs of wood tied together served the same purpose; and were indeed sufficient for the navigation of the river, on the banks of which they lived. There fish and fowl were in such plenty, that they had no occasion to go far for food; and they have but few neighbours to disturb them. The whole number, at this place, I believe, does not exceed three families. It was noon when we took leave of these two men, and proceeded down the north side of the bay; which I explored in my way, and the isles that lie in the middle; night, however, overtook us, and obliged me to leave one arm unlooked into, and hasten to the ship, which we reached by eight o'clock. I then learnt that the man and his daughter staid on board the day before till noon; and that, having understood from our people what things were left in Cascade Cove, the place where they were first seen, he sent and took them away. He and his family remained near us till to-day, when they all went away, and we saw them no more; which was the more extraordinary, as he never left us empty-handed. From one or another he did not get less than nine or ten hatchets, three or four times that number of large spike-nails, besides many other articles. So far as these things may be counted riches in New Zealand, he exceeds every man there; being at this time possessed of more hatchets and axes than are in the whole country besides.

In the afternoon of the 21st, I went with a party out to the isles on seal-hunting. The surf ran so high that we could only land in one place, where we killed ten. These animals served us for three purposes; the skins we made use of for our rigging; the fat gave oil for our lamps; and the flesh we ate. Their harslets are equal to that of a hog, and the flesh of some of them eats little inferior to beef-steaks. The following day nothing worthy of notice

was done. In the morning of the 23rd, Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. Gilbert, and two others, went to the Cascade Cove, in order to ascend one of the mountains, the summit of which they reached by two o'clock in the afternoon, as we could see by the fire they made. In the evening they returned on board, and reported, that inland nothing was to be seen but barren mountains, with huge craggy precipices, disjoined by valleys, or rather chasms, frightful to behold. On the S.E. side of Cape West, four miles out at sea, they discovered a ridge of rocks, on which the waves broke very high. I believe these rocks to be the same we saw the evening we first fell in with the land.

Having five geese left out of those we brought from the Cape of Good Hope, I went with them next morning to Goose Cove (named so on this account), where I left them. I chose this place for two reasons; first, here are no inhabitants to disturb them; and secondly, here being the most food. I make no doubt but that they will breed, and may in time spread over the whole country, and fully answer my intention in leaving them. We spent the day shooting in and about the Cove, and returned aboard about ten o'clock in the evening. One of the party shot a white hern, which agreed exactly with Mr. Pennant's description, in his British Zoology, of the white herns that either now are, or were formerly, in England.

The 25th was the eighth fair day we had had successively; a circumstance, I believe, very uncommon in this place, especially at this season of the year. This fair weather gave us an opportunity to complete our wood and water, to overhaul the rigging, calk the ship, and put her in a condition for sea. Fair weather was, however, now at an end; for it began to rain this evening, and continued, without intermission, till noon the next day, when we cast off the shore-fasts, hove the ship out of the creek to her anchor, and steadied her with a hawser to the shore. On the 27th hazy weather, with showers of rain. In the morning I set out, accompanied by Mr. Pickersgill and the two Mr. Forsters, to explore the arm or inlet I discovered the day I returned from the head of the bay. After rowing about two leagues up it, or rather down, I found it to communicate with the sea, and to afford a better outlet for ships bound to the north, than the one I came in by. After making this discovery, and refreshing ourselves on broiled fish and wild-fowl, we set out for the ship, and got on board at eleven o'clock at night; leaving two arms we had discovered, and which run in the east, unexplored. In this expedition we shot forty-four birds, sea-pies, ducks, &c. without going one foot out of our way, or causing any other delay than picking them up.

Having got the tents and every other article on board on the 28th, we only now waited for a wind to carry us out of the harbour, and through New Passage, the way I proposed to go to sea. Everything being removed from the shore, I set fire to the top-wood, &c., in order to dry a piece of the ground we had occupied, which, next morning, I dug up, and sowed with several sorts of garden seeds. The soil was such as did not promise success to the planter; it was, however, the best we could find. At two o'clock in the afternoon, we weighed with a light breeze, at S.W., and stood up the bay for the new passage. Soon after we had got through, between the east end of Indian Island and the west end of Long Island, it fell calm, which obliged us to anchor in forty-three fathom water, under the north side of the latter island. In the morning of the 30th we weighed again with a light breeze at west, which, together with all our boats a-head towing, was hardly sufficient to stem the current; for, after struggling till six o'clock in the evening, and not getting more than five miles from our last anchoring-place, we anchored under the north side of Long Island, not more than one hundred yards from the shore, to which we fastened a hawser.

At daylight next morning, May 1st, we got again under sail, and attempted to work to windward, having a light breeze down the bay. At first we gained ground; but at last the breeze died away; when we soon lost more than we had got, and were obliged to bear up for a cove on the north side of Long Island, where we anchored in nineteen fathom water, a muddy bottom; in this cove we found two huts not long since inhabited; and near them two very large fire-places or ovens, such as they have in the Society Isles. In this cove we were detained by calms, attended with continual rain, till the 4th, in the afternoon, when, with the assistance of a small breeze at S.W., we got the length of the reach or passage leading to sea. The breeze then left us, and we anchored under the east point, before a sandy beach, in thirty fathoms' water; but this anchoring place hath nothing to recommend

it like the one we came from, which hath everything in its favour. In the night we had some very heavy squalls of wind, attended with rain, hail, and snow, and some thunder. Daylight exhibited to our view all the hills and mountains covered with snow. At two o'clock in the afternoon, a light breeze sprung up at S.S.W., which, with the help of our boats, carried us down the passage to our intended anchoring-place, where, at eight o'clock, we anchored in sixteen fathoms' water, and moored, with a hawser to the shore, under the first point on the starboard side, as you come in from sea; from which we were covered by the point.

In the morning of the 6th, I sent Lieutenant Pickersgill, accompanied by the two Mr. Forsters, to explore the second arm which turns into the east, myself being confined on board by a cold. At the same time, I had everything got up from between decks, the decks well cleaned and well aired with fires; a thing that ought never to be long neglected in wet moist weather. The fair weather which had continued all this day, was succeeded in the night by a storm from N.W., which blew in hard squalls, attended with rain, and obliged us to strike top-gallant and lower yards, and to carry out another hawser to the shore. The bad weather continued the whole day and the succeeding night, after which it fell calm with fair weather.

At seven in the morning, on the 8th, Mr. Pickersgill returned, together with his companions, in no very good plight; having been at the head of the arm he was sent to explore, which he judged to extend into the eastward about eight miles; in it is a good anchoring-place, wood, fresh water, wild fowl, and fish. At nine o'clock I set out to explore the other inlet, or the one next the sea; and ordered Mr. Gilbert, the master, to go and examine the passage out to sea, while those on board were getting everything in readiness to depart. I proceeded up the inlet till five o'clock in the afternoon, when bad weather obliged me to return, before I had seen the end of it. As this inlet lay nearly parallel with the sea-coast, I was of opinion that it might communicate with Doubtful Harbour, or some other inlet to the northward; appearances were, however, against this opinion, and the bad weather hindered me from determining the point, although a few hours would have done it: I was about ten miles up, and thought I saw the end of it: I found on the north side three coves, in which, as also on the south side, between the main and the isles that lie about four miles up the inlet, is good anchorage, wood, water, and what else can be expected, such as fish and wild-fowl; of the latter we killed, in this excursion, three dozen. After a very hard row, against both wind and rain, we got on board about nine o'clock at night, without a dry thread on our backs.

This bad weather continued no longer than till the next morning, when it became fair, and the sky cleared up; but as we had not wind to carry us to sea, we made up two shooting parties; myself, accompanied by the two Mr. Forsters and some others, went to the arm I was in the day before; and the other party to the coves and isles Mr. Gilbert had discovered when he was out, and where he found many wild-fowl. We had a pleasant day, and the evening brought us all on board; myself and party met with good sport; but the other party found little. All the forenoon of the 10th, we had strong gales from the west, attended with heavy showers of rain, and blowing in such flurries over high land, as made it unsafe for us to get under sail. The afternoon was more moderate, and became fair; when myself, Mr. Cooper, and some others, went out in the boats to the rocks, which lie at this entrance of the bay, to kill seals: the weather was rather unfavourable for this sport, and the sea ran high, so as to make landing difficult; we, however, killed ten, but could only wait to bring away five, with which we returned on board.

In the morning of the 11th, while we were getting under sail, I sent a boat for the other five seals. At nine o'clock we weighed, with a light breeze at S.E., and stood out to sea, taking up the boat in our way. It was noon before we got clear of the land; at which time we observed in 45° 34′ 30″ south; the entrance of the bay bore S.E. by E. and Break-sea Isles (the outermost isles that lie at the south point of the entrance of the bay) bore S.S.E. distant three miles; the southernmost point, or that of Five Fingers' Point, bore south 42° west; and the northernmost land N.N.E.; in this situation we had a prodigious swell from S.W., which broke with great violence on all the shores that were exposed to it.

CHAPTER V.—DIRECTIONS FOR SAILING IN AND OUT OF DUSKY BAY, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE ADJACENT COUNTRY, ITS PRODUCE AND INHABITANTS.—ASTRONOMICAL AND NAUTICAL OBSERVATIONS.

As there are few places where I have been in New Zealand that afford the necessary refreshments in such plenty as Dusky Bay, a short description of it, and of the adjacent country, may prove of use to some future navigators, as well as acceptable to the curious reader. For although this country be far remote from the present trading part of the world, we can by no means tell what use future ages may make of the discoveries made in the present. The reader of this journal must already know that there are two entrances to this bay. The south entrance is situated on the north side of Cape West, in latitude 45° 48′ south. It is formed by the land of the Cape to the south, and Five Fingers' Point to the north. This point is made remarkable by several pointed rocks lying off it, which when viewed from certain situations, have some resemblance to the five fingers of a man's hand; from whence it takes its name. The land of this point is still more remarkable by the little similarity it bears to any other of the lands adjacent; being a narrow peninsula lying north and south, of a moderate and equal height, and all covered with wood.

To sail into the bay by this entrance is by no means difficult, as I know of no danger but what shows itself. The worst that attends it is the depth of water, which is too great to admit of anchorage, except in the coves and harbours, and very near the shores; and even, in many places, this last cannot be done. The anchoring-places are however numerous enough, and equally safe and commodious. Pickersgill Harbour, where we lay, is not inferior to any other bay, for two or three ships; it is situated on the south shore abreast of the west end of Indian Island, which island may be known from the others by its greater proximity to that shore. There is a passage into the harbour on both sides of the isle which lies before it. The most room is on the upper or east side, having regard to a sunken rock near the main, abreast this end of the isle. Keep the isle close aboard, and you will not only avoid the rock, but keep in anchoring-ground. The next place on this side is Cascade Cove, where there is room for a fleet of ships, and also a passage in on either side of the isle which lies in the entrance; taking care to avoid a sunken rock which lies near the S.E. shore a little above the isle. This rock, as well as the one in Pickersgill Harbour, may be seen at half ebb.

It must be needless to enumerate all the anchoring-places in this capacious bay; one or two on each side will be quite sufficient. Those who want to be acquainted with more need only consult the annexed chart, which they may depend upon as being without any material error*. To such as put into this bay, and are afterwards bound to the south, I would recommend Facile Harbour. To sail into this harbour, keep the inside of the land of Five Fingers' Point aboard, until you are the length of the isles, which lie abreast the middle of that land. Haul round the north point of these isles, and you will have the harbour before you, bearing east. But the chart will be a sufficient guide, not only to sail into this, but into all the other anchoring-places, as well as to sail quite through, from the south to the north entrance. However, I shall give some directions for this navigation. In coming in at the south entrance, keep the south shore aboard, until you approach the west end of Indian Island, which you will know not only by its apparent, but real nearness to the shore. From this situation, it will appear as a point dividing the bay into two arms. Leave this isle on your starboard side, and continue your course up the bay, which is E. by N. ½ N., without turning either to the right or left. When you are abreast, or above the east end of this isle, you will find the bay of a considerable breadth; and, higher up, to be contracted by two projecting points. Three miles above the one, on the north side, and abreast of two

* The map accompanying the present edition is constructed from the latest authorities, and renders a repetition of Cook's chart unnecessary.—ED.

small isles, is the passage out to sea, or to the north entrance; and this lies nearly in the direction of N. by W. and S. by E.

The north entrance lies in the latitude of 45° 38′ south, and five leagues to the north of Five Fingers' Point. To make this entrance plain, it will be necessary to approach the shore within a few miles, as all the land within, and on each side, is of considerable height. Its situation may, however, be known at a greater distance, as it lies under the first craggy mountains which rise to the north of the land of Five Fingers' Point. The southernmost of these mountains is remarkable, having at its summit two small hillocks. When this mountain bears S. S. E. you will be before the entrance, on the south side of which are several isles. The westernmost and outermost is the most considerable, both for height and circuit; and this I have called Break-sea Isle, because it effectually covers this entrance from the violence of the S.W. swell, which the other entrance is so much exposed to. In sailing in you leave this isle, as well as all the others, to the south. The best anchorage is in the first or north arm, which is on the larboard hand going in, either in one of the coves, or behind the isles that lie under the S.E. shore.

The country is exceedingly mountainous; not only about Dusky Bay, but through all the southern part of this western coast of Tavia Poenammoo. A prospect more rude and craggy is rarely to be met with; for inland appears nothing but the summits of mountains of a stupendous height, and consisting of rocks that are totally barren and naked, except where they are covered with snow. But the land bordering on the sea-coast, and all the islands, are thickly clothed with wood, almost down to the water's edge. The trees are of various kinds, such as are common to other parts of this country, and are fit for the shipwright, house-carpenter, cabinet-maker, and many other uses. Except in the river Thames, I have not seen finer timber in all New Zealand: both here and in that river, the most considerable for size is the spruce-tree, as we called it, from the similarity of its foliage to the American spruce, though the wood is more ponderous, and bears a greater resemblance to the pitch-pine. Many of these trees are from six to eight, and ten feet in girth, and from sixty to eighty or one hundred feet in length; large enough to make a mainmast for a fifty-gun ship.

Here are, as well as in all other parts of New Zealand, a great number of aromatic trees and shrubs, most of the myrtle kind; but amidst all this variety we met with none which bore fruit fit to eat. In many parts the woods are so overrun with supple-jacks, that it is scarcely possible to force one's way amongst them. I have seen several which were fifty or sixty fathoms long.

The soil is a deep black mould, evidently composed of decayed vegetables, and so loose that it sinks under you at every step; and this may be the reason why we meet with so many large trees as we do, blown down by the wind, even in the thickest part of the woods. All the ground amongst the trees is covered with moss and fern, of both which there is great variety; but except the flax or hemp plant, and a few other plants, there is very little herbage of any sort, and none that was eatable that we found, except about a handful of water cresses, and about the same quantity of celery. What Dusky Bay most abounds with is fish: a boat with six or eight men with hooks and lines caught daily sufficient to serve the whole ship's company: of this article the variety is almost equal to the plenty; and of such kinds as are common to the more northern coast; but some are superior; and in particular the cole-fish, as we called it, which is both larger and finer flavoured than any I had seen before, and was, in the opinion of most on board, the highest luxury the sea afforded us. The shell-fish are muscles, cockles, scallops, cray-fish, and many other sorts; all such as are to be found in every other part of the coast. The only amphibious animals are seals; these are to be found in great numbers about this bay, on the small rocks and isles near the sea-coast.

We found here five different kinds of ducks, some of which I do not recollect to have anywhere seen before: the largest are as big as a Muscovy duck, with a very beautiful variegated plumage; on which account we called it the painted duck: both male and female have a large white spot on each wing; the head and neck of the latter is white, but all the other feathers, as well as those on the head and neck of the drake, are of a dark variegated colour.

The second sort have a brown plumage, with bright green feathers in their wings, and are about the size of an English tame duck. The third sort is the blue-grey duck, before mentioned, or the whistling duck, as some called them, from the whistling noise they made. What is most remarkable in these is, that the end of their beaks is soft, and of a skinny, or more properly, cartilaginous substance. The fourth sort is something bigger than teal, and all black except the drake, which has some white feathers in his wing. There are but few of this sort; and we saw them nowhere but in the river at the head of the bay. The last sort is a good deal like a teal, and very common, I am told, in England. The other fowls, whether belonging to the sea or land, are the same that are to be found in common in other parts of this country, except the blue peterel, before mentioned, and the water or wood hens: these last, although they are numerous enough here, are so scarce in other parts, that I never saw but one. The reason may be, that, as they cannot fly, they inhabit the skirts of the woods, and feed on the sea-beach; and are so very tame, or foolish, as to stand and stare at us till we knocked them down with a stick. The natives may have in a manner wholly destroyed them; they are a sort of rail, about the size, and a good deal like a common dunghill hen; most of them are of a dirty black or dark brown colour, and eat very well in a pie or fricassee. Amongst the small birds I must not omit to particularise the wattle-bird, poy-bird, and fan-tail, on account of their singularity, especially as I find they are not mentioned in the narrative of my former voyage.

The wattle-bird, so called because it has two wattles under its beak, as large as those of a small dunghill cock, is larger, particularly in length, than an English blackbird; its bill is short and thick, and its feathers of a dark lead colour; the colour of its wattles is a dull yellow, almost an orange colour.

The poy-bird is less than the wattle-bird; the feathers of a fine mazarine blue, except those of its neck, which are of a most beautiful silver-grey, and two or three short white ones, which are on the pinion-joint of the wing: under its throat hang two little tufts of curled snow-white feathers, called its *poies*, which being the Otaheitean word for ear-rings, occasioned our giving that name to the bird, which is not more remarkable for the beauty of its plumage than for the sweetness of its note: the flesh is also most delicious, and was the greatest luxury the woods afforded us.

THE POY-BIRD.

Of the fan-tail, there are different sorts, but the body of the most remarkable one is scarcely larger than a good filbert, yet it spreads a tail of most beautiful plumage, full three-quarters of a semicircle of at least four or five inches radius.

For three or four days after we arrived in Pickersgill Harbour, and as we were clearing the woods to set up our tents, &c., a four-footed animal was seen by three or four of our people; but as no two gave the same description of it, I cannot say of what kind it is; all, however, agreed that it was about the size of a cat, with short legs, and of mouse-colour: one of the seamen, and he who had the best view of it, said it had a bushy tail, and was the more like a jackall of any animal he knew. The most probable conjecture is, that it is of a new species; be this as it may, we are now certain that this country is not so destitute of quadrupeds as was once thought. The most mischievous animals here are the small black

sand-flies, which are very numerous, and so troublesome, that they exceed everything of the kind I ever met with; wherever they bite they cause a swelling, and such an intolerable itching, that it is not possible to refrain from scratching, which at last brings on ulcers like the small-pox.

The almost continual rains may be reckoned another evil attending this bay, though, perhaps, this may only happen at this season of the year; nevertheless, the situation of the country, the vast height, and nearness of the mountains, seem to subject it to much rain at all times. Our people, who were daily exposed to the rain, felt no ill effects from it; on the contrary, such as were sick and ailing when we came in, recovered daily, and the whole crew soon became strong and vigorous, which can only be attributed to the healthiness of the place and the fresh provisions it afforded. The beer certainly contributed not a little: as I have already observed, we at first made it of a decoction of the spruce leaves; but finding that this alone made the beer too astringent, we afterwards mixed with it an equal quantity of the tea-plant (a name it obtained in my former voyage, from our using it as tea then, as we also did now), which partly destroyed the astringency of the other, and made the beer exceedingly palatable, and esteemed by every one on board. We brewed it in the same manner as spruce-beer, and the process is as follows: first make a strong decoction of the small branches of the spruce and tea-plants, by boiling them three or four hours, or until the bark will strip with ease from off the branches: then take them out of the copper, and put in the proper quantity of molasses; ten gallons of which is sufficient to make a tun, or two hundred and forty gallons of beer. Let this mixture just boil, then put it into the casks, and to it add an equal quantity of cold water, more or less, according to the strength of the decoction or your taste. When the whole is milk-warm, put in a little grounds of beer, or yeast, if you have it, or anything else that will cause fermentation, and in a few days the beer will be fit to drink. After the casks have been brewed in two or three times, the beer will generally ferment itself, especially if the weather is warm. As I had inspissated juice of wort on board, and could not apply it to a better purpose, we used it together with molasses or sugar, to make these two articles go farther; for of the former I had but one cask, and of the latter little to spare for this brewing. Had I known how well this beer would have succeeded, and the great use it was of to the people, I should have come better provided; indeed I was partly discouraged by an experiment made during my former voyage, which did not succeed then, owing, as I now believe, to some mismanagement.

Any one who is in the least acquainted with spruce pines, will find the tree which I have distinguished by that name. There are three sorts of it; that which has the smallest leaves and deepest colour is the sort we brewed with; but, doubtless, all three might safely serve that purpose. The tea-plant is a small tree or shrub, with five white petals, or flower-leaves, shaped like those of a rose, having smaller ones of the same figure in the intermediate spaces, and twenty or more filaments or threads. The tree sometimes grows to a moderate height, and is generally bare on the lower part, with a number of small branches growing close together towards the top. The leaves are small and pointed, like those of the myrtle; it bears a dry roundish seed-case, and grows commonly in dry places near the shores. The leaves, as I have already observed, were used by many of us as tea, which has a very agreeable bitter and flavour when they are recent, but loses some of both when they are dried. When the infusion was made strong, it proved emetic to some, in the same manner as green tea.

The inhabitants of this bay are of the same race of people with those in the other parts of this country, speak the same language, and observe nearly the same customs. These, indeed, seem to have a custom of making presents before they receive any, in which they come nearer to the Otaheiteans than the rest of their countrymen. What could induce three or four families (for I believe there are not more) to separate themselves so far from the society of the rest of their fellow-creatures, is not easy to guess. By our meeting with inhabitants in this place, it seems probable, that there are people scattered over all this southern island. But the many vestiges of them in different parts of this bay, compared with the number that we actually saw, indicates that they live a wandering life; and, if one may judge from appearances and circumstances, few as they are, they live not in perfect amity one family

with another. For, if they did, why do they not form themselves into some society? a thing not only natural to man, but observed even by the brute creation.

I shall conclude this account of Dusky Bay with some observations made and communicated to me by Mr. Wales. He found, by a great variety of observations, that the latitude of his observatory at Pickersgill Harbour, was 45° 47′ 26½″ south; and by the mean of several distances of the moon from the sun, that its longitude was 166° 18′ east; which is about half a degree less than it is laid down in my chart constructed in my former voyage. He found the variation of the needle or compass by the mean of three different needles, to be 13° 49′ east, and the dip of the south end 70° 5¾′. The times of high water on the full and change days, he found to be at 10 57′, and the tide to rise and fall at the former eight feet, at the latter five feet eight inches. This difference in the rise of the tides between the new and full moon is a little extraordinary, and was probably occasioned, at this time, by some accidental cause, such as winds, &c., but be it as it will, I am well assured there was no error in the observations.

Supposing the longitude of the observatory to be as above, the error of Mr. Kendal's watch, in longitude, will be 1° 48′, minus, and that of Mr. Arnold's 39° 25″. The former was found to be gaining 6″, 461 a-day, on mean time, and the latter losing 99″, 361. Agreeably to these rates, the longitude by them was not to be determined until an opportunity of trying them again. I must observe, that in finding the longitude by Mr. Kendal's watch, we supposed it to have gone mean time from the Cape of Good Hope. Had its Cape rate been allowed, the error would not have been so great.

CHAPTER VI.—PASSAGE FROM DUSKY BAY TO QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF SOME WATER-SPOUTS, AND OF OUR JOINING THE ADVENTURE.

After leaving Dusky Bay, as hath been already mentioned, I directed my course along shore for Queen Charlotte's Sound, where I expected to find the Adventure. In this passage we met with nothing remarkable or worthy of notice till the 17th, at four o'clock in the afternoon. Being then about three leagues to the westward of Cape Stephens, having a gentle gale at west by south, and clear weather, the wind at once flattened to a calm, the sky became suddenly obscured by dark, dense clouds, and seemed to forebode much wind. This occasioned us to clew up all our sails, and presently after, six water-spouts were seen. Four rose and spent themselves between us and the land; that is, to the S.W. of us; the fifth was without us; the sixth first appeared in the S.W. at the distance of two or three miles at least from us. Its progressive motion was to the N.E. not in a straight, but in a crooked line, and passed within fifty yards of our stern, without our feeling any of its effects. The diameter of the base of this spout I judged to be about fifty or sixty feet; that is, the sea within this space was much agitated, and foamed up to a great height. From this a tube or round body was formed, by which the water or air, or both, was carried in a spiral stream up to the clouds. Some of our people said they saw a bird in the one near us; which was whirled round like the fly of a jack as it was carried upwards. During the time these spouts lasted, we had, now and then, light puffs of wind from all points of the compass; with some few slight showers of rain, which generally fell in large drops; and the weather continued thick and hazy for some hours after, with variable light breezes of wind. At length the wind fixed in its old point, and the sky resumed its former serenity. Some of these spouts appeared, at times, to be stationary; and, at other times, to have a quick, but very unequal, progressive motion, and always in a crooked line, sometimes one way, and sometimes another; so that, once or twice, we observed them to cross one another. From the ascending motion of the bird, and several other circumstances, it was very plain to us that these spouts were caused by whirlwinds, and that the water in them was violently hurried upwards, and did not descend from the clouds, as I have heard some assert. The first appearance of them is by the violent agitation and rising up of the water; and, presently after, you see a round column or tube forming from the clouds above, which apparently descends till it joins the agitated water below. I say apparently, because I believe it not to

be so in reality, but that the tube is already formed from the agitated water below, and ascends, though at first it is either too small or too thin to be seen. When the tube is formed, or becomes visible, its apparent diameter increaseth, until it is pretty large; after that, it decreaseth, and, at last, it breaks or becomes invisible towards the lower part. Soon after the sea below resumes its natural state, and the tube is drawn, by little and little, up to the clouds, where it is dissipated. The same tube would sometimes have a vertical, and sometimes a crooked or inclined direction. The most rational account I have read of water-spouts is in Mr. Falconer's Marine Dictionary, which is chiefly collected from the philosophical writings of the ingenious Dr. Franklin. I have been told that the firing of a gun will dissipate them, and I am very sorry I did not try the experiment, as we were near enough, and had a gun ready for the purpose; but, as soon as the danger was past, I thought no more about it, being too attentive in viewing these extraordinary meteors. At the time this happened the barometer stood at 29.75, and the thermometer at 56.

In coming from Cape Farewell to Cape Stephens, I had a better view of the coast than I had when I passed in my former voyage, and observed that, about six leagues to the east of the first-mentioned cape, is a spacious bay, which is covered from the sea by a low point of land. This is, I believe, the same that Captain Tasman anchored in on the 18th of December, 1642, and by him called Murderer's Bay, by reason of some of his men being killed by the natives. Blind Bay, so named by me in my former voyage, lies to the S.E. of this, and seems to run a long way in-land to the south; the sight in this direction not being bounded by any land. The wind having returned to the west, as already mentioned, we resumed our course to the east; and at daylight the next morning (being the 18th), we appeared off Queen Charlotte's Sound, where we discovered our consort the Adventure, by the signals which she made to us; an event which every one felt with an agreeable satisfaction. The fresh westerly wind now died away, and was succeeded by light airs from the south and S.W., so that we had to work in, with our boats a-head towing. In the doing of this, we discovered a rock, which we did not see in my former voyage. It lies in the direction of S. by E. ½ E., distant four miles from the outermost of the Two Brothers, and in a line with the White Rocks, on with the middle of Long Island. It is just even with the surface of the sea, and hath deep water all round it. At noon, Lieutenant Kempe of the Adventure came on board; from whom I learnt that their ship had been here about six weeks. With the assistance of a light breeze, our boats, and the tides, we, at six o'clock in the evening, got to an anchor in Ship Cove near the Adventure; when Captain Furneaux came on board, and gave me the following account of his proceedings, from the time we parted, to my arrival here.

CHAPTER VII.—CAPTAIN FURNEAUX'S NARRATIVE, FROM THE TIME THE TWO SHIPS WERE SEPARATED, TO THEIR JOINING AGAIN IN QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

ON the 7th of February, 1773, in the morning, the Resolution being then about two miles a-head, the wind shifting then to the westward, brought on a very thick fog, so that we lost sight of her. We soon after heard a gun, the report of which we imagined to be on the larboard beam; we then hauled up S.E. and kept firing a four-pounder every half hour; but had no answer, nor further sight of her; then we kept the course we steered on before the fog came on. In the evening it began to blow hard, and was, at intervals, more clear; but could see nothing of her, which gave us much uneasiness. We then tacked and stood to the westward, to cruize in the place where we last saw her, according to agreement in case of separation; but, next day, came on a very heavy gale of wind and thick weather, that obliged us to bring to, and thereby prevented us reaching the intended spot. However, the wind coming more moderate, and the fog in some measure clearing away, we cruized as near the place as we could get, for three days; when giving over all hopes of joining company again, we bore away for winter quarters, distant fourteen hundred leagues, through a sea entirely unknown, and reduced the allowance of water to one quart per day.

We kept between the latitude of 52 and 53 south; had much westerly wind, hard gales with squalls, snow and sleet, with a long hollow sea from the S.W. so that we judged there is no land in that quarter. After we reached the longitude of 95° east, we found the variation decrease very fast; but for a more perfect account, I refer you to the table at the end of this book.

On the 26th at night, we saw a meteor of uncommon brightness in the N.N.W. It directed its course to the S.W. with a very great light in the southern sky, such as is known to the northward by the name of Aurora Borealis, or Northern Lights. We saw the light for several nights running; and, what is remarkable, we saw but one ice island after we parted company with the Resolution, till our making land, though we were most of the time two or three degrees to the southward of the latitude we first saw it in. We were daily attended by great numbers of sea birds, and frequently saw porpoises curiously spotted white and black.

On the first of March we were alarmed with the cry of land by the man at the mast-head, on the larboard beam; which gave us great joy. We immediately hauled our wind and stood for it, but to our mortification were disappointed in a few hours; for what we took to be land, proved no more than clouds, which disappeared as we sailed towards them. We then bore away and directed our course toward the land laid down in the charts by the name of Van Diemen's Land, discovered by Tasman in 1642, and laid down in the latitude 44° south, and longitude 140° east, and supposed to join to New Holland.

On the 9th of March, having little wind and pleasant weather, about nine A.M., being then in the latitude 43° 37′ south longitude, by lunar observation, 145° 36′ east, and by account, 143° 10′ east, from Greenwich, we saw the land bearing N.N.E. about eight or nine leagues distance. It appeared moderately high, and uneven near the sea; the hills further back formed a double land and much higher. There seemed to be several islands, or broken land, to the N.W. as the shore trended; but by reason of clouds that hung over them, we could not be certain whether they did not join to the main. We hauled immediately up for it, and by noon were within three or four leagues of it. A point, much like the Ramhead, off Plymouth, which I take to be the same that Tasman calls South Cape, bore north four leagues off us. The land from this cape runs directly to the eastward; about four leagues alongshore are three islands about two miles long, and several rocks, resembling the Mewstone (particularly one which we so named) about four or five leagues E.S.E. ½ E. off the above Cape, which Tasman has not mentioned, or laid down in his drafts. After you pass these islands the land lies E. by N. and W. by S. by the compass nearly. It is a bold shore, and seems to afford several bays or anchoring places, but believe deep water. From the S. W. cape, which is in the latitude of 43° 39′ south, and longitude 145° 50′ east, to the S.E. cape, in the latitude 43° 36′ south, longitude 147° east, is nearly sixteen leagues, and sounding from forty-eight to seventy fathoms, sand and broken shells, three or four leagues off shore. Here the country is hilly and full of trees, the shore rocky and difficult landing, occasioned by the wind blowing here continually from the westward, which occasions such a surf that the sand cannot lie on the shore. We saw no inhabitants here.

The morning on the 10th of March being calm, the ship then about four miles from the land, sent the great cutter on shore with the second lieutenant, to find if there was any harbour or good bay. Soon after, it beginning to blow very hard, made the signal for the boat to return several times, but they did not see or hear anything of it; the ship then three or four leagues off, that we could not see anything of the boat, which gave us great uneasiness, as there was a very great sea. At half-past one P.M. to our great satisfaction, the boat returned on board safe. They landed, but with much difficulty, and saw several places where the Indians had been, and one they lately had left, where they had a fire, with a great number of pearl scallop shells round it, which shells they brought on board, with some burnt sticks and green boughs. There was a path from this place, through the woods, which in all probability leads to their habitations; but, by reason of the weather, had not time to pursue it. The soil seems to be very rich; the country well clothed with wood, particularly on the lee side of the hills; plenty of water, which falls from the rocks in beautiful cascades for two or three hundred feet perpendicular into the sea; but they did

not see the least sign of any place to anchor in with safety. Hoisted in the boat, and made sail for Frederick Henry Bay. From noon to three P.M. running along-shore E. by N. at which time we were abreast of the western [illegible] of a very deep bay, called by Tasman, Stormy Bay. From the west to the east point of this bay, there are several small islands, and black rocks which we called the Fryars. While crossing this bay we had very heavy squalls and thick weather; at times, when it cleared up, I saw several fires in the bottom of the bay, which is near two or three leagues deep, and has, I doubt not, good places for anchoring, but the weather being so bad, did not think it safe to stand into it. From the Fryars the land trenches away about N. by E. four leagues. We had smooth water, and kept in-shore, having regular soundings from twenty to fifteen fathoms water. At half-past six we hauled round a high bluff point, the rocks whereof were like so many fluted pillars, and had ten fathoms water, fine sand, within half a mile of the shore. At seven, being abreast of a fine bay, and having little wind, we came to, with the small bower, in twenty-four fathoms, sandy bottom. Just after we anchored, being a fine clear evening, had a good observation of the star Antares and the moon, which gave the longitude of 147° 34′ east, being in the latitude of 43° 20′ south. We first took this bay to be that which Tasman called Frederic Henry Bay; but afterwards found that his is laid down five leagues to the northward of this.

At day-break the next morning, I sent the master in-shore to sound the bay, and to find out a watering-place; at eight he returned, having found a most excellent harbour, clear ground from side to side, from eighteen to five fathom water all over the bay, gradually decreasing as you go in-shore. We weighed and turned up into the bay; the wind being westerly, and very little of it, which baffled us much in getting in. At seven o'clock in the evening, we anchored in seven fathoms water, with the small bower, and moored with the coasting anchor to the westward, the north point of the bay N.N.E. ½ E., (which we take to be Tasman's Head,) and the easternmost point (which we named Penguin Island, from a curious one we caught there) N.E. by E. ¾ E. the watering-place W. ½ N. about one mile from the shore on each side; Maria's Island, which is about five or six leagues off, shut in with both points; so that you are quite land-locked in a most spacious harbour.

We lay here five days, which time was employed in wooding and watering (which is easily got), and overhauling the rigging. We found the country very pleasant; the soil a black, rich, though thin one; the sides of the hills covered with large trees, and very thick, growing to a great height before they branch off. They are, all of them, of the evergreen kind, different from any I ever saw; the wood is very brittle and easily split; there is very little variety of sorts, having seen but two. The leaves of one are long and narrow; and the seed (of which I got a few) is in the shape of a button, and has a very agreeable smell. The leaves of the other are like the bay, and it has a seed like the whitethorn, with an agreeable spicy taste and smell. Out of the trees we cut down for fire-wood, there issued some gum, which the surgeon called gumlac. The trees are mostly burnt, or scorched near the ground, occasioned by the natives setting fire to the underwood in the most frequented places; and by these means they have rendered it easy walking. The land birds we saw, are a bird like a raven; some of the crow kind, black, with the tips of the feathers of the tail and wings white, their bill long and very sharp; some parroquets; and several kinds of small birds. The sea-fowl are ducks, teal, and the sheldrake. I forgot to mention a large white bird, that one of the gentlemen shot, about the size of a large kite, of the eagle kind. As for beasts, we saw but one, which was an *opossum:* but we observed the dung of some, which we judged to be of the deer kind. The fish in the bay are scarce; those we caught were mostly sharks, dog-fish, and a fish called by the seamen nurses, like the dog-fish, only full of small white spots; and some small fish not unlike sprats. The lagoons (which are brackish) abound with trout, and several other sorts of fish, of which we caught a few with lines, but being much encumbered with stumps of trees, we could not haul the seine.

While we lay here, we saw several smokes and large fires, about eight or ten miles in-shore to the northward, but did not see any of the natives; though they frequently come into this bay, as there were several wigwams or huts, where we found some bags and nets

made of grass, in which I imagine they carry their provisions and other necessaries. In one of them there was the stone they strike fire with, and tinder made of bark, but of what tree could not be distinguished. We found, in one of their huts, one of their spears, which was made sharp at one end, I suppose with a shell or stone. Those things we brought away, leaving in the room of them, medals, gun-flints, a few nails, and an old empty barrel with the iron hoops on it. They seem to be quite ignorant of every sort of metal. The boughs of which their huts are made, are either broken or split, and tied together with grass in a circular form, the largest end stuck in the ground, and the smaller parts meeting in a point at the top, and covered with fern and bark: so poorly done, that they will hardly keep out a shower of rain. In the middle is the fire-place, surrounded with heaps of muscle, pearl scallop, and cray-fish shells; which I believe to be their chief food, though we could not find any of them. They lie on the ground, on dried grass, round the fire; and, I believe, they have no settled place of habitation (as their houses seemed built only for a few days), but wander about in small parties from place to place in search of food, and are actuated by no other motive. We never found more than three or four huts in a place, capable of containing three or four persons each only; and what is remarkable, we never saw the least marks either of canoe or boat, and it is generally thought they have none; being altogether, from what we could judge, a very ignorant and wretched set of people, though natives of a country capable of producing every necessary of life, and a climate the finest in the world. We found not the least signs of any minerals or metals.

Having completed our wood and water, we sailed from Adventure Bay, intending to coast it up alongshore, till we should fall in with the land seen by Captain Cook, and discover whether Van Diemen's Land joins with New Holland. On the 16th we passed Maria's Islands, so named by Tasman; they appear to be the same as the mainland. On the 17th, having passed Schouten's Islands, we hauled in for the mainland, and stood alongshore at the distance of two or three leagues off. The country here appears to be very thickly inhabited, as there was a continual fire along-shore as we sailed. The land hereabouts is much pleasanter, low and even; but no signs of a harbour or bay, where a ship might anchor with safety. The weather being bad, and blowing hard at S.S.E., we could not send a boat on shore to have any intercourse with the inhabitants. In the latitude of 40° 50′ south, the land trenches away to the westward, which I believe forms a deep bay, as we saw from the deck several smokes arising a-back of the islands that lay before it, when we could not see the least signs of land from the mast-head.

From the latitude of 40° 50′ south, to the latitude of 39° 50′ south, is nothing but islands and shoals; the land high, rocky, and barren. On the 19th, in the latitude of 40° 30′ south, observing breakers about half a mile within-shore of us, we sounded, and finding but eight fathoms, immediately hauled off, deepened our water to fifteen fathoms, then bore away, and kept along-shore again. From the latitude of 39° 50′ to 39° S. we saw no land, but had regular soundings from fifteen to thirty fathoms. As we stood on to the northward, we made land again in about 39°; after which we discontinued our northerly course, as we found the ground very uneven, and shoal water some distance off. I think it a very dangerous shore to fall in with.

The coast, from Adventure Bay to the place where we stood away for New Zealand, lies in the direction S. ½ W. and N. ½ E. about seventy-five leagues; and it is my opinion that there is no strait between New Holland and Van Diemen's Land, but a very deep bay. I should have stood farther to the northward, but the wind blowing strong at S.S.E., and looking likely to haul round to the eastward, which would have blown right on the land, I therefore thought it more proper to leave the coast, and steer for New Zealand.

After we left Van Diemen's Land, we had very uncertain weather, with rain and very heavy gusts of wind. On the 24th, we were surprised with a very severe squall, that reduced us from top-gallant sails to reefed courses, in the space of an hour. The sea rising equally quick, we shipped many waves, one of which stove the large cutter, and drove the small one from her lashing into the waist; and with much difficulty we saved her from being washed overboard. This gale lasted twelve hours, after which we had more moderate weather, intermixed with calms. We frequently hoisted out the boats to try the currents,

and in general found a small drift to the W.S.W. We shot many birds, and had upon the whole good weather; but as we got near to the land, it came on thick and dirty for several days, till we made the coast of New Zealand in 40° 30′ S. having made twenty-four degrees of longitude, from Adventure Bay, after a passage of fifteen days. We had the winds much southerly in this passage, and I was under some apprehensions of not being able to fetch the Straits, which would have obliged us to steer away for George's Island; I would therefore advise any who sail to this part, to keep to the southward; particularly in the fall of the year, when the S. and S.E. winds prevail.

The land, when we first made it, appeared high, and formed a confused jumble of hills and mountains. We steered along-shore to the northward, but were much retarded in our course by reason of the swell from the N.E. At noon on the 3d of April, Cape Farewell, which is the south point of the entrance of the west side of the Straits, bore E. by N. ½ N. by the compass, three or four leagues distant. About eight o'clock we entered the Straits, and steered N.E. till midnight; then brought-to till daylight, and had soundings from forty-five to fifty-eight fathoms, sand and broken shells. At daylight, made sail and steered S.E. by E.; had light airs; Mount Egmont N.N.E. eleven or twelve leagues, and Point Stephens S.E. ½ E. seven leagues. At noon, Mount Egmont N. by E. twelve leagues; Stephens' Island S.E. five leagues. In the afternoon we put the dredge overboard in sixty-five fathoms; but caught nothing except a few small scallops, two or three oysters, and broken shells.

Standing to the eastward for Charlotte's Sound, with a light breeze at N.W. in the morning on the 5th, Stephens' Island bearing S.W. by W. four leagues, we were taken aback with a strong easterly gale, which obliged us to haul our wind to the S.E. and work to windward up under Point Jackson. The course from Stephens' Island to Point Jackson is nearly S.E. by the compass, eleven leagues distant, depth of water from forty to thirty-two fathoms, sandy ground. As we stood off and on, we fired several guns, but saw no signs of any inhabitants. In the afternoon, at half past two o'clock, finding the tide set the ship to the westward, we anchored with the coasting anchor in thirty-nine fathoms water, muddy ground; Point Jackson S.E. ½ E. three leagues; the east point of an inlet (about four leagues to the westward of Point Jackson, and which appears to be a good harbour) S.W. by W. ½ W. At eight P.M. the tide slackening, we weighed and made sail (having while at anchor caught several fish with hook and line), and found the tide to run to the westward at the rate of two and a half knots per hour. Standing to the east, we found no ground at seventy fathoms, off Point Jackson N.N.W. two leagues. At eight the next morning, had the sound open, but the wind being down it, obliged us to work up under the western shore, as the tide sets up strong there, when it runs down in mid channel. At ten, the tide being done, was obliged to come to with the best bower in thirty-eight fathoms, close to some white rocks, Point Jackson bearing N.W. ½ N. the northernmost of the Brothers E. by S. and the middle of Entry Island, (which lies on the north side of the Straits,) N.E. We made 15° 30′ E. variation in the Straits. As we sailed up the sound, we saw the tops of high mountains covered with snow, which remains all the year. When the tide slackened, we weighed and sailed up the sound; and about five o'clock on the 7th, anchored in Ship Cove, in ten fathoms water, muddy ground, and moored the best bower to the N.N.E. and small to S.S.W. In the night, we heard the howling of dogs, and people hallooing on the east shore.

The two following days were employed in clearing a place on Motuara Island for erecting our tents for the sick (having then several on board much afflicted with the scurvy), the sailmakers and coopers. On the top of the island was a post, erected by the Endeavour's people, with her name and time of departure on it. On the 9th, we were visited by three canoes with about sixteen of the natives: and to induce them to bring us fish and other provisions we gave them several things, with which they seemed highly pleased. One of our young gentlemen seeing something wrapped up in a better manner than common, had the curiosity to examine what it was; and, to his great surprise, found it to be the head of a man lately killed. They were very apprehensive of its being forced from them; and particularly the man who seemed most interested in it, whose very flesh crept on his bones,

for fear of being punished by us, as Captain Cook had expressed his great abhorrence of this unnatural act. They used every method to conceal the head, by shifting it from one to another; and by signs endeavouring to convince us, that there was no such thing amongst them, though we had seen it but a few minutes before. They then took their leave of us, and went on shore.

They frequently mentioned Tupia, which was the name of the native of George's Island (or Otaheite), brought here by the Endeavour, and who died at Batavia; and when we told them he was dead, some of them seemed to be very much concerned, and, as well as we could understand them, wanted to know whether we killed him, or if he died a natural death. By these questions, they are the same tribe Captain Cook saw. In the afternoon, they returned again with fish and fern roots, which they sold for nails and other trifles; though the nails are what they set the most value on. The man and woman who had the head, did not come off again. Having a catalogue of words in their language, we called several things by name, which surprised them greatly. They wanted it much, and offered a great quantity of fish for it.

Next morning they returned again, to the number of fifty or sixty, with their chief at their head, as we supposed, in five double canoes. They gave us their implements of war, stone hatchets, and clothes, &c. for nails and old bottles, which they put a great value on. A number of the head men came on board us, and it was with some difficulty we got them out of the ship by fair means; but on the appearance of a musket with a fixed bayonet, they all went into their canoes very quickly. We were daily visited by more or less, who brought us fish in great plenty for nails, beads, and other trifles, and behaved very peaceably.

We settled the astronomer with his instruments, and a sufficient guard, on a small island, that is joined to Motuara at low water, called the Hippa, where there was an old fortified town that the natives had forsaken. Their houses served our people to live in; and by sinking them about a foot inside, we made them very comfortable. Having done this, we struck our tents on the Motuara, and having removed the ship farther into the cove, on the west shore, moored her for the winter. We then erected our tents near the river or watering-place, and sent ashore all the spars and lumber off the decks, that they might be calked; and gave her a winter coat to preserve the hull and rigging. On the 11th of May, we felt two severe shocks of an earthquake, but received no kind of damage. On the 17th we were surprised by the people firing guns on the Hippa, and having sent the boat, as soon as she opened the sound, had the pleasure of seeing the Resolution off the mouth of it. We immediately sent out the boats to her assistance to tow her in, it being calm. In the evening she anchored about a mile without us; and next morning weighed and warped within us. Both ships felt an uncommon joy at our meeting, after an absence of fourteen weeks.

CHAPTER VIII.—TRANSACTIONS IN QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND, WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE INHABITANTS.

KNOWING that scurvy-grass, celery, and other vegetables were to be found in this sound, I went myself the morning after my arrival, at daybreak, to look for some, and returned on board at breakfast with a boat-load. Being now satisfied that enough was to be got for the crews of both ships, I gave orders that they should be boiled, with wheat and portable broth, every morning for breakfast; and with pease and broth for dinner; knowing from experience, that these vegetables, thus dressed, are extremely beneficial in removing all manner of scorbutic complaints.

I have already mentioned a desire I had of visiting Van Diemen's Land, in order to inform myself if it made a part of New Holland; and I certainly should have done this, had the winds proved favourable. But as Captain Furneaux had now, in a great measure, cleared up that point, I could have no business there, and therefore came to a resolution to continue our researches to the east between the latitudes of 41° and 46°. I acquainted Captain Furneaux therewith, and ordered him to get his ship in readiness to put to sea as soon as

possible. In the morning of the 20th, I sent ashore to the watering-place, near the Adventure's tent, the only ewe and ram remaining of those which I brought from the Cape of Good Hope, with an intent to leave in this country. Soon after, I visited the several gardens Captain Furneaux had caused to be made and planted with various articles; all of which were in a flourishing state, and, if attended to by the natives, may prove of great utility to them. The next day I set some men to work to make a garden on Long Island, which I planted with garden seeds, roots, &c.

On the 23d in the morning the ewe and ram I had with so much care and trouble brought to this place were both found dead; occasioned, as was supposed, by eating some poisonous plant. Thus my hopes of stocking this country with a breed of sheep were blasted in a moment. About noon we were visited, for the first time since I arrived, by some of the natives, who dined with us; and it was not a little they devoured. In the evening they were dismissed with presents.

Early in the morning of the 24th, I sent Mr. Gilbert the master to sound about the rock we had discovered in the entrance of the sound. Myself, accompanied by Captain Furneaux and Mr. Forster, went in a boat to the west bay on a shooting-party. In our way, we met a large canoe, in which were fourteen or fifteen people. One of the first questions they asked was for Tupia, the person I brought from Otaheite on my former voyage; and they seemed to express some concern when we told them he was dead. These people made the same inquiry of Captain Furneaux when he first arrived; and on my return to the ship in the evening, I was told that a canoe had been alongside, the people in which seemed to be strangers, and who also inquired for Tupia. Late in the evening Mr. Gilbert returned, having sounded all round the rock, which he found to be very small and steep.

Nothing worthy of notice happened till the 29th, when several of the natives made us a visit, and brought with them a quantity of fish, which they exchanged for nails, &c. One of these people I took over to Motuara, and showed him some potatoes planted there by Mr. Fannen, master of the Adventure. There seemed to be no doubt of their succeeding; and the man was so well pleased with them, that he, of his own accord, began to hoe the earth up about the plants. We next took him to the other gardens, and showed him the turnips, carrots, and parsneps; roots which, together with the potatoes, will be of more real use to them than all the other articles we had planted. It was easy to give them an idea of these roots by comparing them with such as they knew. Two or three families of these people now took up their abode near us, employing themselves daily in fishing, and supplying us with the fruits of their labour, the good effects of which we soon felt. For we were by no means such expert fishers as they are; nor were any of our methods of fishing equal to theirs.

On the 2d of June, the ships being nearly ready to put to sea, I sent on shore, on the east side of the sound, two goats, male and female. The former was something more than a year old, but the latter was much older. She had two fine kids, some time before we arrived in Dusky Bay, which were killed by cold, as hath been already mentioned. Captain Furneaux also put on shore, in Cannibal Cove, a boar and two breeding sows; so that we have reason to hope this country will, in time, be stocked with these animals, if they are not destroyed by the natives before they become wild; for afterwards they will be in no danger. But as the natives knew nothing of their being left behind, it may be some time before they are discovered.

In our excursion to the east, we met with the largest seal I had ever seen. It was swimming on the surface of the water, and suffered us to come near enough to fire at it, but without effect; for, after a chase of near an hour, we were obliged to leave it. By the size of this animal, it probably was a sea-lioness. It certainly bore much resemblance to the drawing in Lord Anson's voyage; our seeing a sea-lion when we entered this sound, in my former voyage, increaseth the probability; and I am of opinion they have their abode on some of the rocks which lie in the strait, or off Admiralty Bay.

On the 3rd, I sent a boat with the carpenter over to the east side of the sound, to cut down some spars, which we were in want of. As she was returning, she was chased by a large double canoe full of people; but with what intent, is not known. Early the next morning, some of our friends brought us a large supply of fish. One of them agreed to go

away with us; but, afterwards, that is when it came to the point, he changed his mind; as did some others who had promised to go with the Adventure. It was even said, that some of them offered their children to sale. I however found that this was a mistake. The report first took its rise on board the Adventure, where they were utter strangers to their language and customs. It was very common for these people to bring their children with them, and present them to us, in expectation that we would make them presents; this happened to me the preceding morning. A man brought his son, a boy about nine or ten years of age, and presented him to me. As the report of selling their children was then current, I thought at first that he wanted me to buy the boy. But at last I found that he wanted me to give him a white shirt, which I accordingly did. The boy was so fond of his new dress, that he went all over the ship presenting himself before every one that came in his way. This freedom used by him offended Old Will, the ram-goat, who gave him a butt with his horns, and knocked him backward on the deck. Will would have repeated his blow, had not some of the people come to the boy's assistance. The misfortune, however, seemed to him irreparable. The shirt was dirtied, and he was afraid to appear in the cabin before his father, until brought in by Mr. Forster; when he told a very lamentable story against Goury, the great dog (for so they call all the quadrupeds we had aboard), nor could he be reconciled till his shirt was washed and dried. This story, though extremely trifling in itself, will show how liable we are to mistake these people's meaning, and to ascribe to them customs which they never knew even in thought.

About nine o'clock, a large double canoe, in which were twenty or thirty people, appeared in sight. Our friends on board seemed much alarmed, telling us that these were their enemies: two of them, the one with a spear, and the other with a stone hatchet in his hand, mounted the arm-chests on the poop, and there, in a kind of bravado, bid those enemies defiance; while the others, who were on board, took to their canoe and went ashore, probably to secure the women and children. All I could do, could not prevail on the two that remained to call these strangers alongside; on the contrary, they were displeased at my doing it, and wanted me to fire upon them. The people in the canoe seemed to pay very little regard to those on board, but kept advancing slowly towards the ship; and, after performing the usual ceremonies, put alongside: after this the chief was easily prevailed upon to come on board, followed by many others, and peace was immediately established on all sides; indeed, it did not appear to me that these people had any intention to make war upon their brethren: at least, if they had, they were sensible enough to know that this was neither the time nor place for them to commit hostilities.

One of the first questions these strangers asked was for Tupia; and when I told them he was dead one or two expressed their sorrow by a kind of lamentation, which to me appeared more formal than real. A trade soon commenced between our people and them. It was not possible to hinder the former from selling the clothes from off their backs for the merest trifles, things that were neither useful nor curious. This caused me to dismiss the strangers sooner than I would have done. When they departed, they went over to Motuara, where, by the help of our glasses, we discovered four or five canoes, and several people on the shore: this induced me to go over in my boat, accompanied by Mr. Forster and one of the officers. We were well received by the chief and the whole tribe, which consisted of between ninety and a hundred persons, men, women, and children, having with them six canoes, and all their utensils; which made it probable that they were come to reside in this sound: but this is only conjecture; for it is very common for them, when they even go but a little way, to carry their whole property with them; every place being alike, if it affords them the necessary subsistence: so that it can hardly be said that they are ever from home. Thus we may easily account for the emigration of those few families we found in Dusky Bay.

Living thus dispersed in small parties, knowing no head but the chief of the family or tribe, whose authority may be very little, they feel many inconveniences, to which well-regulated societies, united under one head or any other form of government, are not subject. These form laws and regulations for their general good; they are not alarmed at the appearance of every stranger; and if attacked or invaded by a public enemy, have strongholds to retire to, where they can, with advantage, defend themselves, their property and their

country. This seems to be the state of most of the inhabitants of Eahei-nomauwe; whereas those of Tavai-poenammoo, by living a wandering life in small parties, are destitute of most of these advantages, which subjects them to perpetual alarms. We generally found them upon their guard, travelling and working, as it were, with their arms in their hands. Even the women are not exempted from bearing arms, as appeared by the first interview I had with the family in Dusky Bay, where each of the two women was armed with a spear not less than eighteen feet in length.

I was led into these reflections, by not being able to recollect the face of any one person I had seen here three years ago; nor did it once appear that any one of them had the least knowledge of me, or of any person with me that was here at that time: it is, therefore, highly probable that the greatest part of the people which inhabited this sound in the beginning of the year 1770, have been since driven out of it, or have, of their own accord, removed somewhere else: certain it is that not one-third of the inhabitants were here now, that were then. Their stronghold on the point of Motuara hath been long deserted; and we found many forsaken habitations in all parts of the sound: we are not, however, wholly to infer from this that this place hath been once very populous; for each family may, for their own convenience, when they move from place to place, have more huts than one or two.

It may be asked, if these people had never seen the Endeavour, nor any of her crew, how could they become acquainted with the name of Tupia, or have in their possession (which many of them had) such articles as they could only have got from that ship? To this it may be answered, that the name of Tupia was so popular among them when the Endeavour was here, that it would be no wonder if, at this time, it was known over great part of New Zealand, and as familiar to those who never saw him as to those who did. Had ships of any other nation whatever arrived here, they would have equally inquired of them for Tupia. By the same way of reasoning, many of the articles left here by the Endeavour, may be now in possession of those who never saw her. I got from one of the people, now present, an ear-ornament, made of glass, very well formed and polished; the glass they must have got from the Endeavour.

After passing about an hour on Motuara with these people, and having distributed among them some presents, and showed to the chief the gardens we had made, I returned on board, and spent the remainder of our royal master's birthday in festivity; having the company of Captain Furneaux and all his officers. Double allowance enabled the seamen to share in the general joy.

Both ships being now ready for sea, I gave Captain Furneaux an account in writing of the route I intended to take; which was to proceed to the east, between the latitudes of 41° and 46° south, until I arrived in the longitude of 140° or 135° west; then, provided no land was discovered, to proceed to Otaheite; from thence back to this place by the shortest route; and after taking in wood and water, to proceed to the south, and explore all the unknown parts of the sea between the meridian of New Zealand and Cape Horn; therefore, in case of separation before we reached Otaheite, I appointed that island for the place of rendezvous, where he was to wait till the 20th of August: if not joined by me before that time, he was then to make the best of his way back to Queen Charlotte's Sound, where he was to wait until the 20th of November; after which (if not joined by me), he was to put to sea, and carry into execution their Lordships' instructions.

Some may think it an extraordinary step in me to proceed on discoveries as far south as 46 degrees of latitude, in the very depth of winter. But though it must be owned that winter is by no means favourable for discoveries, it nevertheless appeared to me necessary that something should be done in it, in order to lessen the work I was upon, lest I should not be able to finish the discovery of the southern part of the South Pacific Ocean the ensuing summer. Besides, if I should discover any land in my route to the east, I should be ready to begin, with the summer, to explore it. Setting aside all these considerations, I had little to fear; having two good ships well provided, and healthy crews. Where then could I spend my time better? If I did nothing more, I was at least in hopes of being able to point out to posterity that these seas may be navigated, and that it is practicable to go on discoveries, even in the very depth of winter.

During our stay in the sound, I had observed that this second visit made to this country had not mended the morals of the natives of either sex. I had always looked upon the females of New Zealand to be more chaste than the generality of Indian women. Whatever favours a few of them might have granted to the people in the Endeavour, it was generally done in a private manner, and the men did not seem to interest themselves much in it; but now I was told they were the chief promoters of a shameful traffic, and that, for a spike-nail, or any other thing they value, they would oblige the women to prostitute themselves, whether they would or not; and even without any regard to that privacy which decency required.

During our stay here, Mr. Wales lost no opportunity to observe equal altitudes of the sun, for obtaining the rates of the watches. The result of his labours proved that Mr. Kendal's was gaining 9″, 5 per day, and Mr. Arnold's losing 94″, 158 per day, on mean time.

CHAPTER IX.—ROUTE FROM NEW ZEALAND TO OTAHEITE, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF SOME LOW ISLANDS, SUPPOSED TO BE THE SAME THAT WERE SEEN BY M. DE BOUGAINVILLE.

On the 7th of June, at four in the morning, the wind being more favourable, we unmoored, and at seven weighed and put to sea, with the Adventure in company. We had no sooner got out of the sound, than we found the wind at south; so that we had to ply through the Straits. About noon the tide of ebb setting out in our favour, made our boards advantageous; so that, at five o'clock in the evening, Cape Palliser, on the Island of Eaheinomauwe, bore S.S.E. ½ S. and Cape Koamaroo, or the S.E. point of the sound, N. by W. ¾ W.; presently after it fell calm, and the tide of flood now making against us, carried us, at a great rate, back to the north. A little before high-water, the calm was succeeded by a breeze from the north, which soon increased to a brisk gale. This, together with the ebb, carried us, by eight o'clock the next morning, quite through the Strait. Cape Palliser, at this time, bore E.N.E., and at noon N. by W., distant seven leagues.

This day at noon, when we attended the winding up of the watches, the fusee of Mr. Arnold's would not turn round; so that, after several unsuccessful trials, we were obliged to let it go down.

After getting clear of the Straits, I directed my course S.E. by E., having a gentle gale, but variable, between the north and west. The late S.E. winds having caused a swell from the same quarter, which did not go down for some days, we had little hopes of meeting with land in that direction. We, however, continued to steer to the S.E., and on the 11th, crossed the meridian of 180°, and got into the west longitude, according to my way of reckoning. On the 16th, at seven in the morning, the wind having veered round to S.E., we tacked and stretched to N.E., being, at this time, in the latitude of 47° 7′, longitude 173° west. In this situation we had a great swell from N.E. The wind continued at S.E., and, S.S.E. blew fresh at intervals; and was attended with sometimes fair, and at other times rainy weather, till the 20th; on which day, being in the latitude of 44° 30′, longitude 165° 45′ west, the wind shifted to the west, blew a gentle gale, and was attended with fair weather. With this we steered E. by N., E. by S., and E. till the 23rd at noon, when, being in the latitude of 44° 38′ south, longitude 161° 27′ west, we had a few hours' calm. The calm was succeeded by a wind at east, with which we stood to the north. The wind increased and blew in squalls, attended with rain, which at last brought us under our courses; and at two o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, we were obliged to lie to under the foresail; having a very hard gale from E.N.E., and a great sea from the same direction.

At seven o'clock in the morning of the 25th, the gale being more moderate, we made sail under the courses, and in the afternoon set the top-sails close-reefed. At midnight the wind having veered more to the north, we tacked and stretched to the S.E., being at this time in the latitude of 42° 53′ south, longitude 163° 20′ west. We continued to stretch to the S.E. with a fresh gale and fair weather, till four o'clock in the afternoon the next day, when we stood again to the N.E. till midnight between the 27th and 28th. Then we had a few hours'

calm; which was succeeded by faint breezes from the west. At this time we were in the latitude of 42° 32′, longitude 161° 15′ west. The wind remained not long at west, before it veered back to the east by the north, and kept between the S.E. and N.E., but never blew strong.

On July 2d, being in the latitude of 43° 3′, longitude 156° 17′ west, we had again a calm, which brought the wind back to the west; but it was of no longer continuance than before, for the next day it returned to the E. and S.E., blew fresh at times, and by squalls, with rain. On the 7th, being in the latitude of 41° 22′, longitude 150° 12′ west, we had two hours' calm; in which time Mr. Wales went on board the Adventure to compare the watches; and they were found to agree, allowing for the difference of their rates of going; a probable, if not a certain proof, that they had gone well since we had been in this sea.

The calm was succeeded by a wind from the south, between which point and the N.W. it continued for the six succeeding days, but never blew strong; it was, however, attended with a great hollow swell from S.W. and W., a sure indication that no large land was near in those directions. We now steered east, inclining to the south, and on the 10th, in the latitude of 43° 39′, longitude 144° 43′ west, the variation was found, by several azimuths, to be no more than 3° east; but the next morning it was found to be 4° 5′ 30″, and in the afternoon, 5° 56′ east. The same day, at noon, we were in the latitude of 43° 44′, longitude 141 56′ west.

At nine o'clock in the morning of the 12th, the longitude was observed as follows, viz.:—

Self . .	1st set	139°	47′	15″
Ditto . .	2d set	140	7	30
Mr. Wales .	1st set	141	22	15
Ditto . .	2d set	140	10	0
Mr. Clerke	. . . . .	140	56	45
Mr. Gilbert .	. . . . .	140	2	0
Mean		140	24	17½ west.

This differed from my reckoning only 2½°. The next morning, in the latitude of 43° 3′, longitude 139° 20′ west, we had several lunar observations, which were consonant to those made the day before, allowing for the ship's run in the time. In the afternoon we had, for a few hours, variable light airs next to a calm; after which we got a wind from the N.E., blowing fresh and in squalls, attended with dark gloomy weather, and some rain.

We stretched to the S.E. till five o'clock in the afternoon on the 14th; at which time, being in the latitude of 43° 15′, longitude 137° 39′ west, we tacked and stood to the north under our courses, having a very hard gale with heavy squalls, attended with rain, till near noon the next day, when it ended in a calm. At this time we were in the latitude of 42° 39′, longitude 137° 58′ west. In the evening, the calm was succeeded by a breeze from S.W., which soon after increased to a fresh gale; and fixing at S.S.W., with it we steered N.E. ½ E. In the latitude of 41° 25′, longitude 135° 58′ west, we saw floating in the sea a billet of wood, which seemed to be covered with barnacles, so that there was no judging how long it might have been there, or from whence or how far it had come.

We continued to steer N.E. ½ E. before a very strong gale, which blew in squalls, attended with showers of rain and hail, and a very high sea from the same quarter, till noon, on the 17th. Being then in the latitude of 39° 44′, longitude 133° 32′ west, which was a degree and a half farther east than I had intended to run; nearly in the middle between my track to the north in 1769, and the return to the south in the same year (as will appear by the chart), and seeing no signs of land, I steered north-easterly, with a view of exploring that part of the sea lying between the two tracts just mentioned, down as low as the latitude of 27°, a space that had not been visited by any preceding navigator that I knew of. On the 19th, being in the latitude of 36° 34′, longitude 133° 7′ west, we steered N. ½ west, having still the advantage of a hard gale at south, which the next day veered to S.E. and E., blew hard and by squalls, attended with rain and thick hazy weather; this continued till the evening of the 21st, when the gale abated, the weather cleared up, and the wind backed to the S. and S.E.

We were now in the latitude of 32° 30′, longitude 133° 40′ west: from this situation we steered N.N.W. till noon the next day, when we steered a point more to the west; being at this time in the latitude of 31° 6′, longitude 134° 12′ west. The weather was now so warm, that it was necessary to put on lighter clothes: the mercury in the thermometer at noon rose to 63; it had never been lower that 46, and seldom higher than 54, at the same time of the day, since we left New Zealand.

This day was remarkable by our not seeing a single bird; not one had passed since we left the land without seeing some of the following birds, viz. albatrosses, sheer-waters, pintadoes, blue peterels, and Port Egmont hens; but these frequent every part of the Southern Ocean in the higher latitudes; not a bird nor any other thing was seen, that could induce us to think that we had ever been in the neighbourhood of any land.

The wind kept veering round from the south by the west to N.N.W., with which we stretched north till noon the next day, when, being in the latitude of 29° 22′, we tacked and stretched to the westward. The wind soon increased to a very hard gale, attended with rain, and blew in such heavy squalls as to split the most of our sails. This weather continued till the morning of the 25th, when the wind became more moderate, and veered to N.W. and W.N.W., with which we steered and stretched to N.E., being, at that time, in the latitude of 29° 51′, longitude 136° 28′ west. In the afternoon, the sky cleared up, and the weather became fair and settled. We now met the first tropic-bird we had seen in this sea. On the 26th, in the afternoon, being in the latitude of 28° 44′, we had several observations of the sun and moon, which gave the longitude 135° 30′ west. My reckoning at the same time was 135° 27′, and I had no occasion to correct it since I left the land. We continued to stretch to the north, with light breezes from the westward, till noon the next day, when we were stopped by a calm; our latitude at this time being 27° 53′, longitude 135° 17′ west. In the evening, the calm was succeeded by a breeze from the N. and N.W., with which we plied to the north.

On the 29th, I sent on board the Adventure to inquire into the state of her crew, having heard that they were sickly, and this I now found was but too true; her cook was dead, and about twenty of her best men were down in the scurvy and flux. At this time, *we* had only three men on the sick list, and only one of them attacked with the scurvy; several more, however, began to show symptoms of it, and were accordingly put upon the wort, marmalade of carrots, rob of lemons and oranges. I know not how to account for the scurvy raging more in the one ship than the other, unless it was owing to the crew of the Adventure being more scorbutic when they arrived in New Zealand than we were, and to their eating few or no vegetables while they lay in Queen Charlotte's Sound, partly for want of knowing the right sorts, and partly because it was a new diet, which alone was sufficient for seamen to reject it. To introduce any new article of food among seamen, let it be ever so much for their good, requires both the example and authority of a commander; without both of which, it will be dropped before the people are sensible of the benefits resulting from it: were it necessary, I could name fifty instances in support of this remark. Many of my people, officers as well as seamen, at first disliked celery, scurvy-grass, &c., being boiled in the peas and wheat; and some refused to eat it; but as this had no effect on my conduct, this obstinate kind of prejudice, by little and little, wore off; they began to like it as well as the others, and now, I believe, there was hardly a man in the ship that did not attribute our being so free from the scurvy, to the beer and vegetables we made use of at New Zealand; after this, I seldom found it necessary to order any of my people to gather vegetables, whenever we came where any were to be got, and if scarce, happy was he who could lay hold on them first. I appointed one of my seamen to be cook of the Adventure, and wrote to Captain Furneaux, desiring him to make use of every method in his power to stop the spreading of the disease amongst his people, and proposing such as I thought might tend towards it; but I afterwards found all this unnecessary, as every method had been used they could think of.

The wind continued in the N.W. quarter, and blew fresh, at times, attended with rain; with which we stood to the N.E. On the 1st of August, at noon, we were in the latitude of 25° 1′, longitude, 134° 6′ west, and had a great hollow swell from N.W. The situation we were now in was nearly the same that Captain Cartaret assigns for Pitcairn's Island,

discovered by him in 1767. We therefore looked well out for it; but saw nothing. According to the longitude in which he has placed it, we must have passed about fifteen leagues to the west of it. But as this was uncertain, I did not think it prudent, considering the situation of the Adventure's people, to lose any time in looking for it. A sight of it would, however, have been of use in verifying or correcting, not only the longitude of this isle, but of the others that Captain Cartaret discovered in this neighbourhood; his longitude not being confirmed, I think, by astronomical observations, and therefore liable to errors, which he could have no method to correct.

As we had now got to the northward of Captain Cartaret's tracks, all hopes of discovering a continent vanished. Islands were all we were to expect to find, until we returned again to the south. I had now, that is on this and my former voyage, crossed this ocean in the latitude of 40° and upwards, without meeting anything that did, in the least, induce me to think I should find what I was in search after. On the contrary, everything conspired to make me believe there is no southern continent, between the meridian of America and New Zealand; at least, this passage did not produce any indubitable signs of any, as will appear by the following remarks. After leaving the coasts of New Zealand, we daily saw, floating in the sea, rock-weed, for the space of 18° of longitude. In my passage to New Zealand in 1769, we also saw of this weed, for the space of 12° or 14° of longitude, before we made the land. The weed is, undoubtedly, the produce of New Zealand; because, the nearer the coast, the greater quantity you see. At the greatest distance from the coast, we saw it only in small pieces, generally more rotten, and covered with barnacles; an indubitable sign that it had been long at sea. Were it not for this, one might be led to conjecture that some other large land lay in the neighbourhood; for it cannot be a small extent of coast to produce such a quantity of weed as to cover so large a space of sea. It hath been already mentioned, that we were no sooner clear of the Straits, than we met with a large hollow swell from the S.E. which continued till we arrived in the longitude of 177° west, and latitude 46°. There we had large billows from the north and N.E. for five days successively, and until we got 5° of longitude more to the east, although the wind, great part of the time, blew from different directions. This was a strong indication that there was no land between us and my track to the west in 1769. After this, we had, as is usual in all great oceans, large billows from every direction in which the wind blew a fresh gale, but more especially from the S.W. These billows never ceased with the cause that first put them in motion; a sure indication, that we were not near any large land, and that there is no continent to the south, unless in a very high latitude. But this was too important a point to be left to opinions and conjectures. Facts were to determine it; and these could only be obtained by visiting the southern parts; which was to be the work of the ensuing summer, agreeably to the plan I had laid down.

As the winds continued to blow from the N.W. and west, we had no other choice but to stand to the north, inclining more or less every day to the east. In the latitude of 21°, we saw flying-fish, gannets, and egg-birds. On the 6th, I hoisted a boat out and sent for Captain Furneaux to dinner; from whom I learnt that his people were much better, the flux having left them; and the scurvy was at a stand. Some cider which he happened to have, and which he gave to the scorbutic people, contributed not a little to this happy change. The weather to-day was cloudy, and the wind very unsettled. This seemed to announce the approach of the so much-wished-for trade-wind; which at eight o'clock in the evening, after two hours' calm and some heavy showers of rain, we actually got at S.E. We were, at this time, in the latitude of 19° 36′ south, longitude 131° 32′ west. The not meeting with the S.E. trade-wind sooner, is no new thing in this sea. As we had now got it, I directed my course to the W.N.W. as well to keep in the strength of it, as to get to the north of the islands discovered in my former voyage; that, if any other islands lay in the way, I might have a chance to discover them. During the day-time we made all the sail we could; but in the night, either run an easy sail, or lay-to. We daily saw flying-fish, albacores, delphins, &c.; but neither by striking, nor with hook and line, could we catch any of them. This required some art which none of my people were masters of.

On the 11th at daybreak, land was seen to the south. This, upon a nearer approach, we

found to be an island of about two leagues in extent, in the direction of N.W. and S.E. and clothed with wood, above which the cocoa-nut trees showed their lofty heads. I judged it to be one of those isles discovered by M. Bougainville. It lies in the latitude of 17° 24′, longitude 141° 39′ west; and I called it, after the name of the ship, Resolution Island. The sickly state of the Adventure's crew made it necessary for me to make the best of my way to Otaheite, where I was sure of finding refreshments. Consequently, I did not wait to examine this island, which appeared too small to supply our wants, but continued our course to the west; and at six o'clock in the evening, land was seen from the mast-head, bearing west by south. Probably this was another of Bougainville's discoveries. I named it Doubtful Island; and it lies in the latitude of 17° 20′, longitude 141° 38′ W. I was sorry I could not spare time to haul to the north of M. Bougainville's track; but the getting to a place where we could procure refreshments was more an object at this time than discovery.

During the night we steered W. by N. in order to pass the north of the island above mentioned. At daybreak the next morning, we discovered land right ahead, distant about two miles; so that daylight advised us of our danger but just in time. This proved another of these low or half-drowned islands, or rather a large coral shoal of about twenty-leagues in circuit. A very small part of it was land, which consisted of little islets ranged along the north side, and connected by sandbanks and breakers. These islets were clothed with wood, among which the cocoa-nut trees only were distinguishable. We ranged the south side of this isle or shoal at the distance of one or two miles from the coral bank, against which the sea broke in a dreadful surf. In the middle is a large lake or inland sea, in which was a canoe under sail.

This island, which I named after Captain Furneaux, lies in the latitude 17° 5′, longitude 143° 16′ west. The situation is nearly the same that is assigned for one of those discovered by Bougainville. I must here observe, that amongst these low and half-drowned isles (which are numerous in this part of the ocean) M. Bougainville's discoveries cannot be known to that degree of accuracy which is necessary to distinguish them from others. We were obliged to have recourse to his chart for the latitudes and longitudes of the isles he discovered, as neither the one nor the other is mentioned in his narrative. Without waiting to examine this island, we continued to steer to the west, all sails set, till six o'clock in the evening, when we shortened sail to three topsails, and at nine brought to. The next morning at four A.M. we made sail, and at daybreak saw another of these low islands, situated in the latitude of 17° 4′, longitude 144° 30′ west, which obtained the name of Adventure Island. M. de Bougainville very properly calls this cluster of low overflowed isles the Dangerous Archipelago. The smoothness of the sea sufficiently convinced us that we were surrounded by them, and how necessary it was to proceed with the utmost caution, especially in the night.

At five o'clock P.M. we again saw land, bearing S.W. by S. which we afterwards found to be Chain Island, discovered in my former voyage. But as I was not sure of it at this time, and being desirous of avoiding the delay which lying by in the night occasioned, I hoisted out the cutter and manned her with an officer and seven men, with orders to keep as far ahead of the ships, with a light at her mast-head, as a signal could be distinguished, which she was to make in case she met with any danger. In this manner we continued to run all night; and at six o'clock the next morning, I called her on board and hoisted her in. For it did not appear she would be wanted again for this purpose, as we had now a large swell from the south, a sure sign that we were clear of the low islands; therefore I steered for Otaheite without being apprehensive of meeting with any danger.

CHAPTER X.—THE ARRIVAL OF THE SHIPS AT OTAHEITE, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE CRITICAL SITUATION THEY WERE IN, AND OF SEVERAL INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED WHILE THEY LAY IN OAITI-PIHA BAY.

On the 15th, at five o'clock in the morning, we saw Osnaburg Island, or Maitea, discovered by Captain Wallis, bearing S. by W. ½ W. Soon after I brought to, and waited for the Adventure to come up with us, to acquaint Captain Furneaux, that it was my intention to put into Oaiti-piha Bay, near the S.E. end of Otaheite, in order to get what refreshments we could from that part of the island, before we went down to Matavai. This done, we made sail, and at six in the evening saw the island bearing west. We continued to stand on till midnight, when we brought to, till four o'clock in the morning, and then made sail in for the land with a fine breeze at east.

At daybreak we found ourselves not more than half a league from the reef. The breeze now began to fail us, and at last fell to a calm. This made it necessary to hoist out our boats to tow the ships off; but all their efforts were not sufficient to keep them from being carried near the reef. A number of the inhabitants came off in canoes from different parts, bringing with them a little fish, a few cocoa-nuts, and other fruits, which they exchanged for nails, beads, &c. The most of them knew me again; and many inquired for Mr. Banks and others who were with me before; but not one asked for Tupia. As the calm continued, our situation became still more dangerous. We were, however, not without hopes of getting round the western point of the reef and into the bay, till about two o'clock in the afternoon, when we came before an opening or break in the reef, through which I hoped to get with the ships. But on sending to examine it, I found there was not a sufficient depth of water; though it caused such an indraught of the tide of flood through it, as was very near proving fatal to the Resolution; for as soon as the ships got into this stream, they were carried with great impetuosity towards the reef. The moment I perceived this, I ordered one of the warping machines, which we had in readiness, to be carried out with about four hundred fathoms of rope; but it had not the least effect. The horrors of shipwreck now stared us in the face. We were not more than two cables' length from the breakers; and yet we could find no bottom to anchor, the only probable means we had left to save the ships. We however dropped an anchor; but, before it took hold, and brought us up, the ship was in less than three fathoms water, and struck at every fall of the sea, which broke close under our stern in a dreadful surf, and threatened us every moment with shipwreck. The Adventure, very luckily, brought up close upon our bow without striking.

We presently carried out two kedge anchors, with hawsers to each. These found ground a little without the bower, but in what depth we never knew. By heaving upon them, and cutting away the bower anchor, we got the ship afloat, where we lay some time in the greatest anxiety, expecting every minute that either the kedges would come home, or the hawsers be cut in two by the rocks. At length the tide ceased to act in the same direction. I ordered all the boats to try to tow off the Resolution; and when I saw this was practicable, we hove up the two kedges. At that moment, a light air came off from the land, which so much assisted the boats, that we soon got clear of all danger. Then I ordered all the boats to assist the Adventure; but before they reached her, she was under sail with the land-breeze, and soon after joined us, leaving behind her three anchors, her coasting cable, and two hawsers, which were never recovered. Thus we were once more safe at sea, after narrowly escaping being wrecked on the very island we, but a few days before, so ardently wished to be at. The calm, after bringing us into this dangerous situation, very fortunately continued; for had the sea-breeze, as is usual, set in, the Resolution must inevitably have been lost, and probably the Adventure too.

During the time we were in this critical situation, a number of the natives were on board and about the ships; they seemed to be insensible of our danger, showing not the least

surprise, joy, or fear, when we were striking, and left us little before sunset, quite unconcerned.

We spent the night, which proved squally and rainy, making short boards; and the next morning, being the 17th, we anchored in Oaiti-piha Bay in twelve fathoms water, about two cables' length from the shore; both ships being by this time crowded with a great number of the natives, who brought with them cocoa-nuts, plantains, bananas, apples, yams, and other roots, which they exchanged for nails and beads. To several who called themselves chiefs, I made presents of shirts, axes, and several other articles; and in return, they promised to bring me hogs and fowls; a promise they never did, nor ever intended to perform.

YAMS AND PLANTAINS.

In the afternoon I landed, in company with Captain Furneaux, in order to view the watering-place, and to sound the disposition of the natives. I also sent a boat to get some water for present use, having scarcely any left on board. We found this article as convenient as could be expected, and the natives to behave with great civility. Early in the morning I sent the two launches, and the Resolution's cutter, under the command of Mr. Gilbert, to endeavour to recover the anchors we had left behind us. They returned about noon with the Resolution's bower anchor; but could not recover any of the Adventure's. The natives came off again with fruit, as the day before, but in no great quantity. I also had a party on shore, trading under the protection of a guard; nothing, however, was brought to market but fruit and roots, though many hogs were seen (I was told) about the houses of the natives. The cry was that they belonged to Waheatoua the *Earee de hi*, or king; and him we had not yet seen, nor, I believe, any other chief of note; many, however, who called themselves *Earees*, came on board, partly with a view of getting presents, and partly to pilfer whatever came in their way.

One of this sort of *Earees* I had, most of the day, in the cabin, and made presents to him and all his friends, which were not a few. At length he was caught taking things which did not belong to him, and handing them out of the quarter-gallery. Many complaints of the like nature were made to me against those on deck; which occasioned my turning them all out of the ship. My cabin guest made good haste to be gone. I was so much exasperated at his behaviour, that after he had got some distance from the ship, I fired two muskets over his head, which made him quit the canoe, and take to the water. I then sent a boat to take up the canoe; but as she came near the shore, the people from thence began to pelt her with stones. Being in some pain for her safety, as she was unarmed, I went myself in

another boat to protect her, and ordered a great gun, loaded with ball, to be fired along the coast, which made them all retire from the shore, and I was suffered to bring away two canoes without the least show of opposition. In one of the canoes was a little boy, who was much frightened; but I soon dissipated his fears, by giving him beads, and putting him on shore. A few hours after, we were all good friends again; and the canoes were returned to the first person who came for them.

It was not till the evening of this day that any one inquired after Tupia, and then but two or three. As soon as they learnt the cause of his death, they were quite satisfied: indeed, it did not appear to me, that it would have caused a moment's uneasiness in the breast of any one, had his death been occasioned by any other means than by sickness. As little inquiry was made after Aotourou, the man who went away with M. de Bougainville; but they were continually asking for Mr. Banks, and several others who were with me in my former voyage. These people informed us, that Toutaha, the regent of the greater peninsula of Otaheite, had been killed in a battle which was fought between the two kingdoms about five months before; and that *Otoo* was the reigning prince. Tubourai Tamaide, and several more of our principal friends about Matavai, fell in this battle, as also a great number of common people; but at present, a peace subsisted between the two kingdoms.

On the 19th we had gentle breezes easterly, with some smart showers of rain. Early in the morning, the boats were again sent to recover the Adventure's anchors, but returned with the same ill success as the day before; so that we ceased to look for them any longer, thinking ourselves very happy in having come off so well, considering the situation we had been in. In an excursion which Captain Furneaux and I made along the coast, we met with a chief who entertained us with excellent fish, fruit, &c. In return for his hospitality, I made him a present of an axe and other things; and he afterwards accompanied us back to the ships, where he made but a short stay.

Nothing worthy of note happened on the 20th, till the dusk of the evening, when one of the natives made off with a musket belonging to the guard on shore. I was present when this happened, and sent some of our people after him, which would have been to little purpose, had not some of the natives, of their own accord, pursued the thief: they knocked him down, took from him the musket, and brought it to us. Fear, on this occasion, certainly operated more with them than principle: they, however, deserve to be applauded for this act of justice; for, if they had not given their immediate assistance, it would hardly have been in my power to have recovered the musket by any gentle means whatever; and by making use of any other, I was sure to lose more than ten times its value.

The 21st, the wind was at north a fresh breeze. This morning a chief made me a visit, and presented me with a quantity of fruit, among which were a number of cocoa-nuts we had drawn the water from, and afterwards thrown overboard. These he had picked up, and tied in bundles so artfully, that we did not at first perceive the cheat. When he was told of it, without betraying the least emotion, and as if he knew nothing of the matter, he opened two or three of them himself, signified to us that he was satisfied that it was so, and then went on shore and sent off a quantity of plantains and bananas. Having got on board a supply of water, fruit, and roots, I determined to sail in the morning to Matavai, as I found it was not likely that I should get an interview with Waheatoua; without which it was very improbable we should get any hogs. Two of the chiefs who knew my intention, slept on board, with a view of going with us to Matavai; but in the morning the wind blew fresh at N.W., and as we could not sail, I sent the trading party on shore as usual.

In the evening I was informed that Waheatoua was come into the neighbourhood and wanted to see me. In consequence of this information, I determined to wait one day longer in order to have an interview with this prince. Accordingly, early the next morning, I set out in company with Captain Furneaux, Mr. Forster, and several of the natives. We met the chief about a mile from the landing-place, towards which he was advancing to meet us; but as soon as he saw us he stopped, with his numerous train in the open air. I found him seated upon a stool, with a circle of people round him, and knew him at first sight, and he me; having seen each other several times in 1769. At that time he was but a boy, and

went by the name of Tearee; but upon the death of his father Waheatoua, he took upon him that name.

After the first salutation was over, having seated me on the same stool with himself, and the other gentlemen on the ground by us, he began to inquire after several by name who were with me on my former voyage. He next inquired how long I would stay; and when I told him no longer than next day, he seemed sorry, asked me to stay some months, and at last came down to five days; promising that, in that time, I should have hogs in plenty. But as I had been here already a week without so much as getting one, I could not put any faith in this promise. And yet, I believe, if I had staid, we should have fared much better than at Matavai. The present I made him consisted of a shirt, a sheet, a broad axe, spike-nails, knives, looking-glasses, medals, beads, &c. In return, he ordered a pretty good hog to be carried to our boat. We staid with him all the morning, during which time he never suffered me to go from his side, where he was seated. I was also seated on the same stool, which was carried from place to place by one of his attendants, whom we called stool-bearer. At length we took leave, in order to return on board to dinner; after which we visited him again, and made him more presents; and he in return gave Captain Furneaux and me each of us a hog. Some others were got by exchanges at the trading-places: so that we got, in the whole to-day, as much fresh pork as gave the crews of both ships a meal; and this in consequence of our having this interview with the chief.

The 24th, early in the morning, we put to sea with a light land-breeze. Soon after we were out, we got the wind at west, which blew in squalls, attended with heavy showers of rain. Many canoes accompanied us out to sea with cocoa-nuts and other fruits, and did not leave us till they had disposed of their cargoes. The fruits we got here greatly contributed towards the recovery of the Adventure's sick people. Many of them who had been so ill as not to be able to move without assistance, were, in this short time, so far recovered, that they could walk about of themselves. When we put in here, the Resolution had but one scorbutic man on board, and a marine, who had been long sick, and who died, the second day after our arrival, of a complication of disorders without the least mixture of the scurvy. I left Lieutenant Pickersgill with the cutter behind in the bay, to purchase hogs; as several had promised to bring some down to-day, and I was not willing to lose them.

On the 25th, about noon, Mr. Pickersgill returned with eight pigs, which he got at Oaiti-piha. He spent the night at Ohedea, and was well entertained by Ereti, the chief of that district. It was remarkable that this chief never once asked after Aotourou; nor did he take the least notice, when Mr. Pickersgill mentioned his name. And yet M. de Bougainville tells us, this is the very chief who presented Aotourou to him; which makes it the more extraordinary that he should neither inquire after him now, nor when he was with us at Matavai; especially as they believed that we and M. Bougainville came from the same country; that is, from *Pretane*, for so they called our country. They had not the least knowledge of any other European nation; nor probably will they, unless some of those men should return who had lately gone from the isle; of which mention shall be made by-and-by. We told several of them, that M. de Bougainville came from *France*, a name they could by no means pronounce, nor could they pronounce that of *Paris* much better; so that it is not likely that they will remember either the one or the other long. Whereas *Pretane* is in every child's mouth, and will hardly ever be forgotten. It was not till the evening of this day that we arrived in Matavai bay.

CHAPTER XI.—AN ACCOUNT OF SEVERAL VISITS TO AND FROM OTOO; OF GOATS BEING LEFT ON THE ISLAND; AND MANY OTHER PARTICULARS WHICH HAPPENED WHILE THE SHIPS LAY IN MATAVAI BAY.

Before we got to an anchor, our decks were crowded with the natives; many of whom I knew, and almost all of them knew me. A great crowd were gotten together upon the shore; amongst whom was Otoo their king. I was just going to pay him a visit, when I was told he was *mataow'd* and gone to Oparree. I could not conceive the reason of his going off in a fright, as every one seemed pleased to see me. A chief whose name was Maritata, was at this time on board, and advised me to put off my visit till the next morning, when he would accompany me; which I accordingly did.

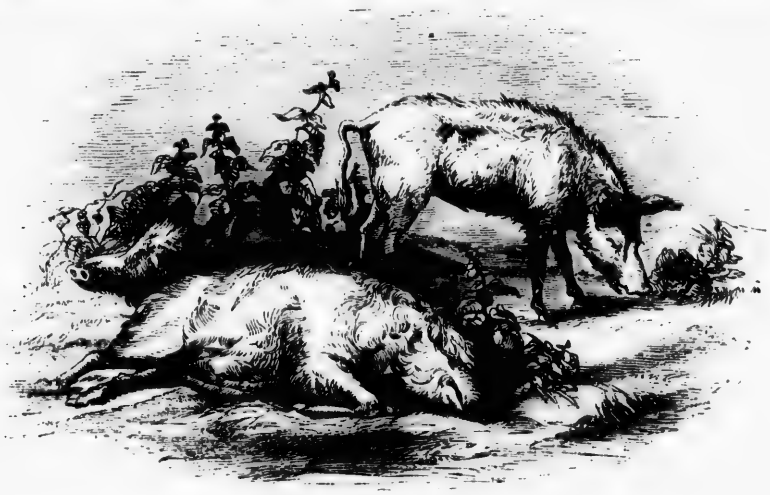
After having given directions to pitch tents for the reception of the sick, coopers, sailmakers, and the guard, I set out on the 26th for Oparree; accompanied by Captain Furneaux, Mr. Forster, and others, Maritata and his wife. As soon as we landed, we were conducted to Otoo, whom we found seated on the ground, under the shade of a tree, with an immense crowd round him. After the first compliments were over, I presented him with such articles as I guessed were most valuable in his eyes; well knowing that it was my interest to gain the friendship of this man. I also made presents to several of his attendants; and, in return, they offered me cloth, which I refused to accept; telling them that what I had given was for *tiyo* (friendship). The king inquired for Tupia, and all the gentlemen that were with me in my former voyage, by name; although I do not remember that he was personally acquainted with any of us. He promised that I should have some hogs the next day; but I had much ado to obtain a promise from him to visit on board. He said he was *mataou no to poupoue*, that is, afraid of the guns. Indeed, all his actions showed him to be a timorous prince. He was about thirty years of age, six feet high, and a fine, personable, well made man as one can see. All his subjects appeared uncovered before him, his father not excepted. What is meant by uncovering, is the making bare the head and shoulders, or wearing no sort of clothing above the breast.

When I returned from Oparree, I found the tents, and the astronomer's observatories, set up on the same spot where we observed the transit of Venus in 1769. In the afternoon I had the sick landed; twenty from the Adventure all ill of the scurvy; and one from the Resolution. I also landed some marines for a guard, and left the command to Lieutenant Edgcumbe of the marines.

On the 27th, early in the morning, Otoo, attended by a numerous train, paid me a visit. He first sent into the ship a large quantity of cloth, fruits, a hog, and two large fish; and, after some persuasion, came aboard himself, with his sister, a younger brother, and several more of his attendants. To all of them I made presents; and, after breakfast, took the king, his sister, and as many more as I had room for, into my boat, and carried them home to Oparree. I had no sooner landed than I was met by a venerable old lady, the mother of the late Toutaha. She seized me by both hands, and burst into a flood of tears, saying, *Toutaha Tiyo no Toutee matty Toutaha*—(Toutaha, your friend, or the friend of Cook, is dead). I was so much affected with her behaviour, that it would have been impossible for me to have refrained mingling my tears with hers, had not Otoo come and taken me from her. I, with some difficulty, prevailed on him to let me see her again, when I gave her an axe and some other things. Captain Furneaux, who was with me, presented the king with two fine goats, male and female, which, if taken care of, or rather if no care at all is taken of them, will no doubt multiply. After a short stay we took leave and returned on board.

Very early in the morning on the 28th, I sent Mr. Pickersgill, with the cutter, as far as Ottahourou, to endeavour to procure hogs. A little after sunrise, I had another visit from Otoo, who brought me more cloth, a pig, and some fruit. His sister, who was with him, and some of his attendants, came on board; but he and others went to the Adventure with the like present to Captain Furneaux. It was not long before he returned with Captain Furneaux on board the Resolution, when I made him a handsome

return for the present he had brought me, and dressed his sister out in the best manner I could. She, the king's brother, and one or two more, were covered before him to-day. When Otoo came into the cabin, Ereti and some of his friends were sitting there. The moment they saw the king enter, they stripped themselves in great haste, being covered before. Seeing I took notice of it, they said *Earee, Earee;* giving me to understand that it was on account of Otoo being present. This was all the respect they paid him; for they never rose from their seats, nor made him any other obeisance. When the king thought



OTAHEITEAN HOGS.

proper to depart, I carried him again to Oparree in my boat; where I entertained him, and his people, with the bag-pipes (of which music they are very fond), and dancing by the seamen. He, in return, ordered some of his people to dance also, which consisted chiefly of contortions. There were, however, some who could imitate the seamen tolerably well, both in country dances and hornpipes. While we were here, I had a present of cloth from the late Toutaha's mother. This good old lady could not look upon me without shedding tears; however, she was far more composed than before. When we took leave, the king promised to visit me again the next day; but said that I must first come to him. In the evening Mr. Pickersgill came back empty; but with a promise of having some hogs, if he would return in a few days.

Next morning, after breakfast, I took a trip to Oparree, to visit Otoo, as he had requested, accompanied by Captain Furneaux and some of the officers. We made him up a present of such things as he had not seen before. One article was a broadsword; at the very sight of which he was so intimidated, that I had much ado to persuade him to accept of it, and to have it buckled upon him; where it remained but a short time, before he desired leave to take it off and send it out of his sight.

Soon after we were conducted to the theatre; where we were entertained with a dramatic *heava*, or *play*, in which were both dancing and comedy. The performers were five men, and one woman, who was no less a person than the king's sister. The music consisted of three drums only; it lasted about an hour and a half, or two hours; and, upon the whole, was well conducted. It was not possible for us to find out the meaning of the play. Some part seemed adapted to the present time, as my name was frequently mentioned. Other parts were certainly wholly unconnected with us. It apparently differed in nothing, that is in the manner of acting it, from those we saw at Ulietea in my former voyage. The dancing-dress of the lady was more elegant than any I saw there, by being decorated with

long tassels, made of feathers, hanging from the waist downward. As soon as all was over, the king himself desired me to depart; and sent into the boat different kinds of fruit and fish, ready dressed. Wih this we returned on board; and the next morning he sent me more fruit, and several small parcels of fish.

Nothing farther remarkable happened till ten o'clock in the evening, when we were alarmed with the cry of murder, and a great noise on shore near the bottom of the bay, at some distance from our encampment. I suspected that it was occasioned by some of our own people; and immediately armed a boat, and sent on shore, to know the occasion of this disturbance, and to bring off such of our people as should be found there. I also sent to the Adventure, and to the post on shore, to know who were missing; for none were absent from the Resolution, but those who were upon duty. The boat soon returned with three marines and a seaman. Some others, belonging to the Adventure, were also taken, and being all put under confinement, the next morning I ordered them to be punished according to their deserts. I did not find that any mischief was done, and our people would confess nothing. I believe this disturbance was occasioned by their making too free with the women. Be this as it will, the natives were so much alarmed that they fled from their habitations in the dead of the night, and the alarm spread many miles along the coast. For when I went to visit Otoo, in the morning, by appointment, I found him removed, or rather fled, many miles from the place of his abode. Even there I was obliged to wait some hours, before I could see him at all; and when I did, he complained of the last night's riot.

As this was intended to be my last visit, I had taken with me a present suitable to the occasion. Among other things were three Cape sheep, which he had seen before and asked for; for these people never lose a thing by not asking for it. He was much pleased with them; though he could be but little benefited, as they were all wethers; a thing he was made acquainted with. The presents he got at this interview entirely removed his fears, and opened his heart so much, that he sent for three hogs; one for me, one for Captain Furneaux, and one for Mr. Forster. This last was small, of which we complained, calling it *ete, ete.* Presently after a man came into the circle, and spoke to the king with some warmth, and in a very peremptory manner; saying something or other about hogs. We, at first, thought he was angry with the king for giving us so many, especially as he took the little pig away with him. The contrary, however, appeared to be the true cause of his displeasure; for, presently after he was gone, a hog, larger than either of the other two, was brought us in lieu of the little one. When we took leave, I acquainted him that I should sail from the island the next day; at which he seemed much moved, and embraced me several times. We embarked to return on board and he, with his numerous train, directed their march back to Oparree.

The sick being all pretty well recovered, our water-casks repaired, and water completed, as well as the necessary repairs of the ships, I determined to put to sea without farther delay. Accordingly, on the 1st of September, I ordered everything to be got off from the shore, and the ships to be unmoored. On this work we were employed the most of the day. In the afternoon Mr. Pickersgill returned from Attahourou; to which place I had sent him, two days before, for the hogs he had been promised. My old friend Pottatou, the chief of that district, his wife, or mistress (I know not which), and some more of his friends, came along with Mr. Pickersgill, in order to visit me. They brought me a present of two hogs, and some fish; and Mr. Pickersgill got two more hogs, by exchange, from Oamo; for he went in the boat as far as Paparra, where he saw old Oberea. She seemed much altered for the worse, poor, and of little consequence. The first words she said to Mr. Pickersgill were, *Earee mataou ina loa*—Earee is frightened; you can have no hogs. By this it appeared that she had little or no property, and was herself subject to the Earee; which I believe was not the case when I was here before. The wind, which had blown westerly all day, having shifted at once to the east, we put to sea; and I was obliged to dismiss my friends sooner than they wished to go; but well satisfied with the reception they had met with.

Some hours before we got under sail, a young man, whose name was Poreo, came and desired I would take him with me. I consented, thinking he might be of service to us on

some occasion. Many more offered themselves, but I refused to take them. This youth asked me for an axe and a spike-nail for his father, who was then on board. He had them accordingly, and they parted just as we were getting under sail, more like two strangers than father and son. This raised a doubt in me whether it was so; which was farther confirmed by a canoe, conducted by two men, coming alongside, as we were standing out of the bay, and demanding the young man in the name of Otoo. I now saw that the whole was a trick to get something from me; well knowing that Otoo was not in the neighbourhood, and could know nothing of the matter. Poreo seemed, however, at first undetermined whether he should go or stay; but he soon inclined to the former. I told them to return me the axe and nails, and then he should go (and so he really should), but they said they were ashore, and so departed. Though the youth seemed pretty well satisfied, he could not refrain from weeping, when he viewed the land astern.

CHAPTER XII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE RECEPTION WE MET WITH AT HUAHEINE, WITH THE INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED WHILE THE SHIPS LAY THERE, AND OF OMAI, ONE OF THE NATIVES, COMING AWAY IN THE ADVENTURE.

As soon as we were clear of the bay, and our boats in, I directed my course for the Island of Huaheine, where I intended to touch. We made it the next day, and spent the night, making short boards under the north end of the island. At day-light in the morning of the 3rd, we made sail for the harbour of Owharre; in which the Resolution anchored, about nine o'clock, in twenty-four fathoms' water. As the wind blew out of the harbour, I chose

HUAHEINE.

to turn in by the southern channel, it being the widest. The Resolution turned in very well, but the Adventure, missing stays, got ashore on the north side of the channel. I had the Resolution's launch in the water ready, in case of an accident of this kind, and sent her immediately to the Adventure. By this timely assistance, she was got off again, with-

out receiving any damage. Several of the natives, by this time, had come off to us, bringing with them some of the productions of the island; and, as soon as the ships were both in safety, I landed with Captain Furneaux, and was received by the natives with the utmost cordiality. I distributed some presents among them; and presently after, they brought down hogs, fowls, dogs, and fruits, which they willingly exchanged for hatchets, nails, beads, &c. The like trade was soon opened on board the ships; so that we had a fair prospect of being plentifully supplied with fresh pork and fowls; and, to people in our situation, this was no unwelcome thing. I learnt that my old friend Oree, chief of the isle, was still living, and that he was hastening to this part to see me.

Early next morning, Lieutenant Pickersgill sailed with the cutter, on a trading party, toward the south end of the isle. I also sent another trading party on shore near the ships, with which I went myself, to see that it was properly conducted at the first setting out, a very necessary point to be attended to. Everything being settled to my mind, I went, accompanied by Captain Furneaux and Mr. Forster, to pay my first visit to Oree, who, I was told, was waiting for me. We were conducted to the place by one of the natives; but were not permitted to go out of our boat, till we had gone through some part of the following ceremony, usually performed at this isle, on such like occasions. The boat, in which we were desired to remain, being landed before the chief's house, that stood close to the shore, five young plantain-trees, which are their emblems of peace, were brought on board separately, and with some ceremony Three young pigs, with their ears ornamented with cocoa-nut fibres, accompanied the first three; and a dog, the fourth. Each had its particular name and purpose, rather too mysterious for us to understand. Lastly, the chief sent to me the inscription engraved on a small piece of pewter, which I left with him in July, 1769. It was in the same bag I had made for it, together with a piece of counterfeit English coin, and a few beads, put in at the same time; which shows how well he had taken care of the whole. When they had made an end of putting into the boat the things just mentioned, our guide, who still remained with us, desired us to decorate three young plantain trees with looking-glasses, nails, medals, beads, &c. &c. This being accordingly done, we landed with these in our hands, and were conducted towards the chief, through the multitude; they making a lane, as it were, for us to pass through. We were made to sit down a few paces short of the chief, and our plantains were then taken from us, and, one by one, laid before him, as the others had been laid before us. One was for *Eatoua* (or God), the second for the *Earee* (or king), and the third for *Tiyo* (or friendship). This being done I wanted to go to the king, but was told that he would come to me, which he accordingly did, fell upon my neck and embraced me. This was by no means ceremonious; the tears, which trickled plentifully down his venerable old cheeks, sufficiently bespoke the language of his heart. The whole ceremony being over, all his friends were introduced to us, to whom we made presents. Mine to the chief consisted of the most valuable articles I had; for I had regarded this man as a father. In return he gave me a hog and a quantity of cloth, promising that all our wants should be supplied; and it will soon appear how well he kept his word. At length we took leave, and returned on board; and some time after Mr. Pickersgill returned also with fourteen hogs. Many more were got by exchanges on shore, and alongside the ships, besides fowls and fruit in abundance.

This good old chief made me a visit early in the morning on the 5th, together with some of his friends, bringing me a hog and some fruit, for which I made him a suitable return. He carried his kindness so far, as not to fail to send me every day, for my table, the very best of ready-dressed fruit, and roots, and in great plenty. Lieutenant Pickersgill being again sent with the two boats, in search of hogs, returned in the evening with twenty-eight; and about four times that number were purchased on shore, and alongside the ships.

Next morning the trading party, consisting of only two or three people, were sent on shore as usual; and after breakfast, I went to the place myself, when I learnt that one of the inhabitants had been very troublesome and insolent. This man, being pointed out to me, completely equipped in the war habit with a club in each hand, as he seemed bent on mischief, I took these from him, broke them before his eyes, and, with some difficulty forced him to retire from the place. As they told me that he was a chief, this made me the

more suspicious of him, and occasioned me to send for a guard, which till now I had thought unnecessary. About this time, Mr. Sparrman, having imprudently gone out alone, botanising, was set upon by two men, who stripped him of everything he had about him, except his trousers, struck him several times with his own hanger, but happily did him no harm. As soon as they had accomplished their end, they made off; after which another of the natives brought a piece of cloth to cover him, and conducted him to the trading place, where were a great number of the inhabitants. The very instant Mr. Sparrman appeared in the condition I have just mentioned, they fled to a man with the utmost precipitation. My first conjectures were, that they had stolen something; but we were soon undeceived, when we saw Mr. Sparrman, and the affair was related to us. As soon as I could recal a few of the natives, and had made them sensible that I should take no step to injure those who were innocent, I went to Oree to complain of this outrage, taking with us the man who came back with Mr. Sparrman, to confirm the complaint. As soon as the chief heard the whole affair related, he wept aloud, as did many others. After the first transports of his grief were over, he began to expostulate with his people, telling them, (as far as we could understand) how well I had treated them, both in this and my former voyage, and how base it was in them to commit such actions. He then took a very minute account of the things Mr. Sparrman had been robbed of, promised to do all in his power to recover them, and rising up, desired me to follow him to my boat. When the people saw this, being, as I supposed, apprehensive of his safety, they used every argument to dissuade him from what they, no doubt, thought a rash step. He hastened into the boat, notwithstanding all they could do or say. As soon as they saw their beloved chief wholly in my power, they set up a great outcry. The grief they showed was inexpressible; every face was bedewed with tears; they prayed, entreated, nay, attempted to pull him out of the boat. I even joined my entreaties to theirs, for I could not bear to see them in such distress. All that could be said or done, availed nothing; he insisted on my coming into the boat, which was no sooner done than he ordered it to be put off. His sister, with a spirit equal to that of her royal brother, was the only person who did not oppose his going. As his intention in coming into our boat was to go with us in search of the robbers, we proceeded accordingly as far as it was convenient by water, then landed, entered the country, and travelled some miles inland, the chief leading the way, inquiring of every one he saw. At length he stepped into a house by the road side, ordered some cocoa-nuts for us, and after we were a little refreshed, wanted to proceed still farther; but this I opposed, thinking that we might be carried to the very farthest end of the island, after things, the most of which, before they came into our hands again, might not be worth the bringing home. The chief used many arguments to persuade me to proceed, telling me that I might send my boat round to meet us, or that he would get a canoe to bring us home, if I thought it too far to travel. But I was resolved to return, and he was obliged to comply and return with me, when he saw I would follow him no farther. I only desired he would send somebody for the things; for I found that the thieves had got so much start of us that we might follow them to the remotest parts of the isle, without so much as seeing them; besides, as I intended to sail the next morning, this occasioned a great loss to us, by putting a stop to all manner of trade; for the natives were so much alarmed, that none came near us, but those that were about the chief; it, therefore, became the more necessary for me to return, to restore things to their former state. When we got back to our boat, we there found Oree's sister, and several more persons, who had travelled by land to the place. We immediately stepped into the boat in order to return on board, without so much as asking the chief to accompany us. He, however, insisted on going also; and followed us into the boat in spite of the opposition and entreaties of those about him; his sister followed his example, and the tears and prayers of her daughter, who was about sixteen or eighteen years of age, had no weight with her on this occasion. The chief sat at table with us, and made a hearty dinner; his sister, according to custom, ate nothing. After dinner, I sufficiently rewarded them for the confidence they had put in me, and soon after carried them both on shore, where some hundreds of people waited to receive them, many of whom embraced their chief with tears of joy. All was now joy and peace: the people crowded in from every part, with hogs, fowls, and

fruit, so that we presently filled two boats; Oree himself presented me with a large hog and a quantity of fruit. The hanger (the only thing of value Mr. Sparrman had lost) with part of his coat, were brought us; and we were told, we should have the others the next day. Some of the officers, who were out on a shooting party, had some things stolen from them, which were returned in like manner.

Thus ended the troublesome transactions of this day, which I have been the more particular in relating, because it shows what great confidence this brave old chief put in us; it also, in some degree, shows that friendship is sacred with them. Oree and I were professed friends in all the forms customary among them; and he seemed to think that this could not be broken by the act of any other persons. Indeed this seemed to be the great argument he made use of to his people, when they opposed his going into my boat. His words were to this effect:—"Oree (meaning me, for so I was always called) and I are friends; I have done nothing to forfeit his friendship; why, then, should I not go with him?" We, however, may never find another chief who will act in the same manner under similar circumstances. It may be asked, What had he to fear? to which I answer, Nothing; for it was not my intention to hurt a hair of his head, or to detain him a moment longer than he desired. But how was he or the people to know this? They were not ignorant, that, if he was once in my power, the whole force of the island could not take him from me, and that, let my demands for his ransom have been ever so high, they must have complied with them. Thus far their fears, both for his and their own safety, were founded in reason.

On the 7th, early in the morning, while the ships were unmooring, I went to pay my farewell visit to Oree, accompanied by Captain Furneaux and Mr. Forster. We took with us, for a present, such things as were not only valuable but useful. I also left with him the inscription-plate he had before in keeping, and another small copper-plate, on which were engraved these words, "Anchored here, his Britannic Majesty's ships Resolution and Adventure, September, 1773," together with some medals, all put up in a bag; of which the chief promised to take care, and to produce, to the first ship or ships that should arrive at the island. He then gave me a hog; and, after trading for six or eight more, and loading the boat with fruit, we took leave, when the good old chief embraced me with tears in his eyes. At this interview, nothing was said about the remainder of Mr. Sparrman's clothes. I judged they were not brought in; and, for that reason, did not mention them, lest I should give the chief pain about things I did not give him time to recover; for this was early in the morning.

When we returned to the ships, we found them crowded round with canoes full of hogs, fowls, and fruit, as at our first arrival. I had not been long on board, before Oree himself came, to inform me, as we understood, that the robbers were taken, and to desire us to go on shore, either to punish, or to see them punished; but this could not be done, as the Resolution was just under sail, and the Adventure already out of the harbour. The chief staid on board till we were a full half league out at sea, then took a most affectionate leave of me, and went away in a canoe, conducted by one man and himself, all the others having gone long before. I was sorry that it was not convenient for me to go on shore with him, to see in what manner these people would have been punished; for I am satisfied, this was what brought him on board.

During our short stay at the small but fertile isle of Huaheine, we procured to both ships not less than three hundred hogs, besides fowls and fruits; and, had we staid longer, might have got many more; for none of these articles of refreshment were seemingly diminished, but appeared everywhere in as great abundance as ever.

Before we quitted this island, Captain Furneaux agreed to receive on board his ship a young man named Omai, a native of Ulietea, where he had had some property, of which he had been dispossessed by the people of Bolabola. I at first rather wondered that Captain Furneaux would encumber himself with this man, who, in my opinion, was not a proper sample of the inhabitants of these happy islands, not having any advantage of birth, or acquired rank, nor being eminent in shape, figure, or complexion. For their people of the first rank are much fairer, and usually better behaved, and more intelligent, than the middling class of people, among whom Omai is to be ranked. I have, however, since my arrival in

England, been convinced of my error; for, excepting his complexion, (which is undoubtedly of a deeper hue than that of the *earees* or gentry, who, as in other countries, live a more luxurious life, and are less exposed to the heat of the sun,) I much doubt whether any other of the natives would have given more general satisfaction by his behaviour among us. Omai has most certainly a very good understanding, quick parts, and honest principles; he has a natural good behaviour, which rendered him acceptable to the best company, and a proper degree of pride, which taught him to avoid the society of persons of inferior rank. He has passions of the same kind as other young men, but has judgment enough not to indulge them in an improper excess. I do not imagine that he has any dislike to liquor; and if he had fallen into company where the person who drank the most met with the most approbation. I have no doubt but that he would have endeavoured to gain the applause of those with whom he associated; but, fortunately for him, he perceived that drinking was very little in use but among inferior people, and as he was very watchful into the manners and conduct of the persons of rank who honoured him with their protection, he was sober and modest; and I never heard that, during the whole time of his stay in England, which was two years, he ever once was disguised with wine, or ever showed an inclination to go beyond the strictest rules of moderation.

Soon after his arrival in London, the Earl of Sandwich, the first lord of the admiralty, introduced him to his Majesty at Kew, when he met with a most gracious reception, and imbibed the strongest impression of duty and gratitude to that great and amiable prince, which I am persuaded he will preserve to the latest moment of his life. During his stay among us he was caressed by many of the principal nobility, and did nothing to forfeit the esteem of any one of them; but his principal patrons were the Earl of Sandwich, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander: the former probably thought it a duty of his office to protect and countenance an inhabitant of that hospitable country, where the wants and distresses of those in his department had been alleviated and supplied in the most ample manner; the others, as a testimony of their gratitude for the generous reception they had met with during their residence in his country. It is to be observed, that though Omai lived in the midst of amusements during his residence in England, his return to his native country was always in his thoughts, and though he was not impatient to go, he expressed a satisfaction as the time of his return approached. He embarked with me in the Resolution, when she was fitted out for another voyage, loaded with presents from his several friends, and full of gratitude for the kind reception and treatment he had experienced among us.

CHAPTER XIII.—ARRIVAL AT, AND DEPARTURE OF THE SHIPS FROM, ULIETEA; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF WHAT HAPPENED THERE, AND OF OEDIDEE, ONE OF THE NATIVES, COMING AWAY IN THE RESOLUTION.

THE chief was no sooner gone, than we made sail for Ulietea (where I intended to stop a few days). Arriving off the harbour of Ohamaneno at the close of the day, we spent the night making short boards. It was dark, but we were sufficiently guided by the fishers' lights on the reefs and shores of the isles. The next morning, after making a few trips, we gained the entrance of the harbour; and, as the wind blew directly out, I sent a boat to lie in soundings, that we might know when to anchor. As soon as the signal was made by her, we borrowed close to the south point of the channel; and, with our sails set, shooting within the boat, we anchored in seventeen fathoms water. We then carried out anchors and hawsers to warp in by; and, as soon as the Resolution was out of the way, the Adventure came up in like manner, and warped in by the Resolution. The warping in, and mooring the ships, took up the whole day.

We were no sooner at anchor at the entrance of the harbour, than the natives crowded round us in their canoes with hogs and fruit. The latter they exchanged for nails and beads; the former we refused as yet, having already as many on board as we could manage. Several we were, however, obliged to take, as many of the principal people brought off little pigs, pepper, or cavoa-root, and young plantain-trees and handed them into the ship, or put them

A NEW ZEALAND FIA-TOKA. [Cook's Voyages

Plate X.]

into
they
to t
I
plac
wer
the
N
with
at o
side
fact
agre
He
visi
wen
he g
for f
artic
dista
A
ente
isles
the c
man
the p
prize
the s
very
very
acted
tipa
this
law
we r
we l
lay
O
twel
a p
a lit
soon
he f
to a
I ha
Ore
retu
and
leav
con
ou
h
aft

into the boats alongside, whether we would or no; for if we refused to take them on board, they would throw them into the boats. In this manner did these good people welcome us to their country.

I had forgot to mention, that Tupia was much inquired after at Huaheine; but at this place every one asked about him, and the occasion of his death; and, like true philosophers, were perfectly satisfied with the answers we gave them. Indeed, as we had nothing but the truth to tell, the story was the same, by whomsoever told.

Next morning we paid a formal visit to Oreo, the chief of this part of the isle, carrying with us the necessary presents. We went through no sort of ceremony at landing, but were, at once, conducted to him. He was seated in his own house, which stood near the waterside, where he and his friends received us with great cordiality. He expressed much satisfaction at seeing me again, and desired that we might exchange names, which I accordingly agreed to. I believe this is the strongest mark of friendship they can show to a stranger. He inquired after Tupia and all the gentlemen, by name, who were with me when I first visited the island. After we had made the chief and his friends the necessary presents, we went on board with a hog and some fruit, received from him in return; and in the afternoon he gave me another hog, still larger, without asking for the least acknowledgment. Exchanges for fruit &c. were mostly carried on alongside the ships. I attempted to trade for these articles on shore; but did not succeed, as the most of them were brought in canoes from distant parts, and carried directly to the ships.

After breakfast, on the 10th, Captain Furneaux and I paid the chief a visit; and we were entertained by him with such a comedy, or dramatic *heava*, as is generally acted in these isles. The music consisted of three drums; the actors were seven men, and one woman, the chief's daughter. The only entertaining part in the drama was a theft committed by a man and his accomplice, in such a masterly manner, as sufficiently displayed the genius of the people in this vice. The theft is discovered before the thief has time to carry off his prize; then a scuffle ensues with those set to guard it, who, though four to two, are beat off the stage, and the thief and his accomplices bear away their plunder in triumph. I was very attentive to the whole of this part, being in full expectation that it would have ended very differently. For I had before been informed that *Teto* (that is, the Thief) was to be acted, and had understood that the theft was to be punished with death, or a good *tiparrahying* (or beating), a punishment, we are told, they inflict on such as are guilty of this crime. Be this as it may, strangers are certainly excluded from the protection of this law; them they rob, with impunity, on every occasion that offers. After the play was over, we returned on board to dinner; and in the cool of the evening took a walk on shore, where we learnt from one of the natives, that nine small islands, two of which were uninhabited, lay to the westward, at no great distance from hence.

On the 11th, early in the morning, I had a visit from Oreo and his son, a youth about twelve years of age. The latter brought me a hog and some fruit; for which I made him a present of an axe, and dressed him in a shirt and other things, which made him not a little proud of himself. Having staid some hours, they went on shore; as I also did soon after, but to another part. The chief hearing I was on shore, came to the place where he found the boat, into which he put a hog and a quantity of fruit, without saying a word to anybody; and, with some of his friends, came on board and dined with us. After dinner I had a visit from Oo-oorou, the principal chief of the isle. He was introduced to us by Oreo, and brought with him, as a present, a large hog, for which I made him a handsome return. Oreo employed himself in buying hogs for me (for we now began to take of them), and he made such bargains as I had reason to be satisfied with. At length they all took leave, after making me promise to visit them next morning; which I accordingly did, in company with several of the officers and gentlemen. Oreo ordered an *heava* to be acted for our entertainment, in which two very pretty young women were the actresses. This *heava* was somewhat different from the one I saw before, and not so entertaining. Oreo, after it was over, accompanied us on board, together with two of his friends.

The following day was spent in much the same manner; and early in the morning of the 14th, I sent Mr. Pickersgill, with the Resolution's launch and Adventure's cutter, to Otaha,

to procure an additional supply of bananas and plantains for a sea-store; for we could get little more of these articles at Ulietea than were sufficient for present consumption. Oreo, and some of his friends, paid me a pretty early visit this morning. I acquainted the chief that I would dine with him, and desired he would order two pigs to be dressed after their manner, which he accordingly did; and about one o'clock I and the officers and gentlemen of both ships went to partake of them. When we came to the chief's house, we found the cloth laid; that is, green leaves were strewed thick on the floor. Round them we seated ourselves: presently one of the pigs came over my head souse upon the leaves, and immediately after the other; both so hot as hardly to be touched. The table was garnished round with hot bread-fruit and plantains, and a quantity of cocoa-nuts brought for drink. Each man being ready, with his knife in his hand, we turned to without ceremony; and it must be owned, in favour of their cookery, that victuals were never cleaner, nor better dressed. For though the pigs were served up whole, and the one weighed between fifty and sixty pounds, and the other about half as much, yet all the parts were equally well done, and ate much sweeter than if dressed in any of our methods. The chief and his son, and some other of his male friends, ate with us, and pieces were handed to others who sat behind: for we had a vast crowd about us; so that it might be truly said we dined in public. The chief never failed to drink his glass of Madeira whenever it came to his turn, not only now, but at all other times when he dined with us, without ever being once affected by it. As soon as we had dined, the boat's crew took the remainder; and by them, and those about them, the whole was consumed. When we rose up, many of the common people rushed in, to pick up the crumbs which had fallen, and for which they searched the leaves very narrowly. This leads me to believe that, though there is plenty of pork at these isles, but little falls to their share. Some of our gentlemen being present when these pigs were killed and dressed, observed the chief to divide the entrails, lard, &c. into ten or twelve equal parts, and serve it out to certain people. Several daily attended the ships, and assisted the butchers, for the sake of the entrails of the hogs we killed. Probably little else falls to the share of the common people. It, however, must be owned, that they are exceedingly careful of every kind of provision, and waste nothing that can be eaten by man; flesh and fish especially.

In the afternoon we were entertained with a play. Plays, indeed, had been acted almost every day since we had been here, either to entertain *us*, or for their own amusement, or perhaps both.

Next morning produced some circumstances which fully prove the timorous disposition of these people. We were surprised to find that none of them came off to the ships as usual. Two men belonging to the Adventure having staid on shore all night, contrary to orders, my first conjectures were, that the natives had stripped them, and were now afraid to come near us, lest we should take some step to revenge the insult; but in order to be better satisfied, Captain Furneaux and I went ashore to Oreo's house, which we found quite empty; he and all his family gone, and the whole neighbourhood, in a manner, quite deserted. The two men belonging to the Adventure made their appearance, and informed us that they had been very civilly treated by the natives, but could give no account of the cause of their precipitate flight. All that we could learn, from the very few who durst come near us, was, that several were killed, others wounded by our guns: pointing out to us where the balls went in and out of the body, &c. This relation gave me a good deal of uneasiness for the safety of our people gone to Otaha, fearing that some disturbance had happened at that island: however, in order to be better informed, I determined, if possible, to see the chief himself. Accordingly we embarked in our boat, having one of the natives with us, and rowed along-shore to the northward, the way we were told he was gone. We soon came in sight of the canoe in which he was; but before we could come up with her, he had got on shore. We landed presently after, and found he was gone still farther. An immense crowd, however, waited our landing, who entreated me to follow him. One man offered to carry me on his back; but the whole story appearing rather more mysterious than ever, and being all unarmed, I did not choose to separate myself from the boat, but embarked again, and rowed after him. We soon came before the place where our guide told us he

was, and put in the boat accordingly. It grounded at some distance from the shore, where we were met by a venerable old lady, wife to the chief. She threw herself into my arms and wept bitterly, insomuch that it was not possible to get one plain word from her. With this old lady in my hand I went ashore, contrary to the advice of my young man from Otaheite, who seemed more afraid than any of us, probably believing every word the people had told us. I found the chief seated under the shade of a house, before which was a large area, and surrounded by a vast number of people. As soon as I came to him, he threw his arms about me, and burst into tears; in which he was accompanied by all the women and some of the men, so that the lamentation became general. Astonishment alone kept me from joining with them. It was some time before I could get a word from any one; at last all my inquiries gave me no other information than that they were alarmed on account of our boats being absent; thinking that the people in them had deserted from us, and that I should take some violent means to recover them; for when we assured them that the boats would return back, they seemed cheerful and satisfied, and, to a man, denied that any one was hurt, either of their own or our people; and so it afterwards proved. Nor did it appear that there was the least foundation for these alarms; nor could we ever find out by what means this general consternation first took its rise. After a stay of about an hour, I returned on board; three of the natives coming along with us, who proclaimed the peace as we rowed along-shore to all they saw.

Thus matters were again restored to their former footing; and the next morning they came off to the ships as usual. After breakfast, Captain Furneaux and I paid the chief a visit. We found him at his own house perfectly easy; insomuch that he, and some of his friends, came on board, and dined with us. I was now told that my Otaheitean young man, Poreo, had taken a resolution to leave me. I have just mentioned *before*, his being with us when I followed Oreo, and his advising me not to go on shore. He was so much afraid at that time, that he remained in the boat till he heard all matters were reconciled; then he came out, and presently after met with a young woman for whom he had contracted a friendship. Having my powder-horn in keeping, he came and gave it to one of my people who was by me, and then went away with her, and I saw him no more.

In the afternoon our boats returned from Otaha, pretty well laden with plantains; an article we were most in want of. They made the circuit of the island, conducted by one of the earees, whose name was Boba, and were hospitably entertained by the people, who provided them with victuals and lodging. The first night they were entertained with a play; the second night their repose was disturbed by the natives stealing their military chest: this put them on making reprisals, by which means they recovered the most of what they had lost.

Having now got on board a large supply of refreshments, I determined to put to sea the next morning, and made the same known to the chief, who promised to see me again before we departed. At four o'clock we began to unmoor; and, as soon as it was light, Oreo, his son, and some of his friends, came on board. Many canoes also came off with fruit and hogs; the latter they even begged of us to take from them, calling out *Tiyo boa atoi*—I am your friend, take my hog, and give me an axe; but our decks were already so full of them that we could hardly move, having on board both ships between three and four hundred. By the increase of our stock, together with what we had salted and consumed, I judge that we got at this island four hundred or upwards: many, indeed, were only roasters; others again weighed one hundred pounds, or upwards; but the general run was from forty to sixty. It is not easy to say how many we might have got, could we have found room for all that were offered us.

The chief and his friends did not leave me till we were under sail; and, before he went away, pressed me much to know if I would not return, and when? Questions which were daily put to me by many of these islanders. My Otaheitean youth's leaving me proved of no consequence, as many young men of this island voluntarily offered to come away with us. I thought proper to take on board one, who was about seventeen or eighteen years of age, named Oedidee, a native of Bolabola, and a near relation of the great Opoony, chief of that island. Soon after we were out of the harbour, and had made sail, we observed a canoe

following us, conducted by two men. Whereupon I brought to, and they presently came alongside, having brought me a present of roasted fruit and roots from Oreo. I made them a proper return before I dismissed them, and then set sail to the west, with the Adventure in company.

CHAPTER XIV.—AN ACCOUNT OF A SPANISH SHIP VISITING OTAHEITE; THE PRESENT STATE OF THE ISLANDS; WITH SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE DISEASES AND CUSTOMS OF THE INHABITANTS, AND SOME MISTAKES CONCERNING THE WOMEN CORRECTED.

I shall now give some farther account of these islands; for, although I have been pretty minute in relating the daily transactions, some things, which are rather interesting, have been omitted.

Soon after our arrival at Otaheite, we were informed that a ship, about the size of the Resolution, had been in at Owhaiurua harbour near the S.E. end of the island, where she remained about three weeks; and had been gone about three months before we arrived. We were told that four of the natives were gone away in her, whose names were Debedebea, Paoodou, Tanadooee, and Opahiah. At this time we conjectured this was a French ship; but on our arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, we learnt she was a Spaniard, which had been sent out from America. The Otaheiteans complained of a disease communicated to them by the people in this ship, which they said affected the head, throat, and stomach, and at length killed them. They seemed to dread it much, and were continually inquiring if we had it. This ship they distinguished by the name of *Pahai no Pep-pe* (ship of Peppe), and called the disease *Apa no Pep-pe*, just as they call the venereal disease *Apa no Pretane* (English disease), though they, to a man, say it was brought to the isle by M. de Bougainville; but I have already observed, that they thought M. Bougainville came from *Pretane*, as well as every other ship which has touched at the isle.

TAHITIAN GIRL.

The Island of Otaheite, which, in the years 1767 and 1768, as it were swarmed with hogs and fowls, was now so ill supplied with these animals, that hardly anything could induce the owners to part with them. The few they had at this time among them, seemed to be at the disposal of the kings; for while we lay at Oaitipiha Bay, in the kingdom of Tiarrabou, or lesser Peninsula, every hog or fowl we saw, we were told, belonged to Waheatoua; and all we saw in the kingdom of Opourconu, or the greater Peninsula, belonged to Otoo. During the seventeen days we were at this island, we got but twenty-four hogs; the half of which came from the two kings themselves; and, I believe, the other half was sold us by their permission or order: we were, however, abundantly supplied with all the fruits the island produces, except bread-fruit, which was not in season either at this or the other isles. Cocoa-nuts and plantains were what we got the most of; the latter, together with a few yams and other roots, were to us a succedaneum for bread. At Otaheite we got great plenty of apples, and a fruit like a nectarine, called by them *Aheeya*. This fruit was common to all the isles; but apples we got only at Otaheite, and found them of infinite

use to the scorbutic people. Of all the seeds that have been brought to these islands by Europeans, none have succeeded but pumpkins, and these they do not like; which is not to be wondered at.

The scarcity of hogs at Otaheite may be owing to two causes; first, the number which have been consumed and carried off by the shipping which have touched here of late years; and, secondly, to the frequent wars between the two kingdoms. We know of two since the year 1767: at present a peace subsists between them, though they do not seem to entertain much friendship for each other. I never could learn the cause of the late war, nor who got the better in the conflict. In the battle, which put an end to the dispute, many were killed on both sides. On the part of Opoureonu, fell Toutaha, and several other chiefs, who were mentioned to me by name. Toutaha lies interred in the family *Marai* at Oparree; and his mother, and several other women who were of his household, are now taken care of by Otoo the reigning prince; a man who, at first, did not appear to us to much advantage. I know but little of Waheatoua of Tiarrabou. This prince, who is not above twenty years of age, appeared with all the gravity of a man of fifty. His subjects do not uncover before him, or pay him any outward obeisance, as is done to Otoo; nevertheless, they seem to show him full as much respect, and he appeared in rather more state. He was attended by a few middle-aged or elderly men, who seemed to be his counsellors. This is what appeared to me to be the then state of Otaheite. The other islands, that is, Huaheine, Ulietea, and Otaha, were in a more flourishing state than they were when I was there before. Since that time, they had enjoyed the blessing of peace; the people seemed to be as happy as any under heaven; and well they may, for they possess not only the necessaries, but many of the luxuries of life in the greatest profusion; and my young man told me that hogs, fowls, and fruits are in equal plenty at Bola-bola, a thing which Tupia would never allow. To clear up this seeming contradiction, I must observe, that the one was prejudiced against, and the other in favour of, this isle.

The produce of the islands, the manners and customs of the natives, &c. having been treated at large in the narrative of my former voyage, it will be unnecessary to take notice of these subjects in this, unless where I can add new matter, or clear up any mistakes which may have been committed.

As I had some reason to believe, that amongst their religious customs, human sacrifices were sometimes considered as necessary, I went one day to a *Marai* in Matavai, in company with Captain Furneaux; having with us, as I had upon all other occasions, one of my men who spoke their language tolerably well, and several of the natives, one of whom appeared to be an intelligent, sensible man. In the *Marai* was a *Tupapow*, on which lay a corpse and some viands; so that everything promised success to my inquiries. I began with asking questions relating to the several objects before me, if the plantains &c. were for the *Eatua?* If they sacrificed to the *Eatua*, hogs, dogs, fowls, &c., to all of which he answered in the affirmative. I then asked, if they sacrificed men to the *Eatua?* he answered, *Taata eno;* that is, Bad men they did, first *Tiparrahy*, or beating them till they were dead. I then asked him, If good men were put to death in this manner? his answer was, No, only *Taata eno.* I asked him, If any *Earees* were? he said, they had hogs to give to the *Eatua;* and again repeated *Taata eno.* I next asked him, If *Towtows*, that is, servants or slaves, who had no hogs, dogs, or fowls, but yet were good men, if they were sacrificed to the *Eatua?* His answer was, No, only bad men. I asked him several more questions, and all his answers seemed to tend to this one point, that men for certain crimes were condemned to be sacrificed to the gods, provided they had not wherewithal to redeem themselves. This, I think, implies that, on some occasions, human sacrifices are considered as necessary; particularly when they take such men as have, by the laws of the country, forfeited their lives, and have nothing to redeem them; and such will generally be found among the lower class of people.

The man of whom I made these inquiries, as well as some others, took some pains to explain the whole of this custom to us; but we were not masters enough of their language to understand them. I have since learnt from Omai, that they offer human sacrifices to the Supreme Being. According to his account, what men shall be so sacrificed depends on

the caprice of the high-priest, who, when they are assembled on any solemn occasion, retires alone into the house of God, and stays there some time. When he comes out he informs them, that he has seen and conversed with their great God (the high priest alone having that privilege), and that he has asked for a human sacrifice, and tells them that he has desired such a person, naming a man present, whom most probably the priest has an antipathy against. He is immediately killed, and so falls a victim to the priest's resentment: who, no doubt, (if necessary,) has address enough to persuade the people that he was a bad man*. If I except their funeral ceremonies, all the knowledge that has been obtained of their religion, has been from information; and as their language is but imperfectly understood, even by those who pretend to the greatest knowledge of it, very little on this head is yet known with certainty.

The liquor which they make from the plant called *Ava zea*, is expressed from the root, and not from the leaves, as mentioned in the narrative of my former voyage. The manner of preparing this liquor is as simple as it is disgusting to a European. It is thus: several people take some of the root and chew it till it is soft and pulpy; then they spit it out into a platter, or other vessel, every one into the same; when a sufficient quantity is chewed, more or less water is put to it, according as it is to be strong or weak; the juice thus diluted is strained through some fibrous stuff like fine shavings; after which it is fit for drinking; and this is always done immediately. It has a pepperish taste, drinks flat, and rather insipid. But though it is intoxicating, I saw only one instance where it had that effect; as they generally drink it with great moderation, and but little at a time. Sometimes they chew this root in their mouths, as Europeans do tobacco, and swallow their spittle; and sometimes I have seen them eat it wholly. At Ulietea they cultivate great quantities of this plant. At Otaheite but very little. I believe there are but few islands in this sea that do not produce more or less of it; and the natives apply it to the same use, as appears by Le Maire's account of Horn Island, wherein he speaks of the natives making a liquor from a plant in the same manner as above mentioned.

Great injustice has been done to the women of Otaheite, and the Society Isles, by those who have represented them, without exception, as ready to grant the last favour to any man who will come up to their price. But this is by no means the case: the favours of married women, and also the unmarried of the better sort, are as difficult to be obtained here as in any other country whatever.

* Mr. Williams, in his "Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands," informs us that "the system of human sacrifices did not prevail at the Navigator's Islands, but at the Hervey Group, and still more at the Tahitian and Society Islands, where it was carried to an extent truly appalling. There was one ceremony called ***Raumatavehi raa,*** 'the feast of restoration,' at which no less than ***seven*** human victims were always required. This festival was celebrated after an invading army had driven the inhabitants to the mountains, and had desecrated the morai by cutting down the branches of the sacred trees, and cooking their food with them, and with the wooden altars and decorations of the sacred place. As soon as the retirement of the invaders allowed the refugees to leave their hiding-place, their first object was to celebrate this 'feast of restoration,' which was supposed to restore the morai to its previous sanctity, and to reinstate the god in his former glory. A few years ago [Mr. Williams wrote in 1837], I sent to England a very sacred relic called ***maro ura,*** or the Red Sash. This was a piece of net-work, about seven inches wide and six feet long, upon which the red feathers of the parroquet were neatly fastened. It was used at the inauguration of their greatest kings, just as the crown is with us; and the most honourable appellation which a chief could receive was ***Arii maro ura,*** 'King of the Red Sash!' A new piece, about eighteen inches in length, was attached at the inauguration of every sovereign; to accomplish which several human victims were required. The first was for the ***mau raa tii,*** or the stretching it upon pegs in order to attach to it the new piece. Another was necessary for the ***fatu raa,*** or attaching the new portion, and a third for the ***piu raa,*** or twitching the sacred relic off the pegs. This not only invested the sash itself with a high measure of solemn importance, but also rendered the chiefs who wore it most noble in public estimation. On the eve of war also, human victims were invariably offered."

When the priest declared a sacrifice necessary, messengers were despatched by the king to the various chiefs, to collect the requisite number of victims. These emissaries would inquire, on entering his house, whether the chief had a ***broken calabash,*** or a rotten ***cocoa-nut*** [illegible] band, (terms very well understood,) on which the devoted objects, often long before fixed upon, were pointed out, and instantly knocked down with a small round stone concealed in the hollow of the hand by the messengers, when others rushed in and crushed the skull to pieces by beating it in with stones, after which the body was carried to the morai. If the victim took refuge in a house, he was speared to death from the outside.

As soon as one of a family had been selected, all the other male members of it were looked upon as devoted to the same horrid purpose. It would avail them nothing if they removed to another island, for the reason of their removal would soon be known there, and whenever a sacrifice was required, it would be sought amongst them.

A very affecting account of the last human sacrifice offered up in Tahiti, is given in Mr. Williams's interesting and valuable work.—Ed.

A stranger who visits England might with equal justice draw the characters of the women there, from those which he might meet with on board the ships in one of the naval ports, or in the purlieus of Covent Garden and Drury Lane. I must, however, allow that they are all completely versed in the art of coquetry, and that very few of them fix any bounds to their conversation. It is, therefore, no wonder that they have obtained the character of libertines.

To what hath been said of the geography of these isles, in the narrative of my former voyage, I shall now only add that we found the latitude of Oaitipiha Bay, in Otaheite, to be 17° 46′ 28″ south, and the longitude 0° 21′ 25½′ east from Point Venus; or 149° 13′ 24″ west from Greenwich. The difference both of latitude and longitude, between Point Venus and Oaitipiha, is greater than I supposed it to be, when I made the circuit of the island in 1769, by two miles and 4¾ miles respectively. It is, therefore, highly probable that the whole island is of a greater extent than I at that time estimated it to be. The astronomers set up their observatory, and made their observations on Point Venus, the latitude of which they found to be 17° 29′ 13″ south. This differs but two seconds from that which Mr. Green and I found; and its longitude, viz., 149° 34′ 49½″ west, for anything that is yet known to the contrary, is as exact.

Mr. Kendal's watch was found to be gaining on mean time 8″ 163 per day, which is only 9″ 142 less than at Queen Charlotte's Sound, consequently its error in longitude was trifling.

LIZARD.

BOOK II.

FROM OUR DEPARTURE FROM THE SOCIETY ISLES, TO OUR RETURN TO AND LEAVING THEM THE SECOND TIME.

CHAPTER I.—PASSAGE FROM ULIETEA TO THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF HERVEY'S ISLAND, AND THE INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED AT MIDDLEBURG.

AFTER leaving Ulietea, as before mentioned, I steered to the west, inclining to the south, to get clear of the tracks of former navigators, and to get into the latitude of the islands of Middleburg and Amsterdam; for I intended to run as far west as these islands, and to touch there if I found it convenient, before I hauled up for New Zealand. I generally lay to every night, lest we might pass any land in the dark. Part of the 21st and 22nd, the wind blew from N.W., attended with thunder, lightning, and rain; having a large swell from S.S.E. and S., which kept up for several days—an indication that no land was near us in that direction. On the 23rd, at ten o'clock in the morning, land was seen from the topmast-head, and at noon from the deck, extending from S. by W. to S.W. by S. We hauled up for it with the wind at S.E., and found it to consist of two or three small islets, connected together by breakers like most of the low isles in the sea, lying in a triangular form, and about six leagues in circuit. They were clothed with wood, among which were many cocoa-nut trees. We saw no people, or signs of inhabitants, and had reason to think there were none. The situation of this isle, which is in the latitude of 19° 18′ south, longitude 158° 54′ west, is not very different from that assigned by Mr. Dalrymple to La Dezena. But as this is a point not easily determined, I named it Hervey's Island, in honour of the Honourable Captain Hervey of the Navy, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and now Earl of Bristol.

As the landing on this isle, if practicable, would have caused a delay which I could ill spare at this time, we resumed our course to the west: and on the 25th we again began to use our sea-biscuit, the fruit, which had served as a succedaneum, being all consumed; but our stock of fresh pork still continued, each man having as much every day as was needful. In our route to the west, we now and then saw men-of-war and tropic birds, and a small sea-bird, which is seldom seen but near the shores of the isles; we therefore conjectured that we had passed some land at no great distance. As we advanced to the west, the variation of the compass gradually increased, so that on the 29th, being in the latitude of 21° 26′ south, longitude 170° 40′ west, it was 10° 45′ east.

At two o'clock, P.M., on the 1st of October, we made the island of Middleburg, bearing W.S.W., at six o'clock it extended from S.W. by W. to N.W., distant four leagues, at which time another land was seen in the direction of N.N.W. The wind being at S.S.E., I hauled to the S., in order to get round the south end of the island before the morning; but at eight o'clock a small island was seen lying off it; and not knowing but they might be connected by a reef, the extent of which we must be ignorant of, I resolved to spend the night where we were. At daybreak the next morning we bore up for the S.W. side of Middleburg, passing between it and the little isle above mentioned, where we found a clear channel two miles broad.

After ranging the S.W. side of the greater isle to about two-thirds of its length, at the distance of half a mile from the shore, without seeing the least prospect of either anchorage or landing-place, we bore away for Amsterdam, which we had in sight. We had scarcely turned our sails before we observed the shores of Middleburg to assume another aspect, seeming to offer both anchorage and landing. Upon this we hauled the wind, and plied in under the island. In the meantime, two canoes, each conducted by two or three men, came boldly alongside; and some of them entered the ship without hesitation. This mark of confidence gave me a good opinion of these islanders, and determined me to visit them if possible. After making a few trips, we found good anchorage, and came to in twenty-five fathoms' water, and gravel bottom, at three cables' length from the shore. The highest land on the island bore S.E. by E., the north point N.E. ½ E., and the west S. by W. ½ W., and the island of Amsterdam extending from N. by W. ½ W. to N.W. ½ W. We had scarcely got to an anchor before we were surrounded by a great number of canoes full of people, who had brought with them cloth, and other curiosities, which they exchanged for nails, &c. Several came on board; among whom was one, who, by the authority he seemed to have over the others, I found was a chief, and accordingly made him a present of a hatchet, spike-nails, and several other articles, with which he was highly pleased. Thus I obtained the friendship of this chief, whose name was Tioony.

Soon after, a party of us embarked in two boats, in company with Tioony, who conducted us to a little creek formed by the rocks, right abreast of the ships, where landing was extremely easy, and the boats secure against the surf. Here we found an immense crowd of people, who welcomed us on shore with loud acclamations. Not one of them had so much as a stick, or any other weapon in their hands; an indubitable sign of their pacific intentions. They thronged so thick round the boats with cloth, matting, &c. to exchange for nails, that it was some time before we could get room to land. They seemed to be more desirous to give than receive; for many who could not get near the boats, threw into them, over the others' heads, whole bales of cloth, and then retired, without either asking or waiting to get anything in return. At length the chief caused them to open to the right and left, and make room for us to land. He then conducted us up to his house, which was situated about three hundred yards from the sea, at the head of a fine lawn, and under the shade of some shaddock-trees. The situation was most delightful. In front was the sea and the ships at anchor; behind, and on each side, were plantations, in which were some of the richest productions of nature. The floor was laid with mats, on which we were seated, and the people seated themselves in a circle round us on the outside. Having the bagpipes with us, I ordered them to be played; and, in return, the chief directed three young women to sing a song, which they did with a very good grace; and having made each of them a present, this immediately set all the women in the circle a-singing. Their songs were

musical and harmonious, and nowise harsh or disagreeable. After sitting here some time, we were, at our own request, conducted into one of the adjoining plantations, where the chief had another house, into which we were introduced. Bananas and cocoa-nuts were set before us to eat, and a bowl of liquor prepared in our presence of the juice of *cava* for us to drink. Pieces of the root were first offered to us to chew; but as we excused ourselves from assisting in the operation, this was performed by others. When sufficiently chewed, it was put into a large wooden bowl, then mixed with water, in the manner already related; and as soon as it was properly strained for drinking, they made cups by folding of green leaves, which held near half a pint, and presented to each of us one of these filled with the liquor. But I was the only one who tasted it; the manner of brewing it having quenched the thirst of every one else. The bowl was, however, soon emptied of its contents, of which both men and women partook. I observed that they never filled the same cup twice; nor did two persons drink out of the same; each had a fresh cup and fresh liquor. This house was situated at one corner of the plantation, and had an area before it, on which we were seated. The whole was planted round with fruit and other trees, whose spreading branches afforded an agreeable shade, and whose fragrance diffused a pleasing odour through the air.

Before we had well viewed the plantation it was noon, and we returned on board to dinner, with the chief in our company. He sat at table, but ate nothing, which, as we had fresh pork roasted, was a little extraordinary. After dinner we landed again, and were received by the crowd as before. Mr. Forster, with his botanical party, and some of the officers and gentlemen, walked into the country. Captain Furneaux and myself were conducted to the chief's house, where fruit and some greens, which had been stewed, were set before us to eat. As we had but just dined, it cannot be supposed we ate much; but Oedidee, and Omai, the man on board the Adventure, did honour to the feast. After this we signified our desire of seeing the country. Tioony very readily assented, and conducted us through several plantations, which were laid out with great judgment, and inclosed with very neat fences made of reeds. They were all in very good order, and well planted with various fruit-trees, roots, &c. The chief took some pains to let us know the most of them belonged to himself. Near some of the houses and in the lanes that divided the plantations were running about some hogs, and very large fowls, which were the only domestic animals we saw; and these they did not seem willing to part with. Nor did any one, during the whole day, offer in exchange any fruit, or roots, worth mentioning; which determined me to leave this island, and to visit that of Amsterdam.

The evening brought every one on board, highly delighted with the country and the very obliging behaviour of the inhabitants, who seemed to vie with each other in doing what they thought would give us pleasure. The ships were crowded with people the whole day, trafficking with those on board, in which the greatest good order was observed; and I was sorry that the season of the year would not admit of my making a longer stay with them. Early the next morning, while the ships were getting under sail, I went ashore with Captain Furneaux and Mr. Forster to take leave of the chief. He met us at the landing-place, and would have conducted us to his house had we not excused ourselves; we therefore were seated on the grass, where we spent about half an hour in the midst of a vast crowd of people. After making the chief a present, consisting of various articles and an assortment of garden seeds, I gave him to understand that we were going away, at which he seemed not at all moved. He, and two or three more, came into our boat, in order to accompany us on board; but seeing the Resolution under sail, he called to a canoe to put alongside, into which he and his friends went, and returned on shore. While he remained in our boat, he continued to exchange fish-hooks for nails, and engrossed the trade in a manner wholly to himself; but when on shore, I never saw him make the least exchange.

CHAPTER II.—THE ARRIVAL OF THE SHIPS AT AMSTERDAM; A DESCRIPTION OF A PLACE OF WORSHIP; AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE INCIDENTS WHICH HAPPENED WHILE THEY REMAINED AT THAT ISLAND.

As soon as I was on board, we made sail down to Amsterdam. The people of this isle were so little afraid of us, that some met us in three canoes about midway between the two isles. They used their utmost efforts to get on board, but without effect, as we did not shorten sail for them, and the rope which we gave them broke. They then attempted to board the Adventure, and met with the same disappointment. We ran along the S.W. coast of Amsterdam at half a mile from shore, on which the sea broke in a great surf. We had an opportunity, by the help of our glasses, to view the face of the island, every part of which seemed to be laid out in plantations. We observed the natives running along the shore, displaying small white flags, which we took for ensigns of peace, and answered them by hoisting a St. George's ensign. Three men belonging to Middleburg, who, by some means or other, had been left on board the Adventure, now left her, and swam to the shore, not knowing that we intended to stop at this isle, and having no inclination, as may be supposed, to go away with us.

As soon as we opened the west side of the isle, we were met by several canoes, each conducted by three or four men. They came boldly alongside, presented us with some *cava* root, and then came on board without farther ceremony, inviting us, by all the friendly signs they could make, to go to their island, and pointing to the place where we should anchor,—at least so we understood them. After a few boards, we anchored in Van Diemen's Road, in eighteen fathoms water, little more than a cable's length from the breakers which line the coast. We carried out the coasting anchor and cable to seaward, to keep the ship from tailing on the rocks, in case of a shift of wind or a calm. This last anchor lay in forty-seven fathoms water, so steep was the bank on which we anchored. By this time we were crowded with people; some came off in canoes, and others swam; but, like those of the other isle, brought nothing with them but cloth, matting, &c., for which the seamen only bartered away their clothes. As it was probable they would soon feel the effects of this kind of traffic, with a view to put a stop to it, and to obtain the necessary refreshments, I gave orders that no sort of curiosities should be purchased by any person whatever.

The good effect of this order was found in the morning; for when the natives saw we would purchase nothing but eatables, they brought off bananas and cocoa-nuts in abundance, some fowls and pigs, all of which they exchanged for small nails and pieces of cloth; even old rags of any sort was enough for a pig or a fowl.

Matters being thus established, and proper persons appointed to trade under the direction of the officers to prevent disputes, after breakfast, I landed, accompanied by Captain Furneaux, Mr. Forster, and several of the officers; having alone with us a chief, or person of some note, whose name was Attago, who had attached himself to me from the first moment of his coming on board, which was before we anchored. I know not how he came to discover that I was the commander; but, certain it is, he was not long on deck before he singled me out from all the other gentlemen, making me a present of some cloth, and other things he had about him; and, as a greater testimony of friendship, we now exchanged names, a custom which is practised at Otaheite and the Society Isles. We were lucky, or rather we may thank the natives, for having anchored before a narrow creek in the rocks which line the shore. To this creek we were conducted by my friend Attago; and there we landed dry on the beach, and within the breakers, in the face of a vast crowd of people, who received us in the same friendly manner that those of Middleburg had done.

As soon as we were landed, all the gentlemen set out into the country, accompanied by some of the natives; but the most of them remained with Captain Furneaux and me, who amused ourselves some time in distributing presents amongst them, especially to such as Attago pointed out, which were not many, but who I afterwards found were of superior rank to himself. At this time, however, he seemed to be the principal person, and to be

obeyed as such. After we had spent some time on the beach, as we complained of the heat, Attago immediately conducted and seated us under the shade of a tree, ordering the people to form a circle round us. This they did, and never once attempted to push themselves upon us, like the Otaheiteans.

After sitting here some time, and distributing some presents to those about us, we signified our desire to see the country. The chief immediately took the hint, and conducted us along a lane that led to an open green, on the one side of which was a house of worship, built on a mount that had been raised by the hand of man, about sixteen or eighteen feet above the common level. It had an oblong figure, and was inclosed by a wall or parapet of stone, about three feet in height. From this wall the mount rose with a gentle slope, and was covered with a green turf. On the top of it stood the house, which had the same figure as the mount, about twenty feet in length, and fourteen or sixteen broad. As soon as we came before the place, every one seated himself on the green, about fifty or sixty yards from the front of the house. Presently came three elderly men, who seated themselves between us and it, and began a speech, which I understood to be a prayer, it being wholly directed to the house. This lasted about ten minutes; and then the priests, for such I took them to be, came and sat down along with us, when we made them presents of such things as were about us. Having then made signs to them that we wanted to view the premises, my friend Attago immediately got up, and going with us, without showing the least backwardness, gave us full liberty to examine every part of it.

In the front were two stone steps leading to the top of the wall; from this the ascent to the house was easy, round which was a fine gravel walk. The house was built, in all respects, like to their common dwelling-houses; that is, with posts and rafters, and covered with palm thatch. The eaves came down within about three feet of the ground, which space was filled up with strong matting made of palm leaves as a wall. The floor of the house was laid with fine gravel, except in the middle, where there was an oblong square of blue pebbles, raised about six inches higher than the floor. At one corner of the house stood an image rudely carved in wood, and on one side lay another; each about two feet in length. I, who had no intention to offend either them or their gods, did not so much as touch them, but asked Attago, as well as I could, if they were *Eatuas* or gods. Whether he understood me or no I cannot say; but he immediately turned them over and over, in as rough a manner as he would have done any other log of wood, which convinced me that they were not there as representatives of the Divinity. I was curious to know if the dead were interred there, and asked Attago several questions relative thereto; but I was not sure that he understood me; at least I did not understand the answers he made well enough to satisfy my inquiries. For the reader must know that, at our first coming among these people, we hardly could understand a word they said: even my Otaheitean youth, and the man on board the Adventure, were equally at a loss: but more of this by and bye. Before we quitted the house, we thought it necessary to make an offering on the altar. Accordingly we laid down upon the blue pebbles, some medals, nails, and several other things; which we had no sooner done than my friend Attago took them up and put them in his pocket. The stones with which the walls were made that inclosed this mount, were some of them nine or ten feet by four, and about six inches thick. It is difficult to conceive how they can cut such stones out of the coral rocks.

This mount stood in a kind of grove open only on the side which fronted the high-road and the green on which the people were seated. At this green or open place, was a junction of five roads, two or three of which appeared to be very public ones. The groves were composed of several sorts of trees. Among others was the *etoa* tree, as it is called at Otaheite, of which are made clubs, &c., and a kind of low palm, which is very common in the northern parts of New Holland.

After we had done examining this place of worship, which in their language is called *A-fia-touca*, we desired to return; but instead of conducting us to the water-side, as we expected, they struck into the road leading into the country. This road, which was about sixteen feet broad, and as level as a bowling-green, seemed to be a very public one; there being many other roads from different parts, leading into it, all inclosed on each side, with

neat fences made of reeds, and shaded from the scorching sun by fruit trees. I thought I was transported into the most fertile plains in Europe. There was not an inch of waste ground; the roads occupied no more space than was absolutely necessary; the fences did not take up above four inches each; and even this was not wholly lost, for in many were planted some useful trees or plants. It was everywhere the same; change of place altered not the scene. Nature, assisted by a little art, nowhere appears in more splendour than at this isle. In these delightful walks, we met numbers of people; some travelling down to the ships with their burdens of fruit; others returning back empty. They all gave us the road by turning either to the right or left, and sitting down, or standing, with their backs to the fences, till we had passed.

AFIATOUCA.

At several of the cross roads, or at the meeting of two or more roads, were generally *Afiatoucas*, such as already described; with this difference, the mounts were palisadoed round, instead of a stone wall. At length, after walking several miles, we came to one larger than common; near to which was a large house belonging to an old chief in our company. At this house we were desired to stop, which we accordingly did, and were treated with fruit, &c.

We were no sooner seated in the house, than the eldest of the priests began a speech or prayer, which was first directed to the *Afiatouca*, and then to me, and alternately. When he addressed me, he paused at every sentence, till I gave a nod of approbation. I, however, did not understand one single word he said. At times, the old gentleman seemed to be at a loss what to say; or perhaps his memory failed him; for, every now and then, he was prompted by one of the other priests who sat by him. Both during this prayer and the former one the people were silent, but not attentive. At this last place we made but a short stay. Our guides conducted us down to our boat, and we returned with Attago to our ship to dinner. We had no sooner got on board, than an old gentleman came alongside, who, I understood from Attago, was some king or great man. He was, accordingly, ushered on board; when I presented him with such things as he most valued (being the only method to make him my friend), and seated him at table to dinner. We now saw that he

was a man of consequence; for Attago would not sit down and eat before him, but got to the other end of the table; and, as the old chief was almost blind, he sat there, and ate with his back towards him. After the old man had eaten a bit of fish and drunk two glasses of wine, he returned ashore. As soon as Attago had seen him out of the ship, he came and took his place at table, finished his dinner, and drank two glasses of wine. When dinner was over, we all went ashore, where we found the old chief, who presented me with a hog; and he and some others took a walk with us into the country.

Before we set out, I happened to go down with Attago to the landing-place, and there found Mr. Wales in a laughable, though distressed, situation. The boats which brought us on shore, not being able to get near the landing-place for want of a sufficient depth of water; he pulled off his shoes and stockings to walk through, and as soon as he got on dry land, he put them down betwixt his legs to put on again, but they were instantly snatched away by a person behind him, who immediately mixed with the crowd. It was impossible for him to follow the man bare-footed over the sharp coral rocks, which compose the shore, without having his feet cut to pieces. The boat was put back to the ship, his companions had each made his way through the crowd, and he left in this condition alone. Attago soon found out the thief, recovered his shoes and stockings, and set him at liberty. Our route into the country was by the first-mentioned *Afiatouca*, before which we again seated ourselves, but had no prayers, although the old priest was with us. Our stay here was but short. The old chief, probably thinking that we might want water on board, conducted us to a plantation hard by, and showed us a pool of fresh water, though we had not made the least inquiry after any. I believe this to be the same that Tasman calls the *washing-place* for the king and his nobles. From hence we were conducted down to the shore of Maria bay, or N.E. side of the isle; where, in a boat-house, was shown to us a fine large double canoe not yet launched. The old chief did not fail to make us sensible it belonged to himself. Night now approaching, we took leave of him and returned on board, being conducted by Attago down to the water-side.

Mr. Forster and his party spent the day in the country botanizing; and several of the officers were out shooting. All of them were very civilly treated by the natives. We had also a brisk trade for bananas, cocoa-nuts, yams, pigs, and fowls; all of which were procured for nails, and pieces of cloth. A boat from each ship was employed trading ashore, and bringing off their cargoes as soon as they were laden, which was generally in a short time. By this method we got cheaper, and with less trouble, a good quantity of fruit, as well as other refreshments, from people who had no canoes to carry them off to the ships.

Pretty early in the morning on the 5th, my friend brought me a hog and some fruit; for which I gave him a hatchet, a sheet and some red cloth. The pinnace was sent ashore to trade as usual; but soon returned. The officer informed me that the natives were for taking everything out of the boat, and in other respects were very troublesome. The day before, they stole the grappling at the time the boat was riding by it, and carried it off undiscovered. I now judged it necessary to have a guard on shore, to protect the boats and people whose business required their being there; and accordingly sent the marines, under the command of Lieutenant Edgcumbe. Soon after, I went myself, with my friend Attago, Captain Furneaux, and several of the gentlemen. At landing, we found the old chief, who presented me with a pig. After this, Captain Furneaux and I took a walk into the country with Mr. Hodges, to make drawings of such places and things as were most interesting. When this was done, we returned on board to dinner, with my friend and two other chiefs; one of whom sent a hog on board the Adventure for Captain Furneaux, some hours before, without stipulating for any return; the only instance of this kind.—My friend took care to put me in mind of the pig the old king gave me in the morning; for which I now gave a checked shirt and a piece of red cloth. I had tied them up for him to carry ashore; but with this he was not satisfied. He wanted to have them put on him; which was no sooner done, than he went on deck, and showed himself to all his countrymen. He had done the same thing in the morning with the sheet I gave him. In the evening we all went on shore again, where we found the old king, who took to himself everything my friend and the others had got.

The different trading parties were so successful to-day as to procure for both ships a

tolerably good supply of refreshments. In consequence of which, I, the next morning, gave every one leave to purchase what curiosities and other things they pleased. After this, it was astonishing to see with what eagerness every one caught at everything he saw. It even went so far as to become the ridicule of the natives, who offered pieces of sticks and stones to exchange. One waggish boy took a piece of human excrement on the end of a stick, and held it out to every one he met with. This day a man got into the master's cabin, through the outside scuttle, and took out some books and other things. He was discovered just as he was getting out into his canoe, and pursued by one of our boats, which obliged him to quit the canoe and take to the water. The people in the boat made several attempts to lay hold on him; but he as often dived under the boat, and at last, having unshipped the rudder, which rendered her ungovernable, by this means he got clear off. Some other very daring thefts were committed at the landing-place. One fellow took a seaman's jacket out of the boat, and carried it off, in spite of all that our people in her could do. Till he was both pursued and fired at by them, he would not part with it; nor would he have done it then, had not his landing been intercepted by some of us, who were on shore. The rest of the natives, who were very numerous, took very little notice of the whole transaction; nor were they the least alarmed when the man was fired at.

My friend Attago having visited me again next morning, as usual brought with him a hog, and assisted me in purchasing several more. Afterwards we went ashore; visited the old king, with whom we staid till noon; then returned on board to dinner, with Attago, who never once left me. Intending to sail the next morning, I made up a present for the old king, and carried it on shore in the evening. As soon as I landed, I was told by the officers who were on shore, that a far greater man than any we had yet seen was come to pay us a visit. Mr. Pickersgill informed me that he had seen him in the country, and found that he was a man of some consequence, by the extraordinary respect paid him by the people. Some, when they approached him, fell on their faces, and put their heads between their feet; and no one durst pass him without permission. Mr. Pickersgill, and another of the gentlemen, took hold of his arms, and conducted him down to the landing-place, where I found him seated with so much sullen and stupid gravity, that notwithstanding what had been told me, I really took him for an idiot, whom the people, from some superstitious notions, were ready to worship. I saluted and spoke to him; but he neither answered, nor took the least notice of me; nor did he alter a single feature in his countenance. This confirmed me in my opinion, and I was just going to leave him, when one of the natives, an intelligent youth, undertook to undeceive me; which he did in such a manner as left me no room to doubt that he was the king, or principal man on the island. Accordingly I made him the present I intended for the old chief, which consisted of a shirt, an ax, a piece of red cloth, a looking-glass, some nails, medals, and beads. He received these things, or rather suffered them to be put upon him, and laid down by him, without losing a bit of his gravity, speaking one word, or turning his head either to the right or left; sitting the whole time like a statue; in which situation I left him, to return on board; and he soon after retired. I had not been long on board before word was brought me that a quantity of provisions had come from this chief. A boat was sent to bring it from the shore; and it consisted of about twenty baskets of roasted bananas, sour bread and yams, and a roasted pig of about twenty pounds weight. Mr. Edgcumbe and his party were just reimbarking, when these were brought to the water-side, and the bearers said it was a present from the *Areeke*, that is the king of the island, to the *Areeke* of the ship. After this I was no longer to doubt the dignity of this sullen chief.

Early in the morning of the 7th, while the ships were unmooring, I went ashore with Captain Furneaux and Mr. Forster, in order to make some return to the king for his last night's present. We no sooner landed than we found Attago, of whom we inquired for the king, whose name was Kohagheetoo-Fallangou. He accordingly undertook to conduct us to him; but whether he mistook the man we wanted, or was ignorant where he was, I know not. Certain it is that he took us a wrong road, in which he had not gone far before he stopped; and after some little conversation between him and another man, we returned back, and presently after the king appeared with very few attendants. As soon as Attago

saw him coming, he sat down under a tree, and desired us to do the same. The king seated himself on a rising ground, about twelve or fifteen yards from us: here we sat facing one another for some minutes. I waited for Attago to show us the way; but seeing he did not rise, Captain Furneaux and I got up, went and saluted the king, and sat down by him. We then presented him with a white shirt (which we put on his back), a few yards of red cloth, a brass kettle, a saw, two large spikes, three looking-glasses, a dozen of medals, and some strings of beads. All this time he sat with the same sullen stupid gravity as the day before: he even did not seem to see or know what we were about; his arms appeared immoveable at his sides; he did not so much as raise them when we put on the shirt. I told him, both by words and signs, that we were going to leave his island; he scarcely made the least answer to this, or any other thing we either said or did. We, therefore, got up and took leave; but I yet remained near him, to observe his actions. Soon after, he entered into conversation with Attago and an old woman, whom we took to be his mother. I did not understand any part of the conversation; it however made him laugh, in spite of his assumed gravity. I say assumed, because it exceeded everything of the kind I ever saw; and therefore think it could not be his real disposition (unless he was an idiot indeed), as these islanders, like all the others we had lately visited, have a great deal of levity; and he was in the prime of life. At last, he rose up, and retired with his mother and two or three more.

Attago conducted us to another circle, where were seated the aged chief and several respectable old persons of both sexes: among whom was the priest, who was generally in company with this chief. We observed that this reverend father could walk very well in a morning; but, in an evening, was obliged to be led home by two people. By this we concluded, that the juice of the pepper-root had the same effect upon him, that wine and other strong liquors have on Europeans who drink a large portion of them. It is very certain, that these old people seldom sat down without preparing a bowl of this liquor; which is done in the same manner as at Ulietea. We, however, must do them the justice to believe, that it was meant to treat us: nevertheless, the greatest part, if not the whole, generally fell to their share. I was not well prepared to take leave of this chief, having exhausted almost all our store on the other. However, after rummaging our pockets, and treasury bag, which was always carried with me wherever I went, we made up a tolerable present, both for him and his friends. This old chief had an air of dignity about him that commanded respect, which the other had not. He was grave, but not sullen: would crack a joke, talk on indifferent subjects, and endeavour to understand us and be understood himself. During this visit, the old priest repeated a short prayer or speech, the purport of which we did not understand. Indeed he would frequently, at other times, break out in prayer; but I never saw any attention paid to him by any one present. After a stay of near two hours, we took leave, and returned on board, with Attago and two or three more friends, who staid and breakfasted with us; after which they were dismissed, loaded with presents.

Attago was very importunate with me to return again to this isle, and to bring with me cloth, axes, nails, &c. &c., telling me that I should have hogs, fowls, fruit, and roots, in abundance. He particularly desired me, more than once, to bring him such a suit of clothes as I had on, which was my uniform. This good-natured islander was very serviceable to me, on many occasions, during our short stay. He constantly came on board every morning soon after it was light, and never quitted us till the evening. He was always ready, either on board or on shore, to do me all the service in his power: his fidelity was rewarded at a small expense; and I found my account in having such a friend.

In heaving in the coasting cable, it parted in the middle of its length, being chafed by the rocks. By this accident we lost the other half, together with the anchor, which lay in forty fathoms water, without any buoy to it. The best bower cable suffered also by the rocks; by which a judgment may be formed of this anchorage. At ten o'clock we got under sail; but as our decks were much encumbered with fruit, &c. we kept plying under the land till they were cleared. The supplies we got at this isle were about one hundred and fifty pigs, twice that number of fowls, as many bananas and cocoa-nuts as we could find room for, with a few yams; and had our stay been longer, we, no doubt, might have got a great deal more. This, in some degree, shows the fertility of the island, of which, together with the neighbouring one of Middleburg, I shall now give a more particular account.

CHAPTER III.—A DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLANDS AND THEIR PRODUCE, WITH THEIR CULTIVATION, HOUSES, CANOES, NAVIGATION, MANUFACTURES, WEAPONS, CUSTOMS, GOVERNMENT, RELIGION, AND LANGUAGE OF THE INHABITANTS.

These islands were first discovered by Captain Tasman, in January 1642-3; and, by him, called Amsterdam and Middleburg. But the former is called by the natives Ton-ga-ta-bu, and the latter Ea-oo-we. They are situated between the latitude of 21° 29′ and 21° 3′ south, and between the longitude of 174° 40 and 175° 15′ west, deduced from observations made on the spot.

Middleburg, or Eaoowe, which is the southernmost, is about ten leagues in circuit, and of a height sufficient to be seen twelve leagues. The skirts of this isle are mostly taken up in the plantations; the S.W. and N.W. sides especially. The interior parts are but little cultivated, though very fit for cultivation. However, the want of it added greatly to the beauty of the isle; for here are, agreeably dispersed, groves of cocoa-nut and other trees, lawns covered with thick grass, here and there plantations, and paths leading to every part of the island, in such beautiful disorder as greatly enlivens the prospect.

The anchorage, which I named English Road, (being the first who anchored there,) is on the N.W. side, in latitude 21° 20′ 30″ south. The bearing we took when at anchor, already mentioned, together with the chart, will be more than sufficient to find this anchorage. The bank is a coarse sand; it extends two miles from the land, and on it there is from twenty to forty fathoms water. The small creek before it affords convenient landing for boats at all times of the tide; which here, as well as at the other islands, rises about four or five feet, and is high water on the full and change days about seven o'clock. The island of Tongatabu is shaped something like an isosceles triangle, the longest sides whereof are seven leagues each, and the shortest four. It lies nearly in the direction of E.S.E. and W.N.W. is nearly all of an equal height, rather low, not exceeding sixty or eighty feet above the level of the sea. This island, and also that of Eaoowe, is guarded from the sea by a reef of coral rocks extending out from the shore one hundred fathoms more or less. On this reef the force of the sea is spent before it reaches the land or shore. Indeed, this is, in some measure, the situation of all the tropical isles in this sea that I have seen; and thus nature has effectually secured them from the encroachments of the sea, though many of them are mere points when compared to this vast ocean. Van Diemen's Road, where we anchored, is under the north-west part of the island, between the most northern and western points. There lies a reef of rocks without it, bearing N.W. by W., over which the sea breaks continually. The bank does not extend more than three cables' length from the shore; without that, is an unfathomable depth. The loss of an anchor, and the damage our cables sustained, are sufficient proofs that the bottom is none of the best.

On the east side of the north point of the island (as Mr. Gilbert, whom I sent to survey the parts, informed me) is a very snug harbour, of one mile or more in extent, wherein is seven, eight, and ten fathoms water, with a clean sandy bottom. The channel, by which he went in and out, lies close to the point, and has only three fathoms water; but he believes that farther to the N.E. is a channel with a much greater depth, which he had not time to examine. Indeed, it would have taken up far more time than I could spare to have surveyed these parts minutely; as there lie a number of small islets and reefs of rocks along the N.E. side of the island, which seemed to extend to the N.E. farther than the eye could reach. The island of Amsterdam or Tongatabu is wholly laid out in plantations, in which are planted some of the richest productions of nature; such as bread-fruit, cocoa-nut-trees, plantains, bananas, shaddocks, yams, and some other roots, sugar-cane, and a fruit like a nectarine, called by them *Fighega*, and at Otaheite *Ahuya*: in short, here are most of the articles which the Society Islands produce, besides some which they have not. Mr. Forster tells me, that he not only found the same plants here that are at Otaheite, and the neighbouring isles, but several others which are not to be met with there. And I probably have

CULTI-
OVERN-

by him,
a-ta-bu,
3' south,
s made

, and of
n up in
ut little
to the
r trees,
ry part

) is on
already
. The
enty to
s at all
et, and
abu is
s each,
all of
e sea.
xtend-
he sea
uation
ecured
pared
part of
ithout
xtend
depth.
at the

urvey
rein is
which
ut he
d not
have
along
could
which
trees,
like
f the
orster
eigh-
have

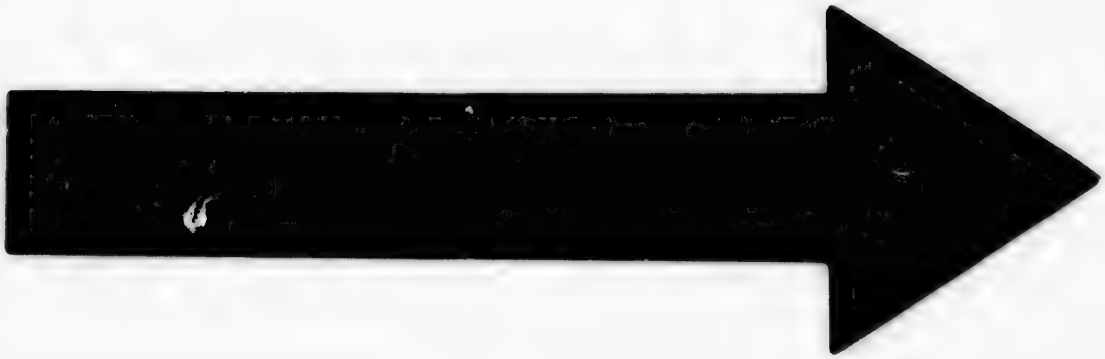
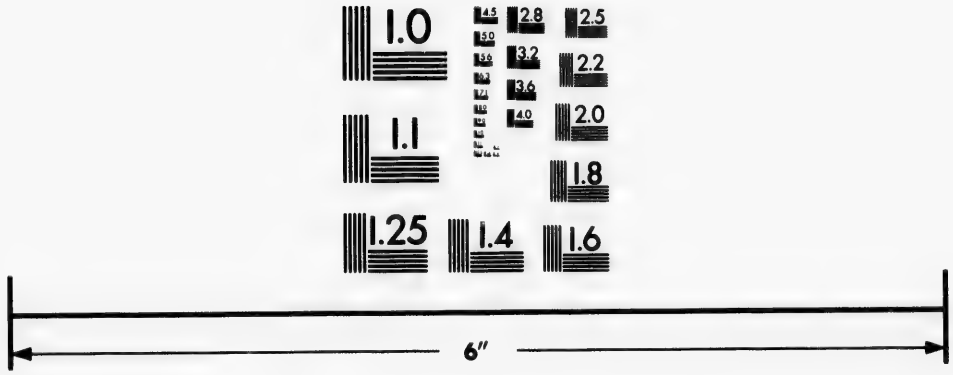


IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)



Photographic Sciences Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

2.8
2.5
3.2
3.6
2.2
2.0
1.8
1.1
1.0

NATIVES OF NEW GUINEA.

Plate XI.] [*Cook's Voyages.*

added to their stock of vegetables, by leaving with them an assortment of garden seeds, pulse, &c. Bread-fruit here, as well as at all the other isles, was not in season; nor was this the time for roots and shaddocks. We got the latter only at Middleburg.

The produce and cultivation of this isle is the same as at Amsterdam; with this difference, that a part only of the former is cultivated, whereas the whole of the latter is. The lanes, or roads necessary for travelling, are laid out in so judicious a manner as to open a free and easy communication from one part of the island to the other. Here are no towns or villages, most of the houses are built in the plantations, with no other order than what conveniency requires; they are neatly constructed; but do not exceed those in the other isles. The materials of which they are built are the same; and some little variation in the disposition of the framing is all the difference in their construction. The floor is a little raised, and covered with thick strong mats; the same sort of matting serves to inclose them on the windward side, the other being open. They have little areas before the most of them, which are generally planted round with trees, or shrubs of ornament, whose fragrancy perfumes the very air in which they breathe. Their household furniture consists of a few wooden platters, cocoa-nut shells, and some neat wooden pillows shaped like four-footed stools or forms. Their common clothing, with the addition of a mat, serves them for bedding. We got from them two or three earthen vessels, which were all we saw among them. One was in the shape of a bomb-shell, with two holes in it opposite to each other; the others were like pipkins, containing about five or six pints, and had been in use on the fire. I am of opinion they are the manufacture of some other isle; for, if they were of their own, we ought to have seen more of them. Nor am I to suppose they came from Tasman's ships; the time is too long for brittle vessels like these to be preserved.

We saw no other domestic animals amongst them but hogs and fowls. The former are of the same sort as at the other isles in this sea; but the latter are far superior, being as large as any we have in Europe, and their flesh equally good, if not better. We saw no dogs, and believe they have none, as they were exceedingly desirous of those we had on board. My friend Attago was complimented with a dog and a bitch, the one from New Zealand, the other from Ulietea. The name of a dog with them is *looree* or *gooree*, the same as at New Zealand, which shows that they are not wholly strangers to them. We saw no rats in these isles, nor any other wild quadrupeds, except small lizards. The land birds are pigeons, turtle-doves, parrots, parroquets, owls, bald coots with a blue plumage, a variety of small birds, and large bats in abundance. The produce of the sea we know but little of; it is reasonable to suppose that the same sorts of fish are found here as at the other isles. Their fishing instruments are the same; that is, hooks made of mother-of-pearl, gigs with two, three, or more prongs, and nets made of a very fine thread, with the meshes wrought exactly like ours. But nothing can be a more demonstrative evidence of their ingenuity than the construction and make of their canoes, which, in point of neatness and workmanship, exceed everything of this kind we saw in this sea. They are built of several pieces sewed together with bandage, in so neat a manner, that on the outside it is difficult to see the joints. All the fastenings are on the inside, and pass through kants or ridges, which are wrought on the edges and ends of the several boards which compose the vessel, for that purpose. They are of two kinds, viz., double and single. The single ones are from twenty to thirty feet long, and about twenty or twenty-two inches broad in the middle; the stern terminates in a point, and the head something like the point of a wedge. At each end is a kind of deck, for about one-third part of the whole length, and open in the middle. In some the middle of the deck is decorated with a row of white shells, stuck on little pegs wrought out of the same piece which composes it. These single canoes have all out-riggers, and are sometimes navigated with sails, but more generally with paddles, the blades of which are short, and broadest in the middle. The two vessels which compose the double canoe are each about sixty or seventy feet long, and four or five broad in the middle; and each end terminates nearly in a point; so that the body or hull differs a little in construction from the single canoe; but is put together exactly in the same manner; these having a rising in the middle round the open part, in the form of a long trough, which is made of boards, closely fitted together, and well secured to the body of the vessel. Two such vessels

are fastened to and parallel to each other, about six or seven feet asunder, by strong cross beams, secured by bandages to the upper part of the risings above-mentioned. Over these beams and others, which are supported by stanchions fixed on the bodies of the canoes, is laid a boarded platform. All the parts which compose the double canoe, are made as strong and light as the nature of the work will admit, and may be immerged in water to the very platform, without being in danger of filling. Nor is it possible, under any circumstance whatever, for them to sink, so long as they hold together. Thus they are not only made vessels of burden, but fit for distant navigation. They are rigged with one mast, which steps upon the platform, and can easily be raised or taken down; and are sailed with a latteen-sail, or triangular one, extended by a long yard, which is a little bent or crooked. The sail is made of mats; the rope they make use of is laid exactly like ours, and some of it is four or five inch. On the platform is built a little shed or hut, which screens the crew from the sun and weather, and serves for other purposes. They also carry a moveable fire hearth, which is a square, but shallow, trough of wood, filled with stones. The way into the hold of the canoe is from off the platform, down a sort of uncovered hatchway, in which they stand to bail out the water. I think these vessels are navigated either end foremost, and that, in changing tacks, they have only occasion to shift or jib round the sail; but of this I was not certain, as I had not then seen any under sail, or with the mast and sail an end, but what were a considerable distance from us.

Their working-tools are made of stone, bone, shells, &c., as at the other islands. When we view the work which is performed with these tools, we are struck with admiration at the ingenuity and patience of the workman. Their knowledge of the utility of iron was no more than sufficient to teach them to prefer nails to beads, and such trifles; some, but very few, would exchange a pig for a large nail, or a hatchet. Old jackets, shirts, cloth, and even rags, were in more esteem than the best edge-tool we could give them; consequently they got but few axes from us but what were given as presents. But if we include the nails which were given by the officers and crews of both ships for curiosities, &c. with those given for refreshments, they cannot have got less than five hundred weight, great and small. The only piece of iron we saw among them was a small broad-awl, which had been made of a nail.

Both men and women are of a common size with Europeans; and their colour is that of a lightish copper, and more uniformly so than amongst the inhabitants of Otaheite and the Society Isles. Some of our gentlemen were of opinion these were a much handsomer race; others maintained a contrary opinion, of which number I was one. Be this as it may, they have a good shape, and regular features, and are active, brisk, and lively. The women, in particular, are the merriest creatures I ever met with, and will keep chattering by one's side, without the least invitation, or considering whether they are understood, provided one does but seem pleased with them. In general they appeared to be modest; although there was no want of those of a different stamp; and as we had yet some venereal complaints on board, I took all possible care to prevent the disorder being communicated to them. Upon most occasions they showed a strong propensity to pilfering; in which they were full as expert as the Otaheiteans.

Their hair in general is black, but more especially that of the women. Different colours were found among the men, sometimes on the same head, caused by something they put upon it, which stains it white, red, and blue. Both sexes wear it short; I saw but two exceptions to this custom, and the most of them combed it upwards. Many of the boys had it cut very close, except a single lock on the top of the head, and a small quantity on each side. The men cut or shave their beards quite close, which operation is performed with two shells. They have fine eyes, and in general good teeth, even to an advanced age. The custom of *tattowing* or puncturing the skin prevails. The men are *tattowed* from the middle of the thigh to above the hips. The women have it only on their arms and fingers; and there but very slightly.

The dress of both sexes consists of a piece of cloth, or matting, wrapped round the waist and hanging down below the knees. From the waist, upwards, they are generally naked: and it seemed to be a custom to anoint these parts every morning. My friend Attago never

failed to do it; but whether out of respect to his friend, or from custom, I will not pretend to say; though I rather think from the latter, as he was not singular in the practice.

Their ornaments are, amulets, necklaces, and bracelets of bones, shells, and beads of mother-of-pearl, tortoise-shell, &c., which are worn by both sexes. The women also wear on their fingers neat rings made of tortoise-shell, and pieces in their ears about the size of a small quill; but ear-ornaments are not commonly worn, though all have their ears pierced. They have also a curious apron made of the outside fibres of the cocoa-nut shell, and composed of a number of small pieces sewed together in such a manner as to form stars, half-moons, little squares, &c. It is studded with beads of shells, and covered with red feathers, so as to have a pleasing effect. They make the same kind of cloth, and of the same materials, as at Otaheite; though they have not such a variety, nor do they make any so fine; but as they have a method of glazing it, it is more durable, and will resist rain for some time, which Otaheite cloth will not. Their colours are black, brown, purple, yellow, and red; all made from vegetables. They make various sorts of matting; some of a very fine texture, which is generally used for clothing; and the thick and stronger sort serves to sleep on, and to make sails for their canoes, &c. Among other useful utensils, they have various sorts of baskets; some made of the same materials as their mats; and others of the twisted fibres of cocoa-nuts. These are not only durable, but beautiful; being generally composed of different colours, and studded with beads made of shells or bones. They have many little nick-nacks amongst them; which shows that they neither want taste to design nor skill to execute whatever they take in hand.

How these people amuse themselves in their leisure hours I cannot say, as we are but little acquainted with their diversions. The women frequently entertained us with songs, in a manner which was agreeable enough. They accompany the music by snapping their fingers, so as to keep time to it. Not only their voices but their music was very harmonious; and they have a considerable compass in their notes. I saw but two musical instruments amongst them. One was a large flute made of a piece of bamboo, which they fill with their noses as at Otaheite; but these have four holes or stops, whereas those of Otaheite have only two. The other was composed of ten or eleven small reeds of unequal lengths, bound together side by side, as the Doric pipe of the ancients is said to have been; and the open ends of the reeds into which they blow with their mouths are of equal height, or in a line. They have also a drum, which, without any impropriety, may be compared to a hollow log of wood. The one I saw was five feet six inches long, and thirty inches in girth, and had a slit in it, from the one end to the other, about three inches wide, by means of which it had been hollowed out. They beat on the side of this log with two drumsticks, and produce a hollow sound, not quite so musical as that of an empty cask.

The common method of saluting one another is by touching or meeting noses, as is done in New Zealand; and their sign of peace to strangers is the displaying a white flag or flags; at least such were displayed to us, when we first drew near the shore. But the people who came first on board brought with them some of the pepper-plant, and sent it before them into the ship; a stronger sign of friendship than which one could not wish for. From their unsuspicious manner of coming on board, and of receiving us at first on shore, I am of opinion that they are seldom disturbed by either foreign or domestic troubles. They are, however, not unprovided with very formidable weapons; such as clubs and spears, made of hard wood, also bows and arrows. The clubs are from three to five feet in length, and of various shapes; their bows and arrows are but indifferent: the former being very slight, and the latter only made of a slender reed pointed with hard wood. Some of their spears have many barbs, and must be very dangerous weapons where they take effect. On the inside of the bow is a groove in which is put the arrow; from which it should seem that they use but one.

They have a singular custom of putting everything you give them to their heads, by way of thanks, as we conjectured. This manner of paying a compliment is taught them from their very infancy; for when we gave things to little children, the mother lifted up the child's hand to its head. They also used this custom in their exchanges with us: whatever we gave them for their goods was always applied to the head, just as if it had been given

them for nothing. Sometimes they would look at our goods, and, if not approved, return them back; but whenever they applied them to the head, the bargain was infallibly struck. When I had made a present to the chief of anything curious, I frequently saw it handed from one to another: and every one, into whose hands it came, put it to the head. Very often the women would take hold of my hand, kiss it, and lift it to their heads. From all this it should seem, that this custom, which they call *fagafatie*, has various significations according as it is applied; all however complimentary. It must be observed, that the sullen chief or king did not pay me any of these compliments for the presents I made him.

A still more singular custom prevails in these isles: we observed that the greater part of the people, both men and women, had lost one or both their little fingers.* We endeavoured, but in vain, to find out the reason of this mutilation; for no one would take any pains to inform us. It was neither peculiar to rank, age, or sex; nor is it done at any certain age, as I saw those of all ages on whom the amputation had been just made; and, except some young children, we found few who had both hands perfect. As it was more common among the aged than the young, some of us were of opinion that it was occasioned by the death of their parents, or some other near relation. But Mr. Wales one day met with a man, whose hands were both perfect, of such an advanced age, that it was hardly possible his parents could be living. They also burn or make incisions in their cheeks, near the cheek-bone. The reason of this was equally unknown to us. In some, the wounds were quite fresh; in others, they could only be known by the scars, or colour of the skin. I saw neither sick nor lame amongst them: all appeared healthy, strong, and vigorous; a proof of the goodness of the climate in which they live.

I have frequently mentioned a king, which implies the government being in a single person, without knowing for certain whether it is so or not. Such a one was, however, pointed out to us; and we had no reason to doubt it. From this, and other circumstances, I am of opinion that the government is much like that of Otaheite, that is, in a king or great chief, who is here called Areeke, with other chiefs under him, who are lords of certain districts, and perhaps sole proprietors, to whom the people seem to pay great obedience. I also observed a third rank, who had not a little authority over the common people: my friend Attago was one of these. I am of opinion that all the land on *Tongatabu* is private property, and that there are here, as at Otaheite, a set of people, who are servants or slaves, and have no property in land. It is unreasonable to suppose everything in common in a country so highly cultivated as this. Interest being the greatest spring which animates the hand of industry, few would toil in cultivating and planting the land, if they did not expect to reap the fruit of their labour: were it otherwise, the industrious man would be in a worse state than the idle sluggard. I frequently saw parties of six, eight, or ten people, bring down to the landing-place fruit and other things to dispose of, where one person, a man or woman, superintended the sale of the whole; no exchanges were made but with his or her consent; and, whatever we gave in exchange, was always given them, which, I think, plainly showed them to be the owners of the goods, and the others no more than servants. Though benevolent nature has been very bountiful to these isles, it cannot be said that the inhabitants are wholly exempt from the curse of our forefathers: part of their bread must be earned with the sweat of their brows. The high state of cultivation their lands are in must have cost them immense labour. This is now amply rewarded by the great produce, of which every one seems to partake. No one wants the common necessaries of life; joy and contentment are painted in every face. Indeed, it can hardly be otherwise: an easy freedom prevails among all ranks of people: they feel no wants which they do not enjoy the means of gratifying; and they live in a clime where the painful extremes of heat and cold are equally unknown. If nature has been wanting in anything, it is in the article of fresh water, which, as it is shut up in the bowels of the earth, they are obliged to dig for. A running stream was not seen, and but one well, at Amsterdam. At Middleburg, we saw no water but what the natives had in vessels; but as it was sweet and cool, I had no doubt of its being taken up upon the island, and, probably, not far from the spot where I saw it.

* This custom is not peculiar to the inhabitants of the Friendly Isles. See Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains, tome. ii. p. 253, &c.

So little do we know of their religion, that I hardly dare mention it. The buildings called *Afiatoucas*, before mentioned, are undoubtedly set apart for this purpose. Some of our gentlemen were of opinion, that they were merely burying-places. I can only say, from my own knowledge, that they are places to which particular persons directed set speeches, which I understood to be prayers, as hath been already related. Joining my opinion with that of others, I was inclined to think that they are set apart to be both temples and burying-places, as at Otaheite, or even in Europe. But I have no idea of the images being idols; not only from what I saw myself, but from Mr. Wales's informing me that they set one of them up, for him and others to shoot at. One circumstance showed that these *Afiatoucas* were frequently resorted to, for one purpose or other; the areas, or open places, before them, being covered with a green sod, the grass on which was very short. This did not appear to have been cut, or reduced by the hand of man, but to have been prevented in its growth by being often trod, or sat upon.

It cannot be supposed that we could know much, either of their civil or religious policy, in so short a time as four or five days, especially as we understood but little of their language: even the two islanders we had on board could not at first understand them; and yet as we became the more acquainted with them, we found their language was nearly the same spoken at Otaheite and the Society Isles; the difference not being greater than what we find betwixt the most northern and western parts of England, as will more fully appear by the vocabulary.

CHAPTER IV.—PASSAGE FROM AMSTERDAM TO QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF AN INTERVIEW WITH THE INHABITANTS, AND THE FINAL SEPARATION OF THE TWO SHIPS.

About the time we were in a condition to make sail, a canoe, conducted by four men, came alongside, with one of those drums already mentioned, on which one man kept continually beating; thinking, no doubt, the music would charm us. I gave them a piece of cloth, and a nail, for the drum, and took the opportunity to send to my friend Attago some wheat, peas, and beans, which I had forgot to give him when he had the other seeds. As soon as this canoe was gone, we made sail to the southward, having a gentle gale at S.E. by E., it being my intention to proceed directly to Queen Charlotte's Sound in New Zealand, there to take in wood and water, and then to go on further discoveries to the south and east.

In the afternoon on the 8th, we made the island of Pilstart, bearing S.W. by W. ½ W., distant seven or eight leagues. This island, which was also discovered by Tasman, is situated in the latitude of 22° 26′ south, longitude 175° 59′ west, and lies in the direction of S. 52° west, distant thirty-two leagues from the south end of Middleburg. It is more conspicuous in height than circuit; having in it two considerable hills, seemingly disjoined from each other by a low valley. After a few hours' calm, the wind came to S.W., with which we stretched to the S.E., but on the 10th, it veered round by the south to the S.E. and E.S.E., and then we resumed our course to the S.S.W.

At five o'clock in the morning of the 21st we made the land of New Zealand, extending from N.W. by N. to W.S.W. At noon, Table Cape bore west, distant eight or ten leagues. I was very desirous of having some intercourse with the natives of this country as far to the north as possible; that is, about Poverty or Tolaga Bays, where I apprehended they were more civilized than at Queen Charlotte's Sound; in order to give them some hogs, fowls, seeds, roots, &c., which I had provided for the purpose. The wind veering to the N.W. and north, enabled us to fetch in with the land a little to the north of Portland, and we stood as near the shore as we could with safety. We observed several people upon it, but none attempted to come off to us. Seeing this, we bore away under Portland, where we lay-to some time, as well to give time for the natives to come off as to wait for the Adventure. There were several people on Portland, but none seemed inclined to come to us; indeed the wind at this time blew rather too fresh for them to make the attempt. Therefore, as soon as the Adventure was up with us, we made sail for Cape Kidnappers, which we passed at five o'clock in the morning, and continued our course alongshore, till nine, when, being about

three leagues short of Black Head, we saw some canoes put off from the shore. Upon this I brought to, in order to give them time to come on board; but ordered the Adventure, by signal, to stand on, as I was willing to lose as little time as possible.

Those in the first canoe which came alongside were fishers, and exchanged some fish for pieces of cloth and nails. In the next were two men, whom, by their dress and behaviour, I took to be chiefs. These two were easily prevailed on to come on board, when they were presented with nails, and other articles. They were so fond of nails, as to seize on all they could find, and with such eagerness, as plainly showed they were the most valuable things we could give them. To the principal of these two men I gave the pigs, fowls, seeds, and roots. I believe, at first, he did not think I meant to give them to him; for he took but little notice of them, till he was satisfied they were for himself. Nor was he then in such a rapture as when I gave him a spike-nail half the length of his arm. However, at his going away, I took notice that he very well remembered how many pigs and fowls had been given him, as he took care to have them all collected together, and kept a watchful eye over them, lest any should be taken away. He made me a promise not to kill any; and if he keeps his word, and proper care is taken of them, there were enough to stock the whole island in due time, being two boars, two sows, four hens, and two cocks. The seeds were such as are most useful, viz., wheat, French and kidney beans, peas, cabbage, turnips, onions, carrots, parsnips, and yams, &c. With these articles they were dismissed. It was evident these people had not forgot the Endeavour being on their coast; for the first words they spoke to us were, *Mataou no te pow pow* (We are afraid of the guns). As they could be no strangers to the affair which happened off Cape Kidnapper in my former voyage, experience had taught them to have some regard to these instruments of death.

As soon as they were gone we stretched off to the southward, the wind having now veered to the W.S.W. In the afternoon it increased to a fresh gale, and blew in squalls; in one of which we lost our fore-top-gallant mast, having carried the sail a little too long. The fear of losing the land induced me to carry as much sail as possible. At seven in the morning we tacked, and stretched in-shore; Cape Turnagain, at this time, bore about N.W. ½ N., distant six or seven leagues. The Adventure, being a good way to leeward, we suppose did not observe the signal, but stood on, consequently was separated from us. During the night (which was spent in plying) the wind increased in such a manner as to bring us under our courses; it also veered to S.W. and S.S.W., and was attended with rain.

At nine in the morning on the 23d, the sky began to clear up, and the gale to abate, so that we could carry close-reefed top-sails. At eleven o'clock we were close in with Cape Turnagain, when we tacked and stood off; at noon the said Cape bore west a little northerly, distant six or seven miles. Latitude observed 41° 30′ south. Soon after, the wind falling almost to a calm, and flattering ourselves that it would be succeeded by one more favourable, we got up another topgallant mast, rigged topgallant yards, and loosed all the reefs out of the top-sails. The event was not equal to our wishes. The wind, indeed, came something more favourable—that is, at W. by N., with which we stretched alongshore to the southward; but it soon increased in such a manner as to undo what we had but just done, and at last stripped us to our courses, and two close-reefed top-sails, under which sails we continued all night. About daylight the next morning, the gale abating, we were again tempted to loose out the reefs, and rig topgallant yards, which proved all lost labour; for, by nine o'clock we were reduced to the same sail as before. Soon after the Adventure joined us; and at noon Cape Palliser bore west, distant eight or nine leagues. This cape is the southern point of Eahei-nomauwe. We continued to stretch to the southward till midnight, when the wind abated and shifted to S.E. Three hours after it fell calm, during which we loosed the reefs out, with the vain hopes that the next wind which came would be favourable. We were mistaken; the wind only took this short repose, in order to gain strength, and fall the heavier upon us. For at five o'clock in the morning, being the 25th, a gale sprung up at N.W., with which we stretched to S.W. Cape Palliser, at this time, bore N.N.W., distant eight or nine leagues. The wind increased in such a manner, as obliged us to take in one reef after another; and at last it came on with such fury as made it necessary to

take in all our sails with the utmost expedition, and to lie-to under bare poles. The sea rose in proportion with the wind; so that we had a terrible gale and a mountainous sea to encounter. Thus, after beating up against a hard gale for two days, and arriving just in sight of our port, we had the mortification to be driven off from the land by a furious storm. Two favourable circumstances attended it, which gave us some consolation; it was fair overhead, and we were not apprehensive of a lee-shore.

The storm continued all the day without the least intermission. In the evening we bore down to look for the Adventure, she being out of sight to leeward, and after running the distance we supposed her to be off, brought-to again without seeing; it being so very hazy and thick in the horizon that we could not see a mile round us, occasioned by the spray of the sea being lifted up to a great height by the force of the wind. At midnight the gale abated; soon after fell little wind; and at last shifted to S.W., when we wore, set the courses and top-sails close-reefed, and stood in for the land. Soon after the wind freshened and fixed at south; but as the Adventure was some distance astern, we lay by for her till eight o'clock, when we both made all sail, and steered N. by W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. for the strait. At noon observed in 42° 27′ south, Cape Palliser, by judgment, bore north, distant seventeen leagues. This favourable wind was not of sufficient duration; in the afternoon it fell, by little and little, and at length to a calm; this at ten o'clock was succeeded by a fresh breeze from the north, with which we stretched to the westward.

At three o'clock next morning we were pretty well in with Cape Campbell on the west side of the strait, when we tacked, and stretched over for Cape Palliser, under courses and close-reefed topsails, having the wind at N.W. a very strong gale, and fair weather. At noon, we tacked and stretched to the S.W., with the last-mentioned cape bearing west, distant four or five leagues. In the afternoon the gale increased in such a manner, as brought us under our courses. We continued to stretch to the S.W. till midnight, when we wore, and set close-reefed topsails. On the 28th, at eight o'clock in the morning, we wore, and stood again to the S.W. till noon, when we were obliged to lie-to under the fore-sail. At this time the high land over Cape Campbell bore west, distant ten or twelve leagues. The Adventure four or five miles to leeward. In the afternoon the fury of the gale began to abate; when we set the main-sail, close-reefed main-top-sail, and stood to the northward with the wind at W.N.W. and W. by N., a strong gale attended with heavy squalls.

In the morning of the 29th, the wind abated and shifted to S.W. a gentle gale. Of this we took immediate advantage, set all our sails, and stood for Cape Palliser, which at noon bore W. by N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N., distant about six leagues. The wind continued between the S.W. and south till five in the evening, when it fell calm. At this time we were about three leagues from the Cape. At seven o'clock the calm was succeeded by a gentle breeze from N.N.E. as fair as we could wish; so that we began to reckon what time we should reach the Sound the next day; but at nine the wind shifted to its old quarter N.W., and blew a fresh gale, with which we stretched to the S.W. under single-reefed top-sails and courses, with the Adventure in company. She was seen until midnight, at which time she was two or three miles astern, and presently after she disappeared; nor was she to be seen at day-light. We supposed she had tacked and stood to the N.E., by which manœuvre we lost sight of her.

We continued to stretch to the westward with the wind at N.N.W., which increased in such a manner as to bring us under our two courses, after splitting a new main-top-sail. At noon, Cape Campbell bore W. by N., distant seven or eight leagues. At three in the afternoon, the gale began to abate, and to veer more to the north, so that we fetched in with the land under the Snowy Mountains, about four or five leagues to windward of the Lookers-on, where there was the appearance of a large bay. I now regretted the loss of the Adventure; for had she been with me, I should have given up all thoughts of going to Queen Charlotte's Sound to wood and water, and have sought for a place to get these articles farther south, as the wind was now favourable for ranging along the coast. But our separation made it necessary for me to repair to the Sound, that being the place of rendezvous.

As we approached the land we saw smoke in several places along the shore; a sure sign

that the coast was inhabited. Our soundings were from forty-seven to twenty-five fathoms; that is, at the distance of three miles from the shore, forty-seven fathoms; and twenty-five fathoms at the distance of one mile, where we tacked, and stood to the eastward, under the two courses and close-reefed top-sails; but the latter we could not carry long before we were obliged to hand them. We continued to stand to the eastward all night, in hopes of meeting with the Adventure in the morning. Seeing nothing of her then, we wore and brought-to, under the fore-sail and mizen-stay-sail, the wind having increased to a perfect storm; but we had not been long in this situation before it abated, so as to permit us to carry the two courses, under which we stood to the west; and at noon the Snowy Mountains bore W.N.W., distant twelve or fourteen leagues. At six o'clock in the evening the wind quite ceased; but this proved only a momentary repose; for presently after, it began to blow with redoubled fury, and obliged us to lie-to under the mizen-stay-sail; in which situation we continued till midnight, when the storm lessened; and two hours after it fell calm.

On the 1st of November, at four o'clock in the morning, the calm was succeeded by a breeze from the south. This soon after increased to a fresh gale, attended with hazy rainy weather, which gave us hopes that the N.W. winds were done; for it must be observed, that they were attended with clear and fair weather. We were not wanting in taking immediate advantage of this favourable wind, by setting all our sails, and steering for Cape Campbell, which at noon bore north, distant three or four leagues. At two o'clock we passed the Cape, and entered the Strait with a brisk gale a-stern, and so likely to continue that we thought of nothing less than reaching our port the next morning. Once more we were to be deceived: at six o'clock, being off Cloudy Bay, our favourable wind was succeeded by one from the north, which soon after veered to N.W., and increased to a fresh gale. We spent the night plying; our tacks proved disadvantageous; and we lost more on the ebb than we gained on the flood. Next morning, we stretched over for the shore of Eahei-nomauwe. At sunrise the horizon being extraordinarily clear to leeward, we looked well out for the Adventure; but as we saw nothing of her, judged she had got into the Sound. As we approached the above-mentioned shore, we discovered on the east side of Cape Teerawhitte a new inlet I had never observed before. Being tired with beating against the N.W. winds, I resolved to put into this place, if I found it practicable, or to anchor in the bay which lies before it. The flood being in our favour, after making a stretch off, we fetched under the Cape, and stretched into the bay along by the western shore, having from thirty-five to twelve fathoms, the bottom everywhere good anchorage. At one o'clock we reached the entrance of the inlet, just as the tide of ebb was making out; the wind being likewise against us, we anchored in twelve fathoms water, the bottom a fine sand. The easternmost of the Black Rocks, which lie on the larboard side of the entrance of the inlet, bore N. by E., one mile distant; Cape Teerawhitte, or the west point of the bay, west, distant about two leagues; and the east point of the bay N. by E., four or five miles.

Soon after we had anchored, several of the natives came off in their canoes; two from one shore, and one from the other. It required but little address to get three or four of them on board. These people were extravagantly fond of nails above every other thing. To one man I gave two cocks and two hens, which he received with so much indifference, as gave me little hopes he would take proper care of them. We had not been at anchor here above two hours, before the wind veered to N.E., with which we weighed; but the anchor was hardly at the bows before it shifted to south. With this we could but just lead out of the bay, and then bore away for the Sound under all the sail we could set; having the advantage, or rather disadvantage, of an increasing gale, which already blew too hard. We hauled up into the Sound just at dark, after making two boards, in which most of our sails were split; and anchored in eighteen fathoms water, between the White Rocks and the N.W. shore.

The next morning the gale abated, and was succeeded by a few hours' calm; after that a breeze sprung up at N.W., with which we weighed and ran up into Ship Cove, where we did not find the Adventure as was expected.

CHAPTER V.—TRANSACTIONS IN QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE INHABITANTS BEING CANNIBALS, AND VARIOUS OTHER INCIDENTS.—DEPARTURE FROM THE SOUND, AND OUR ENDEAVOURS TO FIND THE ADVENTURE, WITH SOME DESCRIPTION OF THE COAST.

THE first thing we did, after mooring the ship, was to unbend all the sails, there not being one but what wanted repair. Indeed, both our sails and rigging had sustained much damage in beating off the Strait's mouth. We had no sooner anchored than we were visited by the natives, several of whom I remembered to have seen when I was here in the Endeavour, particularly an old man named Goubiah. In the afternoon I gave orders for all the empty water-casks to be landed, in order to be repaired, cleaned, and filled; tents to be set up for the sail-makers, coopers, and others, whose business made it necessary for them to be on shore. The next day we began to caulk the ship's sides and decks, to overhaul her rigging, repair the sails, cut wood for fuel, and set up the smith's forge to repair the iron-work; all of which were absolutely necessary. We also made some hauls with the seine, but caught no fish, which deficiency the natives in some measure made up, by bringing us a good quantity, and exchanging them for pieces of Otaheitean cloth, &c.

On the 5th, the most part of our bread being in casks, I ordered some to be opened, when, to our mortification, we found a good deal of it damaged. To repair this loss in the best manner we could, all the casks were opened, the bread was picked, and the copper oven set up, to bake such parcels of it as by that means could be recovered. Some time this morning, the natives stole out of one of the tents a bag of clothes belonging to one of the seamen. As soon as I was informed of it, I went to them in an adjoining cove, demanded the clothes again, and, after some time spent in friendly application, recovered them. Since we were among thieves, and had come off so well, I was not sorry for what had happened, as it taught our people to keep a better look-out for the future.

With these people I saw the youngest of the two sows Captain Furneaux had put on shore in Cannibal Cove, when we were last here: it was lame of one of its hind legs; otherwise in good case, and very tame. If we understood these people right, the boar and other sow were also taken away and separated, but not killed. We were likewise told that the two goats I had put on shore up the Sound had been killed by that old rascal Goubiah. Thus all our endeavours to stock this country with useful animals were likely to be frustrated by the very people we meant to serve. Our gardens had fared somewhat better. Everything in them, except the potatoes, they had left entirely to nature, who had acted her part so well, that we found most articles in a flourishing state; a proof that the winter must have been mild. The potatoes had most of them been dug up; some, however, still remained, and were growing, though I think it is probable they will never be got out of the ground.

Next morning I sent over to the cove, where the natives reside, to haul the seine, and took with me a boar and a young sow, two cocks and two hens, we had brought from the isles. These I gave to the natives, being persuaded they would take proper care of them, by their keeping Captain Furneaux's sow near five months; for I am to suppose it was caught soon after we sailed. We had no better success with the seine than before; nevertheless, we did not return on board quite empty, having purchased a large quantity from the natives. When we were upon this traffic, they showed a great inclination to pick my pockets, and to take away the fish with one hand which they had just given me with the other. This evil one of the chiefs undertook to remove, and with fury in his eyes made a show of keeping the people at a proper distance. I applauded his conduct, but at the same time kept so good a look-out, as to detect him in picking my pocket of a handkerchief, which I suffered him to put in his bosom before I seemed to know anything of the matter, and then told him what I had lost. He seemed quite ignorant and innocent, till I took it from him; and then he put it off with a laugh, acting his part with so much address, that

it was hardly possible for me to be angry with him; so that we remained good friends, and he accompanied me on board to dinner. About that time we were visited by several strangers, in four or five canoes, who brought with them fish and other articles, which they exchanged for cloth, &c. These new-comers took up their quarters in a cove near us; but very early the next morning moved off with six of our small water-casks, and with them all the people we found here on our arrival. This precipitate retreat of these last we supposed was owing to the theft the others had committed. They left behind them some of their dogs, and the boar I had given them the day before, which I now took back again, as I had not another. Our casks were the least loss we felt by these people leaving us; while they remained, we were generally well supplied with fish, at a small expense.

We had fair weather, with the wind at north-east, on the 9th, which gave us some hopes of seeing the Adventure; but these hopes vanished in the afternoon, when the wind shifted to the westward. The next morning our friends the natives returned again, and brought with them a quantity of fish, which they exchanged for two hatchets. Fair weather on the 12th enabled us to finish picking, airing, and baking our biscuit; four thousand two hundred and ninety-two pounds of which we found totally unfit to eat; and about three thousand pounds more could only be eaten by people in our situation.

On the 13th, clear and pleasant weather. Early in the morning the natives brought us a quantity of fish, which they exchanged as usual. But their greatest branch of trade was the green talc or stone, called by them, *Poenammoo*, a thing of no great value; nevertheless, it was so much sought after by our people, that there was hardly a thing they would not give for a piece of it. The 15th being a pleasant morning, a party of us went over to the East Bay, and climbed one of the hills which overlooked the eastern part of the strait, in order to look for the Adventure. We had a fatiguing walk to little purpose; for when we came to the summit, we found the eastern horizon so foggy, that we could not see above two miles. Mr. Forster, who was one of the party, profited by this excursion, in collecting some new plants. I now began to despair of seeing the Adventure any more, but was totally at a loss to conceive what was become of her. Till now, I thought she had put into some port in the strait, when the wind came to north-west the day we anchored in the cove, and waited to complete her water. This conjecture was reasonable enough at first, but it was now hardly probable she could be twelve days in our neighbourhood, without our either hearing or seeing something of her.

The hill we now mounted is the same that I was upon in 1770, when I had the second view of the strait: we then built a tower with the stones we found there, which we now saw had been levelled to the ground, no doubt by the natives, with a view of finding something hid in it. When we returned from the hill, we found a number of them collected round our boat. After some exchanges, and making them some presents, we embarked, in order to return on board, and in our way visited others of the inhabitants, by whom we were kindly received. Our friends, the natives, employed themselves on the 17th in fishing in our neighbourhood, and, as fast as they caught the fish, came and disposed of them to us, insomuch that we had more than we could make use of. From this day to the 22d nothing remarkable happened, and we were occupied in getting everything in readiness to put to sea, being resolved to wait no longer than the assigned time for the Adventure.

The winds were between the south and west, stormy with rain till the 22d, when the weather became settled, clear, and pleasant. Very early in the morning we were visited by a number of the natives, in four or five canoes, very few of whom we had seen before. They brought with them various articles (curiosities) which they exchanged for Otaheitean cloth, &c. At first the exchanges were very much in our favour, till an old man, who was no stranger to us, came and assisted his countrymen with his advice, which in a moment turned the trade above a thousand per cent. against us.

After these people were gone, I took four hogs (that is, three sows and one boar), two cocks and two hens, which I landed in the bottom of the West Bay, carrying them a little way into the woods, where we left them with as much food as would serve them ten or twelve days. This was done with a view of keeping them in the woods, lest they should come down to the shore in search of food and be discovered by the natives; which, however,

seemed not probable, as this place had never been frequented by them, nor were any traces of them to be seen near it. We also left some cocks and hens in the woods in Ship Cove; but these will have a chance of falling into the hands of the natives, whose wandering way of life will hinder them from breeding, even suppose they should be taken proper care of. Indeed they took rather too much care of those which I had already given them, by keeping them continually confined, for fear of losing them in the woods. The sow pig we had not seen since the day they had her from me; but we were now told she was still living, as also the old boar and sow given them by Captain Furneaux; so that there is reason to hope they may succeed. It will be unfortunate, indeed, if every method I have taken to provide this country with useful animals should be frustrated. We were likewise told that the two goats were still alive and running about, but I gave more credit to the first story than this. I should have replaced them, by leaving the only two I had left, but had the misfortune to lose the ram soon after our arrival here in a manner we could hardly account for. They were both put ashore at the tents, where they seemed to thrive very well: at last the ram was taken with fits bordering on madness. We were at a loss to tell whether it was occasioned by anything he had eaten, or by being stung with nettles, which were in plenty about the place, but supposed it to be the latter, and therefore did not take the care of him we ought to have done. One night while he was lying by the sentinel, he was seized with one of these fits, and ran headlong into the sea, but soon came out again and seemed quite easy. Presently after, he was seized with another fit, and ran along the beach, with the she-goat after him. Some time after she returned, but the other was never seen more. Diligent search was made for him in the woods to no purpose; we, therefore, supposed he had run into the sea a second time and had been drowned. After this accident, it would have been in vain to leave the she-goat, as she was not with kid, having kidded but a few days before we arrived, and the kids dead. Thus the reader will see how every method I have taken to stock this country with sheep and goats has proved ineffectual.

When I returned on board in the evening, I found our good friends the natives had brought us a large supply of fish. Some of the officers visiting them at their habitations, saw among them some human thigh-bones, from which the flesh had been but lately picked. This and other circumstances led us to believe that the people whom we took for strangers this morning, were of the same tribe; that they had been out on some war expedition; and that those things they sold us were the spoils of their enemies. Indeed, we had some information of this sort the day before; for a number of women and children came off to us in a canoe, from whom we learnt that a party of men were then out, for whose safety they were under some apprehension; but this report found little credit with us, as we soon after saw some canoes come in from fishing, which we judged to be them. Having now got the ship in a condition for sea, and to encounter the southern latitudes, I ordered the tents to be struck and everything to be got on board.

The boatswain, with a party of men, being in the woods cutting broom, some of them found a private hut of the natives, in which was deposited most of the treasure they had received from us, as well as some other articles of their own. It is very probable some were set to watch this hut; as, soon after it was discovered, they came and took all away. But missing some things, they told our people they had stolen them, and in the evening came and made their complaint to me, pitching upon one of the party as the person who had committed the theft. Having ordered this man to be punished before them, they went away seemingly satisfied, although they did not recover any of the things they had lost, nor could I by any means find out what had become of them; though nothing was more certain than that something had been stolen by some of the party, if not by the very man the natives had pitched upon. It was ever a maxim with me to punish the least crimes any of my people committed against these uncivilized nations. Their robbing us with impunity is by no means a sufficient reason why we should treat them in the same manner, a conduct we see they themselves cannot justify. They found themselves injured, and sought for redress in a legal way. The best method, in my opinion, to preserve a good understanding with such people, is, first, by showing them the use of fire-arms, to convince them of the superiority

they give you over them, and then to be always upon your guard. When once they are sensible of these things, a regard for their own safety will deter them from disturbing you, or from being unanimous in forming any plan to attack you, and strict honesty and gentle treatment on your part will make it their interest not to do it.

Calm or light airs from the north all day on the 23d hindered us from putting to sea as intended. In the afternoon, some of the officers went on shore to amuse themselves among the natives, where they saw the head and bowels of a youth, who had lately been killed, lying on the beach, and the heart stuck on a forked stick which was fixed to the head of one of the largest canoes. One of the gentlemen bought the head and brought it on board, where a piece of the flesh was broiled and eaten by one of the natives, before all the officers and most of the men. I was on shore at this time, but soon after returning on board, was informed of the above circumstances, and found the quarter-deck crowded with the natives, and the mangled head, or rather part of it (for the under jaw and lip were wanting), lying on the tafferal. The skull had been broken on the left side just above the temples, and the remains of the face had all the appearance of a youth under twenty.

The sight of the head, and the relation of the above circumstances, struck me with horror, and filled my mind with indignation against these cannibals. Curiosity, however, got the better of my indignation, especially when I considered that it would avail but little, and being desirous of becoming an eye-witness of a fact which many doubted, I ordered a piece of the flesh to be broiled and brought to the quarter-deck, where one of these cannibals ate it with surprising avidity. This had such an effect on some of our people as to make them sick. Oedidee (who came on board with me) was so affected with the sight as to become perfectly motionless, and seemed as if metamorphosed into the statue of horror. It is utterly impossible for art to describe that passion with half the force that it appeared in his countenance. When roused from this state by some of us, he burst into tears; continued to weep and scold by turns; told them they were vile men; and that he neither was nor would be any longer their friend. He even would not suffer them to touch him; he used the same language to one of the gentlemen who cut off the flesh, and refused to accept or even touch the knife with which it was done. Such was Oedidee's indignation against the vile custom, and worthy of imitation by every rational being.

I was not able to find out the reason for their undertaking this expedition. All I could understand for certain was, that they went from hence into Admiralty Bay (the next inlet to the west) and there fought with their enemies, many of whom they killed. They counted to me fifty, a number which exceeded probability, as they were not more, if so many, themselves. I think I understood them clearly, that this youth was killed there, and not brought away prisoner and afterwards killed. Nor could I learn that they had brought away any more than this one; which increased the improbability of their having killed so many. We had also reason to think that they did not come off without loss; for a young woman was seen more than once to cut herself, as is the custom when they lose a friend or relation.

That the New Zealanders are cannibals can now no longer be doubted. The account given of this in my former voyage, being partly founded on circumstances, was, as I afterwards understood, discredited by many persons. Few consider what a savage man is in his natural state, and even after he is in some degree civilized. The New Zealanders are certainly in some state of civilization; their behaviour to us was manly and mild, showing on all occasions a readiness to oblige. They have some arts among them which they execute with great judgment and unwearied patience; they are far less addicted to thieving than the other islanders of the South Sea; and I believe those in the same tribe, or such as are at peace one with another, are strictly honest among themselves. This custom of eating their enemies slain in battle (for I firmly believe they eat the flesh of no others) has, undoubtedly, been handed down to them from the earliest times; and we know it is not an easy matter to wean a nation from their ancient customs, let them be ever so inhuman and savage; especially if that nation has no manner of connexion or commerce with strangers. For it is by this that the greatest part of the human race has been civilized; an advantage which the New Zealanders from their situation never had. An intercourse with foreigners would

reform their manners, and polish their savage minds. Or, were they more united under a settled form of government, they would have fewer enemies; consequently, this custom would be less in use, and might in time be in a manner forgotten. At present, they have but little idea of treating others as themselves would *wish* to be treated, but treat them as they *expect* to be treated. If I remember right, one of the arguments they made use of to Tupia, who frequently expostulated with them against this custom, was, that there could be no harm in killing and eating the man who would do the same by them, if it was in his power. For, said they, "Can there be any harm in eating our enemies, whom we have killed in battle? Would not those very enemies have done the same to us?" I have often seen them listen to Tupia with great attention; but I never found his arguments have any weight with them, or that, with all his rhetoric he could persuade any one of them that this custom was wrong; and when Oedidee and several of our people showed their abhorrence of it, they only laughed at them.

Among many reasons which I have heard assigned for the prevalence of this horrid custom, the want of animal food has been one; but how far this is deducible either from facts or circumstances, I shall leave those to find out who advanced it. In every part of New Zealand where I have been, fish was in such plenty, that the natives generally caught as much as served both themselves and us. They have also plenty of dogs; nor is there any want of wild-fowl, which they know very well how to kill. So that neither this, nor the want of food of any kind, can in my opinion be the reason. But whatever it may be, I think it was but too evident that they have a great liking for this kind of food.

I must here observe that Oedidee soon learnt to converse with these people, as I am persuaded he would have done with the people of Amsterdam, had he been a little longer with them; for he did not understand the New Zealanders at first any more than, or not so much as, he understood the people of Amsterdam.

At four o'clock in the morning, on the 24th, we unmoored with an intent to put to sea; but the wind being at north and north-east without, and blowing strong puffs into the cove, made it necessary for us to lie fast. While we were unmooring, some of our old friends came on board to take their leave of us, and afterwards left the cove with all their effects; but those who had been out on the late expedition remained; and some of the gentlemen having visited them, found the heart still sticking on the canoe, and the intestines lying on the beach; but the liver and lungs were now wanting. Probably they had eaten them after the carcase was all gone.

On the 25th, early in the morning, we weighed, with a small breeze, out of the cove, which carried us no farther than between Motuara and Long Island, where we were obliged to anchor; but presently after a breeze springing up at north, we weighed again, turned out of the Sound, and stood over for Cape Teerawhitte. During our stay in the Sound we were plentifully supplied with fish, procured from the natives at a very easy rate; and besides the vegetables our own gardens afforded, we found everywhere plenty of scurvy-grass and celery, which I caused to be dressed every day for all the hands. By this means they had been mostly on a fresh diet for the three preceding months; and at this time we had neither a sick nor scorbutic man on board. It is necessary to mention, for the information of others, that we had now some pork on board, salted at Ulietea, and as good as any I ever ate. The manner in which we cured it was thus: In the cool of the evening, the hogs were killed, dressed, cut up, the bones cut out, and the flesh salted while it was yet hot. The next morning we gave it a second salting, packed it into a cask, and put to it a sufficient quantity of strong pickle. Great care is to be taken that the meat be well covered with pickle, otherwise it will soon spoil.

The morning before we sailed, I wrote a memorandum, setting forth the time we last arrived, the day we sailed, the route I intended to take, and such other information as I thought necessary for Captain Furneaux, in case he should put into the sound; and buried it in a bottle under the root of a tree in the garden, which is in the bottom of the cove, in such a manner as must be found by him or any European who might put into the cove. I, however, had little reason to hope it would fall into the hands of the person for whom it was intended, thinking it hardly possible that the Adventure could be in any port in New

Zealand, as we had not heard of her in all this time. Nevertheless, I was resolved not to leave the coast without looking for her, where I thought it most likely for her to be. It was with this view that I stood over for Cape Teerawhitte, and afterward ran alongshore, from point to point, to Cape Palliser, firing guns every half-hour; but all to no effect. At eight o'clock we brought-to for the night, Cape Palliser bearing south-east by east distant three leagues, in which situation we had fifty fathoms water.

I had now an opportunity of making the following remarks on the coast between Cape Teerawhitte and Cape Palliser. The bay which lies on the west side of the last cape does not appear to run so far inland to the northward as I at first thought, the deception being caused by the land in the bottom of it being low; it is, however, at least five leagues deep, and full as wide at the entrance. Though it seems to be exposed to southerly and south-west winds, it is probable there may be places in the bottom of it sheltered even from these. The bay or inlet on the east side of Cape Teerawhitte, before which we anchored, lies in north inclining to the west, and seemed to be sheltered from all winds. The middle cape or point of land that disjoins these two bays, rises to a considerable height, especially inland; for close to the sea is a skirt of low land, off which lie some pointed rocks, but so near to the shore as to be no ways dangerous. Indeed, the navigation of this side of the strait seems much safer than the other, because the tides here are not near so strong. Cape Teerawhitte and Cape Palliser lie in the direction of N. 69° W. and S. 69° E. from each other, distant ten leagues. The cape which disjoins the two bays above mentioned lies within, or north of this direction. All the land near the coast, between and about these capes, is exceedingly barren; probably owing to its being so much exposed to the cold southerly winds. From Cape Teerawhitte to the Two Brothers, which lie off Cape Koamaroo, the course is nearly north-west by north, distant sixteen miles. North of Cape Teerawhitte, between it and Entry Island, is an island lying pretty near the shore. I judged this to be an island when I saw it in my former voyage, but not being certain, left it undetermined in my chart of the strait, which is the reason of my taking notice of it now, as also of the bays, &c. above mentioned.

At daylight in the morning of the 26th, we made sail round Cape Palliser, firing guns as usual as we ran along the shore. In this manner we proceeded till we were three or four leagues to the north-east of the cape, when the wind shifting to north-east, we bore away to Cape Campbell, on the other side of the strait. Soon after seeing a smoke ascend, at some distance inland away to the north-east, we hauled the wind, and continued to ply till six o'clock in the evening; which was several hours after the smoke disappeared, and left us not the least signs of people. Every one being unanimously of opinion that the Adventure could neither be stranded on the coast, nor be in any of the harbours thereof, I gave up looking for her, and all thoughts of seeing her any more during the voyage; as no rendezvous was absolutely fixed upon after leaving New Zealand. Nevertheless, this did not discourage me from fully exploring the southern parts of the Pacific Ocean, in the doing of which I intended to employ the whole of the ensuing season.

On our quitting the coast, and, consequently, all hopes of being joined by our consort, I had the satisfaction to find that not a man was dejected, or thought the dangers we had yet to go through were in the least increased by being alone; but as cheerfully proceeding to the south, or wherever I might think proper to lead them, as if the Adventure, or even more ships, had been in our company.

CHAPTER VI.—ROUTE OF THE SHIP FROM NEW ZEALAND IN SEARCH OF A CONTINENT; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE VARIOUS OBSTRUCTIONS MET WITH FROM THE ICE, AND THE METHODS PURSUED TO EXPLORE THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC OCEAN.

At eight o'clock in the evening of the 26th, we took our departure from Cape Palliser, and steered to the south, inclining to the east, having a favourable gale from the north-west and south-west: we daily saw some rock-weed, seals, Port-Egmont hens, albatrosses, pintadoes, and other peterels; and on the 2d of December, being in the latitude of 48° 23′ S.,

longitude 179° 16′ W., we saw a number of red-billed penguins, which remained about us for several days. On the 5th, being in the latitude 50° 17′ S., longitude 179° 40′ E., the variation was 18° 25′ E. At half an hour past eight o'clock the next evening, we reckoned ourselves antipodes to our friends in London, consequently as far removed from them as possible.

On the 8th, being in latitude 55° 39′, longitude 178° 53′ W., we ceased to see penguins and seals, and concluded that those we had seen retired to the southern parts of New Zealand whenever it was necessary for them to be at land. We had now a strong gale at north-west, and a great swell from south-west. This swell we got as soon as the south point of New Zealand came in that direction; and as we had had no wind from that quarter the six preceding days, but, on the contrary, it had been at east, north, and north-west, I conclude there can be no land to the southward, under the meridian of New Zealand, but what must lie very far to the south. The two following days we had very stormy weather, sleet and snow, winds between the north and south-west. The 11th the storm abated, and the weather clearing up, we found the latitude to be 61° 15′ S., longitude 173° 4′ W. This fine weather was of short duration: in the evening the wind increased to a strong gale at south-west, blew in squalls, attended with thick snow showers, hail, and sleet. The mercury in the thermometer fell to thirty-two, consequently the weather was very cold, and seemed to indicate that ice was not far off.

At four o'clock the next morning, being in the latitude of 62° 10′ S., longitude 172° W., we saw the first ice island, 11½° farther S. than the first ice we saw the preceding year after leaving the Cape of Good Hope. At the time we saw this ice, we also saw an antarctic peterel, some grey albatrosses, and our old companions, pintadoes and blue peterels. The wind kept veering from S.W. by the N.W. to N.N.E., for the most part a fresh gale, attended with a thick haze and snow; on which account we steered to the S.E. and E., keeping the wind always on the beam, that it might be in our power to return back nearly on the same track, should our course have been interrupted by any danger whatever. For some days we had a great sea from the N.W. and S.W., so that it is not probable there can be any land near between these two points. We fell in with several large islands on the 14th, and, about noon, with a quantity of loose ice, through which we sailed. Latitude 64° 55′ S., longitude 163° 20′ W. Grey albatrosses, blue peterels, pintadoes, and fulmers were seen. As we advanced to the S.E. by E., with a fresh gale at W., we found the number of ice islands increase fast upon us. Between noon and eight in the evening we saw but two, but before four o'clock in the morning of the 15th, we had passed seventeen, besides a quantity of loose ice which we ran through. At six o'clock we were obliged to haul to the north-east, in order to clear an immense field which lay to the south and south-east. The ice in most part of it lay close packed together; in other places there appeared partitions in the field, and a clear sea beyond it. However, I did not think it safe to venture through, as the wind would not permit us to return the same way that we must go in. Besides, as it blew strong, and the weather at times was exceedingly foggy, it was the more necessary for us to get clear of this loose ice, which is rather more dangerous than the great islands. It was not such ice as is usually found in bays or rivers, and near shore, but such as breaks off from the islands, and may not improperly be called parings of the large pieces, or the rubbish or fragments which fall off when the great islands break loose from the place where they are formed.

We had not stood long to the north-east before we found ourselves embayed by the ice, and were obliged to tack and stretch to the south-west, having the field or loose ice to the south, and many huge islands to the north. After standing two hours on this tack, the wind very luckily veering to the westward, we tacked, stretched to the north, and soon got clear of all the loose ice, but not before we had received several hard knocks from the larger pieces, which, with all our care, we could not avoid. After clearing one danger, we still had another to encounter; the weather remained foggy, and many large islands lay in our way; so that we had to luff for one, and bear up for another. One we were very near falling aboard of, and if it had happened, this circumstance would never have been related. These difficulties, together with the improbability of finding land farther south, and the impossibility of exploring

it on account of the ice, if we should find any, determined me to get more to the north. At the time we last tacked, we were in the longitude of 159° 20′ W., and in the latitude of 66° 0′ S. Several penguins were seen on some of the ice islands, and a few antarctic peterels on the wing.

We continued to stand to the north, with a fresh gale at west, attended with thick snow showers till eight o'clock in the evening, when the wind abated, the sky began to clear up, and, at six o'clock in the morning of the 16th, it fell calm. Four hours after, it was succeeded by a breeze at north-east, with which we stretched to the south-east, having thick hazy weather, with snow showers, and all our rigging coated with ice. In the evening, we attempted to take some out of the sea, but were obliged to desist, the sea running too high, and the pieces being so large, that it was dangerous for the boat to come near them. The next morning, being the 17th, we succeeded better; for falling in with a quantity of loose ice, we hoisted out two boats, and by noon got on board as much as we could manage. We then made sail for the east, with a gentle breeze northerly, attended with snow and sleet, which froze to the rigging as it fell. At this time we were in the latitude of 64° 41′ S., longitude 155° 44′ W. The ice we took up proved to be none of the best, being chiefly composed of frozen snow, on which account it was porous, and had imbibed a good deal of salt water; but this drained off after lying a while on deck, and the water then yielded was fresh. We continued to stretch to the east, with a piercing cold northerly wind, attended with a thick fog, snow, and sleet, that decorated all our rigging with icicles. We were hourly meeting with some of the large ice islands, which in these high latitudes render navigation so very dangerous. At seven in the evening, falling in with a cluster of them, we narrowly escaped running aboard of one, and with difficulty wore clear of the others. We stood back to the west till ten o'clock, at which time the fog cleared away, and we resumed our course to the east. At noon the next day, we were in the latitude of 64° 49′ S., longitude 149° 19′ W. Some time after, our longitude, by observed distance of the sun and moon, was 149° 19′ W.; by Mr. Kendal's watch, 148° 36′; and by my reckoning, 148° 43′, latitude 64° 48′ S.

The clear weather and the wind veering to north-west tempted me to steer south, which course we continued till seven in the morning of the 20th, when the wind changing to north-east, and the sky becoming clouded, we hauled up south-east. In the afternoon the wind increased to a strong gale, attended with a thick fog, snow, sleet, and rain, which constitutes the very worst of weather. Our rigging at this time was so loaded with ice that we had enough to do to get our top-sails down to double the reef. At seven o'clock in the evening, in the longitude of 147° 46′, we came the second time within the antarctic or polar circle, continuing our course to the south-east till six o'clock the next morning. At that time, being in the latitude of 67° 5′ S., all at once we got in among a cluster of very large ice islands, and a vast quantity of loose pieces; and, as the fog was exceedingly thick, it was with the utmost difficulty we wore clear of them. This done, we stood to the north-west till noon, when the fog being somewhat dissipated, we resumed our course again to the south-east. The ice islands we met with in the morning were very high and rugged, forming at their tops many peaks; whereas the most of those we had seen before were flat at top, and not so high, though many of them were between two and three hundred feet in height, and between two and three miles in circuit, with perpendicular cliffs or sides, astonishing to behold. Most of our winged companions had now left us, the grey albatrosses only remained, and instead of the other birds we were visited by a few antarctic peterels.

The 22nd we steered east-south-east with a fresh gale at north, blowing in squalls, one of which took hold of the mizen top-sail, tore it all to rags, and rendered it for ever after useless. At six o'clock in the morning, the wind veering toward the west, our course was east-northerly. At this time we were in the latitude of 67° 31′, the highest we had yet been in, longitude 142° 54′ west. We continued our course to the east by north till noon the 23d, when, being in the latitude of 67° 12′, longitude 138° 0′, we steered south-east, having then twenty-three ice islands in sight from off the deck, and twice that number from the mast-head, and yet we could not see above two or three miles round us. At four o'clock in the afternoon, in the latitude of 67° 20′, longitude 137° 12′, we fell in with such a quantity of

field or loose ice, as covered the sea in the whole extent from south to east, and was so thick and close as wholly to obstruct our passage. At this time, the wind being pretty moderate, and the sea smooth, we brought to at the outer edge of the ice, hoisted out two boats, and sent them to take some up. In the mean time, we laid hold of several large pieces alongside, and got them on board with our tackle. The taking up ice proved such cold work, that it was eight o'clock by the time the boats had made two trips; when we hoisted them in, and made sail to the west, under double-reefed topsails and courses, with a strong gale at north, attended with snow and sleet, which froze to the rigging as it fell, making the ropes like wires, and the sails like boards or plates of metal. The sheaves also were frozen so fast in the blocks, that it required our utmost efforts to get a topsail down and up; the cold so intense as hardly to be endured; the whole sea, in a manner covered with ice; a hard gale, and a thick fog.

Under all these unfavourable circumstances, it was natural for me to think of returning more to the north, seeing no probability of finding any land here, nor a possibility of getting farther south; and to have proceeded to the east, in this latitude, must have been wrong, not only on account of the ice, but because we must have left a vast space of sea to the north unexplored; a space of 24° of latitude, in which a large tract of land might have lain. Whether such a supposition was well grounded, could only be determined by visiting those parts.

While we were taking up ice, we got two of the antarctic peterels so often mentioned, by which our conjectures were confirmed of their being of the peterel tribe. They are about the size of a large pigeon; the feathers of the head, back, and part of the upper side of the wings, are of a light brown; the belly and under side of the wings, white; the tail-feathers are also white, but tipped with brown: at the same time, we got another new peterel, smaller than the former, and all of a dark-grey plumage. We remarked that these birds were fuller of feathers than any we had hitherto seen; such care has nature taken to clothe them suitably to the climate in which they live. At the same time we saw a few chocolate-coloured albatrosses; these, as well as the peterels above mentioned, we nowhere saw but among the ice; hence one may, with reason, conjecture that there is land to the south. If not, I must ask where these birds breed? A question which perhaps will never be determined; for hitherto we have found these lands, if any, quite inaccessible. Besides these birds, we saw a very large seal, which kept playing about us some time. One of our people who had been at Greenland called it a sea-horse; but every one else who saw it took it for what I have said. Since our first falling in with the ice, the mercury in the thermometer had been from 33 to 31 at noon-day.

On the 24th, the wind abated, veering to the north-west, and the sky cleared up, in the latitude of 67° 0′, longitude 138° 15′. As we advanced to the north-east, with a gentle gale at north-west, the ice islands increased so fast upon us, that this day at noon we could see near 100 round us, besides an immense number of small pieces. Perceiving that it was likely to be calm, I got the ship into as clear a berth as I could, where she drifted along with the ice; and by taking the advantage of every light air of wind, was kept from falling aboard any of these floating isles. Here it was we spent Christmas-day, much in the same manner as we did the preceding one. We were fortunate in having continual daylight and clear weather; for had it been as foggy as on some of the preceding days, nothing less than a miracle could have saved us from being dashed to pieces.

In the morning of the 26th, the whole sea was in a manner covered with ice, 200 large islands and upwards being seen within the compass of four or five miles, which was the limits of our horizon, besides smaller pieces innumerable. Our latitude at noon was 66° 15′, longitude 134° 22′. By observation we found that the ship had drifted, or gone about 20 miles to the north-east or east-north-east, whereas by the ice islands it appeared that she had gone little or nothing; from which we concluded that the ice drifted nearly in the same direction, and at the same rate. At four o'clock a breeze sprung up at west-south-west, and enabled us to steer north, the most probable course to extricate ourselves from these dangers. We continued our course to the north with a gentle breeze at west, attended with clear weather, till four o'clock the next morning, when, meeting with a quantity of loose ice, we

brought to, and took on board as much as filled all our empty casks, and for several days' present expense. This done, we made sail, and steered north-west, with a gentle breeze at north-east, clear frosty weather. Our latitude at this time was 65° 53′ S., longitude 133° 42′ W.; islands of ice not half so numerous as before.

At four in the morning of the 28th, the wind having veered more to the east and south-east, increased to a fresh gale, and was attended with snow showers. Our course was north till noon the next day. Being then in the latitude of 62° 24′, longitude 134° 37′, westeered north-west by north. Some hours after the sky cleared up, and the wind abating, veered more to the south. On the 30th, had little wind westerly; dark gloomy weather, with snow and sleet at times; several whales seen playing about the ship, but very few birds; islands of ice in plenty, and a swell from west-north-west. On the 31st, little wind from the westward; fair and clear weather, which afforded an opportunity to air the spare sails, and to clean and smoke the ship betwixt decks. At noon our latitude was 59° 40′ S., longitude 135° 11′ W. Our observation to-day gave us reason to conjecture that we had a southerly current. Indeed, this was no more than what might reasonably be supposed, to account for such huge masses of ice being brought from the south. In the afternoon, had a few hours' calm, succeeded by a breeze from the east, which enabled us to resume our north-west by north course.

January 1st, the wind remained not long at east; but veered round by the south to west; blew fresh, attended with snow showers. In the evening, being in the latitude of 58° 39′ S. we passed two islands of ice; after which we saw no more till we stood again to the south. At five o'clock in the morning on the 2nd, it fell calm: being at this time in the latitude of 58° 2′, longitude 137° 12′. The calm being succeeded by a breeze at east, we steered N.W. by W. My reason for steering this course was to explore part of the great space of sea between us and our track to the south.

On the 3rd, at noon, being in latitude 56° 46′, longitude 139° 45′, the weather became fair and the wind veered to south-west. About this time we saw a few small divers (as we call them) of the peterel tribe, which we judged to be such as are usually seen near land, especially in the bays, and on the coast of New Zealand. I cannot tell what to think of these birds. Had there been more of them, I should have been ready enough to believe that we were at this time not very far from land, as I never saw one so far from known land before. Probably these few had been drawn thus far by some shoal of fish, for such were certainly about us, by the vast number of blue peterels, albatrosses, and such other birds as are usually seen in the great ocean; all or most of which left us before night. Two or three pieces of sea-weed were also seen; but these appeared old and decayed.

At eight o'clock in the evening, being in the latitude of 56° S., longitude 140° 31′ west, the wind fixing in the western board, obliged us to steer north-easterly, and laid me under the necessity of leaving unexplored a space of the sea to the west, containing near 40° of longitude and a half that in latitude. Had the wind continued favourable, I intended to have run 15 or 20 degrees of longitude more to the west, in the latitude we were then in, and back again to the east in the latitude of 50°. This route would have so intersected the space above mentioned, as hardly to have left room for the bare supposition of any land lying there. Indeed, as it was, we have little reason to believe that there is; but rather the contrary, from the great hollow swell we had had for several days, from the W. and N.W., though the wind had blown from a contrary direction great part of the time; which is a great sign we had not been covered by any land between these two points. While we were in the high latitudes, many of our people were attacked with a slight fever, occasioned by colds. It happily yielded to the simplest remedies; was generally removed in a few days; and at this time we had not above one or two on the sick list.

We proceeded N.E. by N. till the 6th, at noon. Being then in the latitude 52° 0′ S. longitude 135° 32′ W., and about 200 leagues from our track to Otaheite, in which space it was not probable, all circumstances considered, there is any extensive land; and it being still less probable any lay to the west, from the great mountainous billows we had had, and still continued to have from that quarter; I therefore steered N.E. with a fresh gale at W.S.W.

At eight o'clock in the morning on the 7th, being in the latitude of 50° 49′ south, we observed several distances of the sun and moon, which gave the longitude as follows, viz.:

By Mr. Wales	133°	24′	west.
Gilbert	133	10	
Clerke	133	0	
Smith	133	37	25″
Myself	133	37	
Mean	133	21	43
By the watch	133	44	west.
My reckoning	133	39	
Variation of the compass	6	2	east.
Thermometer	50	0	

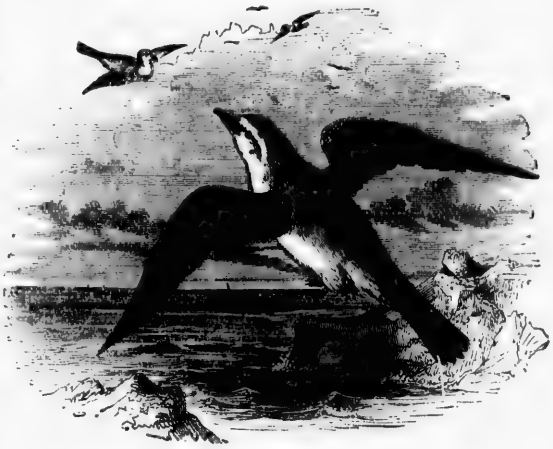
The next morning we observed again; and the results were agreeable to the preceding observations, allowing for the ship's run. I must here take notice that our longitude can never be erroneous, while we have so good a guide as Mr. Kendal's watch. This day at noon we steered E.N.E. ½ E., being then in the latitude of 49° 7′ S., longitude 131° 2′ W.

On the 9th, in the latitude of 48° 17′ S., longitude 127° 10′ W., we steered east with a fine fresh gale at west, attended with clear pleasant weather, and a great swell from the same direction as the wind. In the morning of the 10th, having but little wind, we put a boat in the water, in which some of the officers went and shot several birds. These afforded us a fresh meal. They were of the peterel tribe, and such as are usually seen at any distance from land. Indeed, neither birds nor any other thing was to be seen that could give us the least hopes of finding any; and therefore at noon the next day, being then in the latitude of 47° 51′ S., longitude 122° 12′ W., and a little more than 200 leagues from my track to Otaheite in 1769, I altered the course, and steered south-east with a fresh gale at S.W. by W. In the evening, when our latitude was 48° 22′ S., longitude 121° 29′ W., we found the variation to be 2° 34′ E.; which is the least variation we had found without the tropic. In the evening of the next day we found it to be 4° 30′ E.; our latitude at that time was 50° 5′ S., longitude 119½° W.

Our course was now more southerly, till the evening of the 13th, when we were in the latitude of 53° 0′ S., longitude 118° 3′ W. The wind being then at north-west, a strong gale with a thick fog and rain, which made it unsafe to steer large, I hauled up south-west, and continued this course till noon the next day, when our latitude was 56° 4′ S., longitude 122° 1′ W. The wind having veered to the north, and the fog continuing, I hauled to the east, under courses and close-reefed topsails. But this sail we could not carry long; for before eight o'clock in the evening, the wind increased to a perfect storm, and obliged us to lie-to, under the mizzen stay-sail, till the morning of the 16th, when the wind having a good deal abated and veered to west, we set the courses, reefed top-sails, and stood to the south. Soon after, the weather cleared up; and in the evening we found the latitude to be 56° 48′ S., longitude 119° 8′ W. We continued to steer to the south, inclining to the east, till the 18th, when we stood to the south-west with the wind at south-east, being at this time in the latitude of 61° 9′ S., longitude 116° 7′ W. At ten o'clock in the evening, it fell calm, which continued till two the next morning, when a breeze sprung up at north, which soon after increased to a fresh gale and fixed at N.E. With this we steered south till noon, on the 20th, when, being now in the latitude of 62° 34′ S., longitude 116° 24′ W., we were again becalmed.

In this situation we had two ice islands in sight, one of which seemed to be as large as any we had seen. It could not be less than two hundred feet in height, and terminated in a peak not unlike the cupola of St. Paul's church. At this time, we had a great westerly swell, which made it improbable that any land should lie between us and the meridian of 133½°, which was our longitude under the latitude we were now in, when we stood to the north. In all this route, we had not seen the least thing that could induce us to think we were ever

in the neighbourhood of any land. We had, indeed, frequently seen pieces of sea-weed; but this, I am well assured, is no sign of the vicinity of land; for weed is seen in every part of the ocean. After a few hours' calm, we got a wind from S.E., but it was very unsettled, and attended with thick snow showers; at length it fixed at S. by E. and we stretched to the east. The wind blew fresh, was piercing cold, and attended with snow and sleet. On the 22d, being in the latitude of 62° 5′ S., longitude 112° 24′ W., we saw an ice island, an antarctic peterel, several blue peterels, and some other known birds; but no one thing that gave us the least hopes of finding land.



BLUE PETEREL.

On the 23d, at noon, we were in the latitude of 62° 22′ S., longitude 110° 24′. In the afternoon, we passed an ice island. The wind, which blew fresh, continued to veer to the west; and at eight o'clock the next morning, it was to the north of west, when I steered S. by W. and S.S.W. At this time we were in the latitude of 63° 20′ S., longitude 108° 7′ W., and had a great sea from S.W. We continued this course till noon the next day, the 25th, when we steered due south. Our latitude, at this time, was 65° 24′ S., longitude 109° 31′ W.; the wind was at north; the weather mild and not unpleasant; and not a bit of ice in view. This we thought a little extraordinary; as it was but a month before, and not quite two hundred leagues to the east, that we were, in a manner, blocked up with large islands of ice, in this very latitude. Saw a single pintadoe peterel, some blue peterels, and a few brown albatrosses. In the evening, being under the same meridian, and in the latitude of 65° 44′ S., the variation was 19° 27′ E.; but the next morning, in the latitude of 66° 20′ S., longitude the same as before, it was only 18° 20′ E.: probably the mean between the two is the nearest the truth. At this time, we had nine small islands in sight; and soon after, we came, the third time, within the antarctic polar circle, in the longitude of 109° 31′ W. About noon, seeing the appearance of land to the S.E., we immediately trimmed our sails and stood towards it. Soon after it disappeared, but we did not give it up till eight o'clock the next morning, when we were well assured that it was nothing but clouds, or a fog-bank; and then we resumed our course to the south, with a gentle breeze at N.E. attended with a thick fog, snow, and sleet.

We now began to meet with ice islands more frequently than before; and, in the latitude of 69° 38′ S., longitude 108° 12′ W., we fell in with a field of loose ice. As we began to be in want of water, I hoisted out two boats and took up as much as yielded about ten tons. This was cold work; but it was now familiar to us. As soon as we had done, we hoisted in the boats, and afterwards made short boards over that part of the sea we had, in some measure, made ourselves acquainted with. For we had now so thick a fog that we could not see two hundred yards round us; and as we knew not the extent of the loose ice, I durst not steer to the south till we had clear weather. Thus we spent the night, or rather that part of the twenty-four hours which answered to night; for we had no darkness but what was occasioned by fogs.

At four o'clock in the morning of the 29th, the fog began to clear away; and the day becoming clear and serene, we again steered to the south with a gentle gale at N.E. and

N.N.E. The variation was found to be 22° 41′ E. This was in the latitude of 69° 45 S., longitude 108° 5′ W.; and, in the afternoon, being in the same longitude, and in the latitude of 70° 23′ S., it was 24° 81′ E. Soon after, the sky became clouded, and the air very cold. We continued our course to the south, and passed a piece of weed covered with barnacles, which a brown albatross was picking off. At ten o'clock, we passed a very large ice-island; it was not less than three or four miles in circuit. Several more being seen ahead, and the weather becoming foggy, we hauled the wind to the northward; but in less than two hours, the weather cleared up, and we again stood south.

On the 30th, at four o'clock in the morning, we perceived the clouds, over the horizon to the south, to be of an unusual snow-white brightness, which we knew announced our approach to field-ice. Soon after, it was seen from the topmast head; and at eight o'clock, we were close to its edge. It extended east and west, far beyond the reach of our sight. In the situation we were in, just the southern half of our horizon was illuminated, by the rays of light reflected from the ice, to a considerable height. Ninety-seven ice-hills were distinctly seen within the field, besides those on the outside; many of them very large, and looking like a ridge of mountains, rising one above another till they were lost in the clouds. The outer, or northern edge of this immense field was composed of loose or broken ice close packed together; so that it was not possible for anything to enter it. This was about a mile broad; within which was solid ice in one continued compact body. It was rather low and flat, (except the hills,) but seemed to increase in height, as you traced it to the south; in which direction it extended beyond our sight. Such mountains of ice as these were, I believe, never seen in the Greenland seas; at least, not that I ever heard or read of; so that we cannot draw a comparison between the ice here, and there. It must be allowed that these prodigious ice mountains must add such additional weight to the ice-fields which inclose them, as cannot but make a great difference between the navigating this icy sea and that of Greenland.

I will not say it was impossible anywhere to get farther to the south; but the attempting it would have been a dangerous and rash enterprise, and what, I believe, no man in my situation would have thought of. It was, indeed, my opinion, as well as the opinion of most on board, that this ice extended quite to the pole, or, perhaps, joined to some land, to which it had been fixed from the earliest time; and that it is here, that is, to the south of this parallel, where all the ice we find scattered up and down to the north is first formed, and afterwards broken off by gales of wind, or other causes, and brought to the north by the currents, which we always found to set in that direction in the high latitudes. As we drew near this ice, some penguins were heard, but none seen; and but few other birds, or any other thing, that could induce us to think any land was near. And yet I think there must be some to the south behind this ice; but if there is, it can afford no better retreat for birds, or any other animals, than the ice itself, with which it must be wholly covered. I, who had ambition not only to go farther than any one had been before, but as far as it was possible for man to go, was not sorry at meeting with this interruption; as it, in some measure, relieved us; at least, shortened the dangers and hardships inseparable from the navigation of the southern polar regions. Since, therefore, we could not proceed one inch farther to the south, no other reason need be assigned for my tacking, and standing back to the north; being at this time in the latitude of 71° 10′ S., longitude 106° 54′ W.

It was happy for us that the weather was clear when we fell in with this ice, and that we discovered it so soon as we did; for we had no sooner tacked than we were involved in a thick fog. The wind was at east, and blew a fresh breeze; so that we were able to return back over that space we had already made ourselves acquainted with. At noon the mercury in the thermometer stood at 32½°, and we found the air exceedingly cold. The thick fog continuing with showers of snow, gave a coat of ice to our rigging of near an inch thick. In the afternoon of the next day the fog cleared away at intervals; but the weather was cloudy and gloomy, and the air excessively cold; however, the sea within our horizon was clear of ice.

We continued to stand to the north with the wind easterly till the afternoon, on the 1st of February, when, falling in with some loose ice which had broken from an island to wind-

ward, we hoisted out two boats, and having taken some on board, resumed our course to the north and north-east with gentle breezes from the south-east, attended sometimes with fair weather, and at other times with snow and sleet. On the 4th we were in the latitude of 65° 42′ S., longitude 90° 44′. The next day the wind was very unsettled both in strength and position, and attended with snow and sleet. At length on the 6th, after a few hours' calm, we got a breeze at south, which soon after freshened, fixed at west south-west, and was attended with snow and sleet.

I now came to a resolution to proceed to the north, and to spend the ensuing winter within the tropic, if I met with no employment before I came there. I was now well satisfied no continent was to be found in this ocean, but what must lie so far to the south as to be wholly inaccessible on account of ice; and that if one should be found in the Southern Atlantic Ocean, it would be necessary to have the whole summer before us to explore it. On the other hand, upon a supposition that there is no land there, we undoubtedly might have reached the Cape of Good Hope by April, and so have put an end to the expedition, so far as it related to the finding a continent; which indeed was the first object of the voyage. But for me at this time to have quitted this Southern Pacific Ocean, with a good ship expressly sent out on discoveries, a healthy crew, and not in want either of stores or of provisions, would have been betraying not only a want of perseverance, but of judgment, in supposing the South Pacific Ocean to have been so well explored, that nothing remained to be done in it. This, however, was not my opinion; for although I had proved there was no continent but what must lie far to the south, there remained, nevertheless, room for very large islands in places wholly unexamined: and many of those which were formerly discovered are but imperfectly explored, and their situations as imperfectly known. I was besides of opinion that my remaining in this sea some time longer would be productive of improvements in navigation and geography, as well as other sciences. I had several times communicated my thoughts on this subject to Captain Furneaux; but as it then wholly depended on what we might meet with to the south, I could not give it in orders without running the risk of drawing us from the main object.

Since now nothing had happened to prevent me from carrying these views into execution, my intention was first to go in search of the land, said to have been discovered by Juan Fernandez, above a century ago, in about the latitude of 38°; if I should fail in finding this land, then to go in search of Easter Island or Davis's Land, whose situation was known with so little certainty that the attempts lately made to find it had miscarried. I next intended to get within the tropic, and then proceed to the west, touching at, and settling the situations of such islands as we might meet with till we arrived at Otaheite, where it was necessary I should stop to look for the Adventure. I had also thoughts of running as far west as the Tierra Austral del Espiritu Santo, discovered by Quiros, and which M. de Bougainville calls the Great Cyclades. Quiros speaks of this land as being large, or lying in the neighbourhood of large lands; and as this was a point which Bougainville had neither confirmed nor refuted, I thought it was worth clearing up. From this land my design was to steer to the south, and so back to the east, between the latitudes of 50° and 60°; intending if possible to be the length of Cape Horn in November next, when we should have the best part of the summer before us to explore the southern part of the Atlantic Ocean. Great as this design appeared to be, I, however, thought it possible to be executed; and when I came to communicate it to the officers, I had the satisfaction to find that they all heartily concurred in it. I should not do these gentlemen justice, if I did not take some opportunity to declare that they always showed the utmost readiness to carry into execution, in the most effectual manner, every measure I thought proper to take. Under such circumstances, it is hardly necessary to say that the seamen were always obedient and alert; and, on this occasion, they were so far from wishing the voyage at an end, that they rejoiced at the prospect of its being prolonged another year, and of soon enjoying the benefits of a milder climate.

I now steered north, inclining to the east, and in the evening we were overtaken by a furious storm at west-south-west, attended with snow and sleet. It came so suddenly upon us, that before we could take in our sails, two old top-sails, which we had bent to the yards,

were blown to pieces, and the other sails much damaged. The gale lasted, without the least intermission, till the next morning, when it began to abate; it however continued to blow very fresh till noon on the 12th, when it ended in a calm. At this time we were in the latitude of 50° 14′ S., longitude 95° 18′ W. Some birds being about the ship, we took the advantage of the calm to put a boat in the water, and shot several birds, on which we feasted the next day. One of these birds was of that sort which has been so often mentioned in this journal, under the name of Port-Egmont hens. They are of the gull kind, about the size of a raven, with a dark brown plumage, except the under side of each wing, where there are some white feathers. The rest of the birds were albatrosses and sheerwaters.

After a few hours' calm, having got a breeze at north-west, we made a stretch to the south-west for twenty-four hours; in which route we saw a piece of wood, a bunch of weed, and a diving peterel. The wind having veered more to the west, made us tack and stretch to the north till noon on the 14th, at which time we were in the latitude of 49° 32′ S., longitude 95° 11′ W. We had now calms and light breezes succeeding each other till the next morning, when the wind freshened at W.N.W., and was attended with a thick fog and drizzling rain the three following days, during which time we stretched to the north, inclining to the east, and crossed my track to Otaheite in 1769. I did intend to have kept more to the west; but the strong winds from that direction put it out of my power.

On the 18th the wind veered to south-west, and blew very fresh, but was attended with clear weather, which gave us an opportunity to ascertain our longitude by several lunar observations made by Messrs. Wales, Clerke, Gilbert, and Smith. The mean result of all was 94° 19′ 30″ W.; Mr. Kendal's watch, at the same time, gave 94° 46′ W.; our latitude was 43° 53′ S. The wind continued not long at south-west before it veered back to west and west-north-west. As we advanced to the north we felt a most sensible change in the weather. The 20th, at noon, we were in the latitude of 39° 58′ S., longitude 94° 37′ W. The day was clear and pleasant, and I may say the only summer's day we had had since we left New Zealand. The mercury in the thermometer rose to 66.

We still continued to steer to the north, as the wind remained in the old quarter; and the next day, at noon, we were in the latitude 37° 54′ S., which was the same that Juan Fernandez's discovery is said to lie in. We, however, had not the least signs of any land lying in our neighbourhood. The next day at noon we were in latitude 36° 10′ S., longitude 94° 56′ W. Soon after, the wind veered to south-south-east, and enabled us to steer west-south-west, which I thought the most probable direction to find the land of which we were in search; and yet I had no hopes of succeeding, as we had a large hollow swell from the same point. We, however, continued this course till the 25th, when the wind having veered again round to the westward, I gave it up, and stood away to the north, in order to get into the latitude of Easter Island; our latitude at this time was 37° 52′, longitude 101° 10′ W.

I was now well assured that the discovery of Juan Fernandez, if any such was ever made, can be nothing but a small island; there being hardly room for a large land, as will fully appear by the tracks of Captain Wallis, Bougainville, of the Endeavour, and this of the Resolution. Whoever wants to see an account of the discovery in question, will meet with it in Mr. Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages to the South Seas. This gentleman places it under the meridian of 90°, where I think it cannot be; for M. de Bougainville seems to have run down under that meridian, and we had now examined the latitude in which it is said to lie, from the meridian of 94° to 101°. It is not probable it can lie to the east of 90°; because if it did, it must have been seen at one time or other by ships bound from the northern to the southern parts of America. Mr. Pengré, in a little treatise concerning the transit of Venus, published in 1768, gives some account of land having been discovered by the Spaniards in 1714, in the latitude of 38°, and 550 leagues from the coast of Chili, which is in the longitude of 110° or 111° W., and within a degree or two of my track in the Endeavour; so that this can hardly be its situation. In short, the only probable situation it can have must be about the meridian of 106° or 108° W.; and then it can only be a small isle, as I have already observed.

I was now taken ill of the bilious colic, which was so violent as to confine me to my bed;

so that the management of the ship was left to Mr. Cooper, the first officer, who conducted her very much to my satisfaction. It was several days before the most dangerous symptoms of my disorder were removed; during which time Mr. Patten, the surgeon, was to me not only a skilful physician, but an affectionate nurse; and I should ill deserve the care he bestowed on me, if I did not make this public acknowledgment. When I began to recover, a favourite dog belonging to Mr. Forster fell a sacrifice to my tender stomach. We had no other fresh meat whatever on board; and I could eat of this flesh, as well as broth made of it, when I could taste nothing else. Thus I received nourishment and strength from food which would have made most people in Europe sick; so true it is, that necessity is governed by no law.

On the 28th, in the latitude of 33° 7′ S., longitude 102° 33′ W., we began to see flying-fish, egg-birds, and noddies, which are said not to go above sixty or eighty leagues from land; but of this we have no certainty. No one yet knows to what distance any of the oceanic birds go to sea; for my own part, I do not believe there is one in the whole tribe that can be relied on, in pointing out the vicinity of land.

In the latitude of 30° 30′ S., longitude 101° 45′ W., we began to see men-of-war birds. In the latitude of 29° 44′, longitude 100° 45′ W., we had a calm for near two days together, during which time the heat was intolerable; but what ought to be remarked, was a very great swell from the south-west. On the 6th of March, the calm was succeeded by an easterly wind, with which we steered north-west till noon the 8th, when, being in the latitude of 27° 4′ S., longitude 103° 58′ W., we steered west, meeting every day with great numbers of birds, such as men-of-war, tropic and egg birds, noddies, sheerwaters, &c.; and once we passed several pieces of sponge, and a small dried leaf not unlike a bay one. Soon after, we saw a sea-snake, in every respect like those we had before seen at the tropical islands. We also saw plenty of fish; but were such bad fishers, that we caught only four albacores, which were very acceptable, to me especially, who was just recovering from my late illness.

CHAPTER VII.—SEQUEL OF THE PASSAGE FROM NEW ZEALAND TO EASTER ISLAND, AND TRANSACTIONS THERE, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF AN EXPEDITION TO DISCOVER THE INLAND PART OF THE COUNTRY, AND A DESCRIPTION OF SOME OF THE SURPRISING GIGANTIC STATUES FOUND IN THE ISLAND.

At eight o'clock in the morning on the 11th, land was seen, from the mast-head, bearing west, and at noon from the deck, extending from W. $\frac{3}{4}$ N to W. by S. about twelve leagues distant. I made no doubt that this was Davis's Land, or Easter Island, as its appearance from this situation corresponded very well with Wafer's account; and we expected to have seen the low sandy isle that Davis fell in with, which would have been a confirmation; but in this we were disappointed. At seven o'clock in the evening, the island bore from N. 62° W. to N. 87° W., about five leagues distant; in which situation we sounded, without finding ground, with a line of a hundred and forty fathoms. Here we spent the night, having alternately light airs and calms, till ten o'clock the next morning, when a breeze sprung up from west-south-west. With this we stretched in for the land; and, by the help of our glasses, discovered people, and some of those colossian statues or idols mentioned by the authors of Roggewein's Voyage.* At four o'clock in the afternoon, we were half a league south-south-east, and north-north-west of the north-east point of the island; and, on sounding, found thirty-five fathoms, a dark sandy bottom. I now tacked and endeavoured to get into what appeared to be a bay, on the west side of the point, or south-east side of the island; but before this could be accomplished, night came upon us, and we stood on and off under the land till the next morning, having soundings from seventy-five to a hundred and ten fathoms, the same bottom as before.

On the 13th, about eight o'clock in the morning, the wind, which had been variable most part of the night, fixed at south-east and blew in squalls, accompanied with rain, but it was

* See Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii.

not long before the weather became fair. As the wind now blew right on the south-east shore, which does not afford that shelter I at first thought, I resolved to look for anchorage on the west and north-west sides of the island. With this view, I bore up round the south point, off which lie two small islets, the one nearest the point high and peaked, and the other low and flattish. After getting round the point, and coming before a sandy beach, we found soundings, thirty and forty fathoms, sandy ground, and about one mile from the shore. Here a canoe conducted by two men came off to us. They brought with them a bunch of plantains, which they sent into the ship by a rope, and then they returned ashore This gave us a good opinion of the islanders, and inspired us with hopes of getting some refreshments, which we were in great want of.

I continued to range along the coast till we opened the northern point of the isle without seeing a better anchoring-place than the one we had passed. We therefore tacked, and plied back to it; and, in the mean time, sent away the master in a boat to sound the coast. He returned about five o'clock in the evening, and soon after we came to an anchor, in thirty-six fathoms water, before the sandy beach above mentioned. As the master drew near the shore with the boat, one of the natives swam off to her, and insisted on coming aboard the ship, where he remained two nights and a day. The first thing he did after coming aboard, was to measure the length of the ship, by fathoming her from the taffrail to the stern; and as he counted the fathoms, we observed that he called the numbers by the same names that they do at Otaheite: nevertheless, his language was in a manner wholly unintelligible to all of us.

Having anchored too near the edge of the bank, a fresh breeze from the land, about three o'clock the next morning, drove us off it; on which the anchor was heaved up, and sail made to regain the bank again. While the ship was plying in, I went ashore, accompanied by some of the gentlemen, to see what the island was likely to afford us. We landed at the sandy beach, where some hundreds of the natives were assembled, and who were so impatient to see us, that many of them swam off to meet the boats. Not one of them had so much as a stick or weapon of any sort in their hands. After distributing a few trinkets amongst them, we made signs for something to eat; on which they brought down a few potatoes, plantains, and sugar-canes, and exchanged them for nails, looking-glasses, and pieces of cloth. We presently discovered that they were as expert thieves, and as tricking in their exchanges, as any people we had yet met with. It was with some difficulty we could keep the hats on our heads, but hardly possible to keep anything in our pockets, not even what themselves had sold us; for they would watch every opportunity to snatch it from us, so that we sometimes bought the same thing two or three times over, and after all did not get it.

Before I sailed from England, I was informed that a Spanish ship had visited this isle in 1769. Some signs of it were seen among the people now about us; one man had a pretty good broad-brimmed European hat on, another had a grego jacket, and another a red silk handkerchief. They also seemed to know the use of a musket, and to stand in much awe of it; but this they probably learnt from Roggewein, who, if we are to believe the authors of that voyage, left them sufficient tokens.

Near the place where we landed were some of those statues before mentioned, which I shall describe in another place. The country appeared barren and without wood; there were, nevertheless, several plantations of potatoes, plantains, and sugar-canes; we also saw some fowls, and found a well of brackish water. As these were articles we were in want of, and as the natives seemed not unwilling to part with them, I resolved to stay a day or two. With this view, I repaired on board, and brought the ship to an anchor in thirty-two fathoms water; the bottom, a fine dark sand. Our station was about a mile from the nearest shore, the south point of a small bay, in the bottom of which is the sandy beach before mentioned, being east south-east distant one mile and a half. The two rocky islets lying off the south point of the island were just shut behind a point to the north of them; they bore S. $\frac{3}{4}$ W. four miles distant, and the other extreme of the island bore N. 25° E. distant about six miles. But the best mark for this anchoring-place is the beach; because it is the only one on this side the island. In the afternoon we got on board a few casks

of water, and opened a trade with the natives for such things as they had to dispose of. Some of the gentlemen also made an excursion into the country to see what it produced, and returned again in the evening, with the loss only of a hat, which one of the natives snatched off the head of one of the party.

Early next morning, I sent Lieutenants Pickersgill and Edgecumbe with a party of men, accompanied by several of the gentlemen, to examine the country. As I was not sufficiently recovered from my late illness to make one of the party, I was obliged to content myself with remaining at the landing-place among the natives. We had at one time a pretty brisk trade with them for potatoes, which we observed they dug up out of an adjoining plantation; but this traffic, which was very advantageous to us, was soon put a stop to by the owner (as we supposed) of the plantation coming down, and driving all the people out of it. By this we concluded that he had been robbed of his property, and that they were not less scrupulous of stealing from one another than from us, on whom they practised every little fraud they could think of, and generally with success; for we no sooner detected them in one, than they found out another. About seven o'clock in the evening, the party I had sent into the country returned, after having been over the greatest part of the island.

They left the beach about nine o'clock in the morning, and took a path which led across to the south-east side of the island, followed by a great crowd of the natives, who pressed much upon them. But they had not proceeded far, before a middle-aged man, punctured from head to foot, and his face painted with a sort of white pigment, appeared with a spear in his hand, and walked alongside of them, making signs to his countrymen to keep at a distance, and not to molest our people. When he had pretty well effected this, he hoisted a piece of white cloth on his spear, placed himself in the front, and led the way with his ensign of peace, as they understood it to be. For the greatest part of the distance across the ground had but a barren appearance, being a dry hard clay, and everywhere covered with stones; but, notwithstanding this, there were several large tracks planted with potatoes, and some plantain walks, but they saw no fruit on any of the trees. Towards the highest part of the south end of the island, the soil, which was a fine red earth, seemed much better, bore a longer grass, and was not covered with stones as in the other parts; but here they saw neither house nor plantation.

On the east side, near the sea, they met with three platforms of stone-work, or rather the ruins of them. On each had stood four of those large statues; but they were all fallen down from two of them, and also one from the third; all except one were broken by the fall, or in some measure defaced. Mr. Wales measured this one, and found it to be fifteen feet in length, and six feet broad over the shoulders. Each statue had on its head a large cylindric stone of a red colour, wrought perfectly round. The one they measured, which was not by far the largest, was fifty-two inches high, and sixty-six in diameter. In some, the upper corner of the cylinder was taken off in a sort of concave quarter-round, but in others the cylinder was entire.

From this place they followed the direction of the coast to the north-east, the man with the flag still leading the way. For about three miles they found the country very barren, and in some places stript of the soil to the bare rock, which seemed to be a poor sort of iron ore. Beyond this they came to the most fertile part of the island they saw, it being interspersed with plantations of potatoes, sugar-canes, and plantain trees, and these not so much encumbered with stones as those which they had seen before; but they could find no water except what the natives twice or thrice brought them, which, though brackish and stinking, was rendered acceptable by the extremity of their thirst. They also passed some huts, the owners of which met them with roasted potatoes and sugarcanes, and placing themselves ahead of the foremost of the party, (for they marched in a line in order to have the benefit of the path,) gave one to each man as he passed by. They observed the same method in distributing the water which they brought; and were particularly careful that the foremost did not drink too much, lest none should be left for the hindmost. But at the very time these were relieving the thirsty and hungry, there were not wanting others who endeavoured to steal from them the very things which had been given them. At last, to prevent worse consequences, they were obliged to fire a load of small shot at one who was so audacious as

to snatch from one of the men the bag which contained everything they carried with them. The shot hit him on the back; on which he dropped the bag, ran a little way, and then fell; but he afterwards got up and walked; and what became of him they knew not, nor whether he was much wounded. As this affair occasioned some delay, and drew the natives together, they presently saw the man who had hitherto led the way, and one or two more coming running towards them; but instead of stopping when they came up, they continued to run round them, repeating in a kind manner, a few words, until our people set forwards again. Then their old guide hoisted his flag, leading the way as before, and none ever attempted to steal from them the whole day afterwards.

As they passed along, they observed on a hill a number of people collected together, some of whom had spears in their hands; but, on being called to by their countryman, they dispersed; except a few, amongst whom was one seemingly of some note. He was a stout, well-made man, with a fine open countenance; his face was painted, his body punctured, and he wore a better *Ha hou*, or cloth, than the rest. He saluted them as he came up, by stretching out his arms with both hands clenched, lifting them over his head, opening them wide, and then letting them fall gradually down to his sides. To this man, whom they understood to be the chief of the island, their other friend gave his white flag; and he gave it to another, who carried it before them the remainder of the day.

Towards the eastern end of the island, they met with a well whose water was perfectly fresh, being considerably above the level of the sea; but it was dirty, owing to the filthiness or cleanliness (call it which you will) of the natives, who never go to drink without washing themselves all over as soon as they have done; and if ever so many of them are together, the first leaps right into the middle of the hole, drinks, and washes himself without the least ceremony; after which another takes his place and does the same.

They observed that this side of the island was full of those gigantic statues so often mentioned; some placed in groups on platforms of masonry; others single, fixed only in the earth, and that not deep; and these latter are in general much larger than the others. Having measured one which had fallen down, they found it very near twenty-seven feet long, and upwards of eight feet over the breast or shoulders; and yet this appeared considerably short of the size of one they saw standing; its shade, a little past two o'clock, being sufficient to shelter all the party, consisting of near thirty persons, from the rays of the sun. Here they stopped to dine; after which they repaired to a hill, from whence they saw all the east and north shores of the isle, on which they could not see either bay or creek fit even for a boat to land in, nor the least signs of fresh water. What the natives brought them here was real salt water; but they observed that some of them drank pretty plentifully of it; so far will necessity and custom get the better of nature! On this account, they were obliged to return to the last-mentioned well; where, after having quenched their thirst, they directed their route across the island towards the ship, as it was now four o'clock.

In a small hollow on the highest part of the island, they met with several such cylinders as are placed on the heads of the statues. Some of these appeared larger than any they had seen before; but it was now too late to stop to measure any of them. Mr. Wales, from whom I had this information, is of opinion that there had been a quarry here, whence these stones had formerly been dug, and that it would have been no difficult matter to roll them down the hill after they were formed. I think this a very reasonable conjecture, and have no doubt that it has been so. On the declivity of the mountain, towards the west, they met with another well; but the water was a very strong mineral, had a thick green scum on the top, and stunk intolerably. Necessity, however, obliged some to drink of it; but it soon made them so sick, that they threw it up the same way it went down.

In all this excursion, as well as the one made the preceding day, only two or three shrubs were seen. The leaf and seed of one (called by the natives *Torromedo*) were not much unlike those of the common vetch; but the pod was more like that of a tamarind in its size and shape. The seeds have a disagreeable bitter taste; and the natives, when they saw our people chew them, made signs to spit them out; from whence it was concluded that they think them poisonous. The wood is of a reddish colour, and pretty hard and heavy; but very crooked, small, and short, not exceeding six or seven feet in height. At the south-west

corner of the island, they found another small shrub, whose wood was white and brittle, and in some measure, as also its leaf, resembling the ash. They also saw in several places the Otaheitean cloth plant; but it was poor and weak, and not above two and a half feet high at most. They saw not an animal of any sort, and but very few birds; nor indeed anything which can induce ships that are not in the utmost distress to touch at this island.

This account of the excursion I had from Mr. Pickersgill and Mr. Wales, men on whose veracity I could depend; and, therefore, I determined to leave the island the next morning, since nothing was to be obtained that could make it worth my while to stay longer; for the water which we had sent on board was not much better than if it had been taken up out of the sea. We had a calm till ten o'clock in the morning of the 16th, when a breeze sprung up at west, accompanied with heavy showers of rain, which lasted about an hour. The weather then clearing up, we got under sail, stood to sea, and kept plying to and fro, while an officer was sent on shore with two boats, to purchase such refreshments as the natives might have brought down; for I judged this would be the case, as they knew nothing of our sailing. The event proved that I was not mistaken; for the boats made two trips before night: when we hoisted them in, and made sail to the north-west with a light breeze at north north-east.

CHAPTER VIII.—A DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND, ITS PRODUCE, SITUATION, AND INHABITANTS; THEIR MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.—CONJECTURES CONCERNING THEIR GOVERNMENT, RELIGION, AND OTHER SUBJECTS; WITH A MORE PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE GIGANTIC STATUES.

I shall now give some farther account of this island, which is undoubtedly the same that Admiral Roggewein touched at in April 1722, although the description given of it by the authors of that voyage does by no means agree with it now. It may also be the same that was seen by Captain Davis in 1686; for when seen from the east, it answers very well to Wafer's description, as I have before observed. In short, if this is not the land, his discovery cannot lie far from the coast of America, as this latitude has been well explored from the meridian of 80° to 110°. Captain Carteret carried it much farther, but his track seems to have been a little too far south. Had I found fresh water, I intended spending some days looking for the low sandy isle Davis fell in with, which would have determined the point; but as I did not find water, and had a long run to make before I was assured of getting any, and being in want of refreshments, I declined the search, as a small delay might have been attended with bad consequences to the crew, many of them beginning to be more or less affected with the scurvy.

No nation need contend for the honour of the discovery of this island, as there can be few places which afford less convenience for shipping than it does. Here is no safe anchorage, no wood for fuel, nor any fresh water worth taking on board. Nature has been exceedingly sparing of her favours to this spot. As everything must be raised by dint of labour, it cannot be supposed the inhabitants plant much more than is sufficient for themselves; and as they are but few in number, they cannot have much to spare to supply the wants of visitant strangers. The produce is sweet potatoes, yams, taraoreddy-root, plantains, and sugar-canes, all pretty good, the potatoes especially, which are the best of the kind I ever tasted. Gourds they have also; but so very few, that a cocoa-nut shell was the most valuable thing we could give them. They have a few tame fowls, such as cocks and hens, small but well-tasted. They have also rats, which it seems they eat; for I saw a man with some dead ones in his hand, and he seemed unwilling to part with them, giving me to understand they were for food. Land-birds there were hardly any, and sea-birds but few; these were, men-of-war, tropic, and egg-birds, noddies, tern, &c. The coast seemed not to abound with fish; at least we could catch none with hook and line, and it was but very little we saw amongst the natives.

Such is the produce of Easter Island, or Davis's Land, which is situated in the latitude of 27° 5′ 30″ S., longitude 109° 46′ 20″ W. It is about ten or twelve leagues in circuit, hath a hilly and stony surface, and an iron-bound shore. The hills are of such a height as

to be seen fifteen or sixteen leagues. Off the south end are two rocky islets lying near the shore. The north and east points of the island rise directly from the sea to a considerable height; between them, on the south-east side, the shore forms an open bay, in which I believe the Dutch anchored. We anchored, as hath been already mentioned, on the west side of the island, three miles to the north of the south point, with the sandy beach bearing east-south-east. This is a very good road with easterly winds, but a dangerous one with westerly, as the other on the south-east side must be with easterly winds.

For this and other bad accommodations already mentioned, nothing but necessity will induce any one to touch at this isle, unless it can be done without going much out of the way *; in which case touching here may be advantageous, as the people willingly and readily part with such refreshments as they have, and at an easy rate. We certainly received great benefit from the little we got; but few ships can come here without being in want of water, and this want cannot be here supplied. The little we took on board could not be made use of; it being only salt water which had filtrated through a stony beach into a stone well. This the natives had made for the purpose, a little to the southward of the sandy beach so often mentioned, and the water ebbed and flowed into it with the tide.

The inhabitants of this island do not seem to exceed six or seven hundred souls; and above two-thirds of those we saw were males. They either have but few females among them, or else many were restrained from making their appearance during our stay; for though we saw nothing to induce us to believe the men were of a jealous disposition, or the women afraid to appear in public, something of this kind was probably the case. In colour, features, and language, they bear such affinity to the people of the more western isles, that no one will doubt that they have had the same origin. It is extraordinary that the same nation should have spread themselves over all the isles in this vast ocean, from New Zealand to this island, which is almost one-fourth part of the circumference of the globe. Many of them have now no other knowledge of each other than what is preserved by antiquated tradition; and they have by length of time become, as it were, different nations, each having adopted some peculiar custom or habit, &c. Nevertheless, a careful observer will soon see the affinity each has to the other.

In general, the people of this isle are a slender race. I did not see a man that would measure six feet; so far are they from being giants, as one of the authors of Roggewein's voyage asserts. They are brisk and active, have good features, and not disagreeable countenances; are friendly and hospitable to strangers, but as much addicted to pilfering as any of their neighbours. *Tattooing*, or puncturing the skin, is much used here. The men are marked from head to foot, with figures all nearly alike; only some give them one direction, and some another, as fancy leads. The women are but little punctured; red and white paint is an ornament with *them*, as also with the men; the former is made of turmeric; but what composes the latter I know not. Their clothing is a piece or two of quilted cloth about six feet by four, or a mat. One piece wrapped round their loins, and another over their shoulders, make a complete dress. But the men, for the most part, are in a manner naked, wearing nothing but a slip of cloth betwixt their legs, each end of which is fastened to a cord or belt they wear round the waist. Their cloth is made of the same materials as at Otaheite, viz. of the bark of the cloth-plant; but as they have but little of it, our Otaheitean cloth, or indeed any sort of it, came here to a good market.

Their hair, in general, is black; the women wear it long, and sometimes tied up on the crown of the head; but the men wear it and their beards cropped short. Their head-dress is a round fillet adorned with feathers, and a straw bonnet something like a Scotch one; the former, I believe, being chiefly worn by the men, and the latter by the women. Both men and women have very large holes, or rather slits, in their ears, extended to near three inches in length. They sometimes turn this slit over the upper part, and then the ear looks as if the flap was cut off. The chief ear ornaments are the white down of feathers, and rings, which they wear in the inside of the hole, made of some elastic substance, rolled up like a watch-

* The disadvantages above mentioned are such as to have prevented to this day any but the most casual intercourse between the natives and Europeans; even the zealous missionaries have not hitherto attempted their conversion, and by the later accounts the island appears to be in much the same condition as in 1774.—ED.

spring. I judged this was to keep the hole at its utmost extension. I do not remember seeing them wear any other ornaments, excepting amulets made of bone or shells. As harmless and friendly as these people seem to be, they are not without offensive weapons, such as short wooden clubs and spears; which latter are crooked sticks about six feet long, armed at one end with pieces of flint. They have also a weapon made of wood, like the *Patoo patoo* of New Zealand.

Their houses are low miserable huts, constructed by setting sticks upright in the ground, at six or eight feet distance, then bending them towards each other, and tying them together at the top, forming thereby a kind of Gothic arch. The longest sticks are placed in the middle, and shorter ones each way, and at less distance asunder; by which means the building is highest and broadest in the middle, and lower and narrower towards each end. To these are tied others horizontally, and the whole is thatched over with leaves of sugar-cane. The door-way is in the middle of one side, formed like a porch, and so low and narrow as just to admit a man to enter upon all-fours. The largest house I saw was about sixty feet long, eight or nine feet high in the middle, and three or four at each end; its breadth at these parts was nearly equal to its height. Some have a kind of vaulted houses built with stone, and partly under ground; but I never was in one of these.

I saw no household utensils amongst them except gourds, and of these but very few. They were extravagantly fond of cocoa-nut shells; more so than of anything we could give them. They dress their victuals in the same manner as at Otaheite; that is, with hot stones in an oven or hole in the ground. The straw or tops of sugar-cane, plantain heads, &c. serve them for fuel to heat the stones. Plantains, which require but little dressing, they roast under fires of straw, dried grass, &c., and whole races of them are ripened or roasted in this manner. We frequently saw ten or a dozen, or more, such fires in one place, and most commonly in the mornings and evenings.

Not more than three or four canoes were seen on the whole island; and these very mean, and built of many pieces sewed together with small line. They are about eighteen or twenty feet long, head and stern carved or raised a little, are very narrow, and fitted with out-riggers. They do not seem capable of carrying above four persons, and are by no means fit for any distant navigation. As small and as mean as these canoes were, it was a matter of wonder to us where they got the wood to build them with; for in one of them was a board six or eight feet long, fourteen inches broad at one end, and eight at the other; whereas we did not see a stick on the island which would have made a board half this size; nor, indeed, was there another piece in the whole canoe half so big.

There are two ways by which it is possible they may have got this large wood: it might have been left here by the Spaniards; or it might have been driven on the shore of the island from some distant land. It is even possible that there may be some land in the neighbourhood from whence they might have got it. We, however, saw no signs of any; nor could we get the least information on this head from the natives, although we tried every method we could think of to obtain it. We were almost as unfortunate in our inquiries for the proper or native name of the island. For, on comparing notes, I found we had got three different names for it, viz. Tamareki, Whyhu, and Teapy. Without pretending to say which, or whether any of them is right, I shall only observe, that the last was obtained by Oedidee, who understood their language much better than any of us; though even he understood it but very imperfectly.

It appears by the account of Roggewein's voyage, that these people had no better vessel than when he first visited them. The want of materials, and not of genius, seems to be the reason why they have made no improvement in this art. Some pieces of carving were found amongst them, both well designed and executed. Their plantations are prettily laid out by line, but not inclosed by any fence; indeed, they have nothing for this purpose but stones. I have no doubt that all these plantations are private property, and that there are here, as at Otaheite, chiefs (which they call *Areekes*) to whom these plantations belong. But of the power or authority of these chiefs, or of the government of these people, I confess myself quite ignorant.

Nor are we better acquainted with their religion. The gigantic statues so often mentioned

are not, in my opinion, looked upon as idols by the present inhabitants, whatever they might have been in the days of the Dutch; at least, I saw nothing that could induce me to think so. On the contrary, I rather suppose that they are burying-places for certain tribes or families. I, as well as some others, saw a human skeleton lying in one of the platforms, just covered with stones. Some of these platforms of masonry are thirty or forty feet long, twelve or sixteen broad, and from three to twelve in height; which last in some measure depends on the nature of the ground. For they are generally at the brink of the bank facing the sea, so that this face may be ten or twelve feet or more high, and the other may not be above three or four. They are built, or rather faced, with hewn stones of a very large size; and the workmanship is not inferior to the best plain piece of masonry we have in England. They use no sort of cement; yet the joints are exceedingly close, and the stones morticed and tenanted one into another, in a very artful manner. The side walls are not perpendicular, but inclining a little inwards, in the same manner that breast-works, &c., are built in Europe: yet had not all this care, pains, and sagacity been able to preserve these curious structures from the ravages of all-devouring time. The statues, or at least many of them, are erected on these platforms, which serve as foundations. They are, as near as we could judge, about half length, ending in a sort of stump at the bottom, on which they stand. The workmanship is rude, but not bad; nor are the features of the face ill formed, the nose and chin in particular; but the ears are long beyond proportion; and, as to the bodies, there is hardly anything like a human figure about them.

I had an opportunity of examining only two or three of these statues, which are near the landing-place; and they were of a grey stone, seemingly of the same sort as that with which the platforms were built. But some of the gentlemen who travelled over the island, and examined many of them, were of opinion that the stone of which they were made was different from any other they saw on the island, and had much the appearance of being factitious. We could hardly conceive how these islanders, wholly unacquainted with any mechanical power, could raise such stupendous figures, and afterwards place the large cylindric stones, before mentioned, upon their heads. The only method I can conceive, is by raising the upper end by little and little, supporting it by stones as it is raised, and building about it till they got it erect; thus a sort of mound, or scaffolding, would be made, upon which they might roll the cylinder, and place it upon the head of the statue, and then the stones might be removed from about it. But if the stones are factitious, the statues might have been put together on the place in their present position, and the cylinder put on by building a mount round them as above mentioned. But, let them have been made and set up, by this or any other method, they must have been a work of immense time, and sufficiently show the ingenuity and perseverance of the islanders in the age in which they were built; for the present inhabitants have most certainly had no hand in them, as they do not even repair the foundations of those which are going to decay. They give different names to them, such as Gotomoara, Marapate, Kanaro, Gowaytoo-goo, Matta Matta, &c. &c., to which they sometimes prefix the word Moi, and sometimes annex Areekee. The latter signifies chief, and the former, burying, or sleeping-place, as well as we could understand. Besides the monuments of antiquity, which were pretty numerous, and nowhere but on or near the sea-coast, there were many little heaps of stones piled up in different places, along the coast. Two or three of the uppermost stones in each pile were generally white; perhaps always so, when the pile is complete. It will hardly be doubted that these piles of stone had a meaning. Probably they might mark the place where people had been buried, and serve instead of the large statues.

The working-tools of these people are but very mean, and, like those of all the other islanders we have visited in this ocean, made of stone, bone, shells, &c. They set but little value on iron, or iron tools, which is the more extraordinary as they know their use; but the reason may be their having but little occasion for them.

CHAPTER IX.—THE PASSAGE FROM EASTER ISLAND TO THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS.—TRANSACTIONS AND INCIDENTS WHICH HAPPENED WHILE THE SHIP LAY IN MADRE DE DIOS, OR RESOLUTION BAY, IN THE ISLAND OF ST. CHRISTINA.

After leaving Easter Island, I steered north-west by north, and north-north-west, with a fine easterly gale, intending to touch at the Marquesas, if I met with nothing before I got there. We had not been long at sea before the bilious disorder made another attack upon me, but not so violent as the former. I believe this second visit was owing to my exposing and fatiguing myself too much at Easter Island.

On the 22d, being in the latitude of 19° 20′ S., longitude 114° 49′ W., steered north-west. Since leaving Easter Island, the variation had not been more than 3° 4′, nor less than 2° 32′ E.; but on the 26th, in latitude 15° 7′ S., longitude 119° 45′ W., it was no more than 1° 1′ E., after which it began to increase. On the 29th, being in latitude 10° 20′, longitude 123° 58′ W., altered the course to west north-west, and the next day to west, being then in latitude 9° 24′, which I judged to be the parallel of the Marquesas; where, as I have before observed, I intended to touch in order to settle their situation, which I find different in different charts. Having now a steady settled trade-wind and pleasant weather, I ordered the forge to be set up, to repair and make various necessary articles in the iron way, and the calkers had already been some time at work calking the decks, weather-works, &c.

As we advanced to the west, we found the variation to increase but slowly; for, on the 3d of April, it was only 4° 40′ E., being then in the latitude 9° 32′, longitude 132° 45′, by observation made at the same time. I continued to steer to the west till the 6th, at four in the afternoon, at which time, being in the latitude of 9° 20′, longitude 138° 14′ W., we discovered an island, bearing west by south, distant about nine leagues. Two hours after we saw another bearing south-west by south, which appeared more extensive than the former. I hauled up for this island, and ran under an easy sail all night, having squally unsettled rainy weather, which is not very uncommon in this sea when near high land. At six o'clock the next morning, the first island bore north-west, the second south-west ½ west, and a third west. I gave orders to steer for the separation between the two last, and soon after a fourth was seen, still more to the west. By this time we were well assured that these were the Marquesas, discovered by Mendana in 1595. The first isle was a new discovery, which I named Hood's Island, after the young gentleman who first saw it; the second was that of Saint Pedro; the third, La Dominica; and the fourth, St. Christina. We ranged the south-east coast of La Dominica without seeing the least signs of anchorage, till we came to the channel that divides it from St. Christina, through which we passed, hauled over for the last-mentioned island, and ran along the coast to the south-west in search of Mendana's Port. We passed several coves in which there seemed to be anchorage; but a great surf broke on all the shores. Some canoes put off from these places, and followed us down the coast.

At length, having come before the port we were in search of, we attempted to turn into it, the wind being right out; but as it blew in violent squalls from this high land, one of these took us just after we had put in stays, payed the ship off again, and before she wore round she was within a few yards of being driven against the rocks to leeward. This obliged us to stand out to sea, and to make a stretch to windward; after which we stood in again, and, without attempting to turn, anchored in the entrance of the bay in thirty-four fathoms water, a fine sandy bottom. This was no sooner done, than about thirty or forty of the natives came off to us in ten or twelve canoes; but it required some address to get them alongside. At last, a hatchet and some spike-nails induced the people in one canoe to come under the quarter-gallery; after which all the others put alongside, and having exchanged some bread-fruit and fish, for small nails, &c. retired ashore, the sun being already set. We observed a heap of stones in the bow of each canoe, and every man to have a sling tied round his hand.

Very early next morning, the natives visited us again in much greater numbers than before; bringing with them bread-fruit, plantains, and one pig, all of which they exchanged for nails, &c. But, in this traffic, they would frequently keep our goods and make no return; till at last I was obliged to fire a musket-ball over one man who had several times served us in this manner; after which they dealt more fairly, and soon after several of them came on board. At this time we were preparing to warp farther into the bay; and I was going in a boat, to look for the most convenient place to moor the ship in. Observing too many of the natives on board, I said to the officers, "You must look well after these people, or they will certainly carry off something or other." I had hardly got into the boat, before I was told they had stolen one of the iron stanchions from the opposite gangway, and were making off with it. I ordered them to fire over the canoe till I could get round in the boat, but not to kill any one. But the natives made too much noise for me to be heard; and the unhappy thief was killed at the third shot. Two others in the same canoe leaped overboard, but got in again just as I came to them. The stanchion they had thrown overboard. One of them, a man grown, sat baling the blood and water out of the canoe, in a kind of hysteric laugh. The other, a youth about fourteen or fifteen years of age, looked on the deceased with a serious and dejected countenance: we had afterwards reason to believe he was his son.

At this unhappy accident, all the natives retired with precipitation. I followed them into the bay, and prevailed upon the people in one canoe to come alongside the boat, and receive some nails and other things, which I gave them. This, in some measure, allayed their fears. Having taken a view of the bay, and found the fresh water, which we most wanted, was to be had, I returned on board, and carried out a kedge-anchor with three hawsers upon an end, to warp the ship in by, and hove short on the bower. One would have thought that the natives, by this time, would have been so sensible of the effect of our fire-arms, as not to have provoked us to fire upon them any more; but the event proved otherwise. For the boat had no sooner left the kedge-anchor, than two men in a canoe put off from the shore, took hold of the buoy-rope, and attempted to drag it ashore, little considering what was fast to it. Lest, after discovering their mistake, they should take away the buoy, I ordered a musket to be fired at them. The ball fell short, and they took not the least notice of it; but a second having passed over them, they let go the buoy, and made for the shore. This was the last shot we had occasion to fire at any of them while we lay at this place. It probably had more effect than killing the man, by showing them that they were not safe at any distance; at least we had reason to think so, for they afterwards stood in great dread of the musket. Nevertheless, they would very often be exercising their talent of thieving upon us, which I thought proper to put up with, as our stay was not likely to be long amongst them. The trouble these people gave us retarded us so long, that, before we were ready to heave the anchor, the wind began to increase, and blew in squalls out of the bay; so that we were obliged to lie fast. It was not long before the natives ventured off to us again. In the first canoe which came, was a man who seemed to be of some consequence. He advanced slowly with a pig on his shoulder, and speaking something which we did not understand. As soon as he got alongside, I made him a present of a hatchet, and several other articles. In return he sent in his pig, and was, at last, prevailed upon to come himself up into the gangway, where he made but a short stay before he went away. The reception this man met with induced the people in all the other canoes to put alongside; and exchanges were presently re-established.

Matters being thus settled on board, I went on shore with a party of men, to see what was to be done there. We were received by the natives with great courtesy; and, as if nothing had happened, trafficked with them for some fruit and a few small pigs; and, after loading the launch with water, returned aboard. After dinner I sent the boats, under the protection of a guard, ashore for water. On their landing, the natives all fled but one man, and he seemed much frightened; afterwards one or two more came down; and these were all that were seen this afternoon. We could not conceive the reason of this sudden fright. Early in the morning of the 9th, the boats were sent as usual for water; and, just as they were coming off, but not before, some of the natives made their appearance. After breakfast,

I landed some little time before the guard, when the natives crowded round me in great numbers; but as soon as the guard landed, I had enough to do to keep them from running off. At length their fears vanished, and a trade was opened for fruit and pigs. I believe the reason of the natives flying from our people the day before, was their not seeing me at the head of them; for they certainly would have done the same to-day had I not been present. About noon, a chief of some consequence, attended by a great number of people, came down to the landing-place. I presented him with such articles as I had with me; and, in return, he gave me some of his ornaments. After these mutual exchanges, a good understanding seemed to be established between us; so that we got by exchanges as much fruit as loaded two boats, with which we returned on board to dinner, but could not prevail on the chief to accompany us.

In the afternoon, the watering and trading parties were sent on shore; though the latter got but little, as most of the natives had retired into the country. A party of us went to the other, or southern cove of the bay, where I procured five pigs, and came to the house, which, we were told, did belong to the man we had killed. He must have been a person of some note, as there were six pigs in and about his house, which, we were told, belonged to his son, who fled on our approach. I wanted much to have seen him, to make him a present, and by other kind treatment, to convince him and the others, that it was not from any bad design against the nation, that we had killed his father. It would have been to little purpose, if I had left anything in the house, as it certainly would have been taken by others; especially as I could not sufficiently explain to them my meaning. Strict honesty was seldom observed when the property of our things came to be disputed. I saw a striking instance of this in the morning, when I was going ashore. A man in a canoe offered me a small pig for a six-inch spike, and another man being employed to convey it, I gave him the spike, which he kept for himself, and, instead of it, gave to the man who owned the pig a sixpenny nail. Words of course arose, and I waited to see how it would end; but as the man who had possession of the spike seemed resolved to keep it, I left them before it was decided. In the evening we returned on board with what refreshments we had collected, and thought we had made a good day's work.

On the 10th, early in the morning, some people from more distant parts came in canoes alongside, and sold us some pigs; so that we had now sufficient to give the crew a fresh meal. They were in general so small, that forty or fifty were hardly sufficient for this purpose. The trade on shore for fruit was as brisk as ever. After dinner I made a little expedition in my boat along the coast to the southward, accompanied by some of the gentlemen; at the different places we touched at, we collected eighteen pigs; and, I believe, might have gotten more. The people were exceedingly obliging wherever we landed, and readily brought down whatever we desired.

Next morning I went down to the same place where we had been the preceding evening; but, instead of getting pigs as I expected, found the scene quite changed. The nails and other things they were mad after but the evening before they now despised, and instead of them wanted they did not know what; so that I was obliged to return with three or four little pigs, which cost more than a dozen did the day before. When I got on board, I found the same change had happened there, as also at the trading place on shore. The reason was, several of the young gentlemen having landed the preceding day, had given away in exchange various articles which the people had not seen before, and which took with them more than nails or more useful iron tools. But what ruined our market the most was, one of them giving for a pig a very large quantity of red feathers he had got at Amsterdam. None of us knew, at this time, that this article was in such estimation here; and if I had known it, I could not have supported the trade, in the manner it was begun, one day. Thus was our fine prospect of getting a plentiful supply of refreshments from these people frustrated; which will ever be the case so long as every one is allowed to make exchanges for what he pleases; and in what manner he pleases. When I found this island was not likely to supply us, on any conditions, with sufficient refreshments, such as we might expect to find at the Society Isles, nor very convenient for taking in wood and water, nor for giving the ship the necessary repairs she wanted, I resolved forthwith to leave it, and proceed to some other place where our wants might be effectually relieved. For, after having been

nineteen weeks at sea, and living all the time upon salt diet, we could not but want some refreshments; although I must own, and that with pleasure, that on our arrival here, it could hardly be said we had one sick man, and but a few who had the least complaint. This was undoubtedly owing to the many antiscorbutic articles we had on board, and to the great attention of the surgeon, who was remarkably careful to apply them in time.

CHAPTER X.—DEPARTURE FROM THE MARQUESAS.—A DESCRIPTION OF THE SITUATION, EXTENT, FIGURE, AND APPEARANCE OF THE SEVERAL ISLANDS; WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE INHABITANTS, THEIR CUSTOMS, DRESS, HABITATIONS, FOOD, WEAPONS, AND CANOES.

At three o'clock in the afternoon we weighed, and stood over from St. Christina for La Dominica, in order to take a view of the west side of that isle; but as it was dark before we reached it, the night was spent in plying between the two isles. The next morning we had a full view of the south-west point, from which the coast trended north-east, so that it was not probable we should find good anchorage on that side, as being exposed to the easterly winds. We had now but little wind, and that very variable, with showers of rain. At length we got a breeze at east north-east, with which we steered to the south. At five o'clock in the afternoon Resolution Bay bore E.N.E. ½ E., distant five leagues, and the island Magdalena south-east about nine leagues distant. This was the only sight we had of this isle. From hence I steered S.S.W. ½ W. for Otaheite, with a view of falling in with some of those isles discovered by former navigators, especially those discovered by the Dutch, whose situations are not well determined.

But it will be necessary to return to the Marquesas; which were, as I have already observed, first discovered by Mendana, a Spaniard, and from him obtained the general name they now bear, as well as those of the different isles. The nautical account of them, in Mr. Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages to the South Seas *, is deficient in nothing but situation. This was my chief reason for touching at them: the settling this point is the more useful, as it will, in a great measure, fix the situations of Mendana's other discoveries.

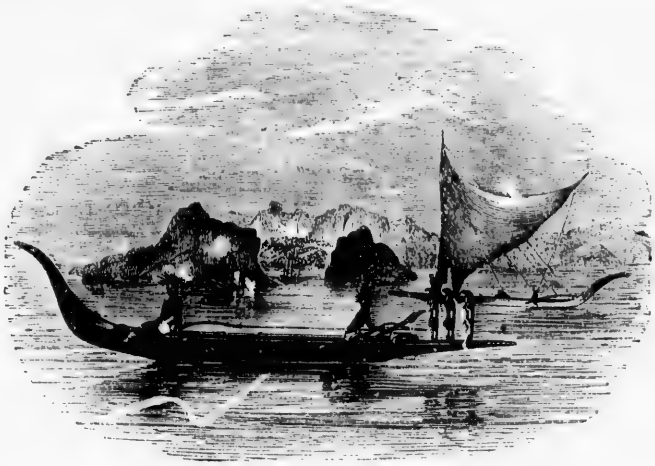
The Marquesas are five in number, viz. La Magdalena, St. Pedro, La Dominica, Santa Christina, and Hood's Island, which is the northernmost, situated in latitude 9° 26′ S., and N. 13° W., five leagues and a half distant from the east point of La Dominica, which is the largest of all the isles, extending east and west six leagues. It hath an unequal breadth, and is about fifteen or sixteen leagues in circuit. It is full of rugged hills rising in ridges directly from the sea; these ridges are disjoined by deep valleys, which are clothed with wood, as are the sides of some of the hills; the aspect is, however, barren; but it is, nevertheless, inhabited, latitude 9° 44′ 30″ S. St. Pedro, which is about three leagues in circuit, and of a good height, lies south four leagues and a half from the east end of La Dominica: we know not if it be inhabited. Nature has not been very bountiful to it. St. Christina lies under the same parallel, three or four leagues more to the west. This island stretches north and south, is nine miles long in that direction, and about seven leagues in circuit. A narrow ridge of hills of considerable height extends the whole length of the island. There are other ridges which, rising from the sea, and, with an equal ascent, join the main ridge. These are disjoined by deep narrow valleys, which are fertile, adorned with fruit and other trees, and watered by fine streams of excellent water. La Magdalena we only saw at a distance. Its situation must be nearly in the latitude of 10° 25′ longitude, 138° 50′. So that these isles occupy one degree in latitude, and near half a degree in longitude, viz. from 138° 47′ to 139° 13′ W., which is the longitude of the west end of La Dominica.

The port of Madre de Dios, which I named Resolution Bay, is situated near the middle of the west side of St. Christina, and under the highest land in the island, in latitude 9° 55′ 30″, longitude 139° 8′ 40″ W.; and N. 15′ W. from the west end of La Dominica. The south point of the bay is a steep rock of considerable height, terminating at the top in

* Vol. i. p. 61 to 73.

a peaked hill, above which you will see a pathway leading up a narrow ridge to the summits of the hills. The north point is not so high, and rises with a more gentle slope. They are a mile from each other, in the direction of north by east, and south by west. In the bay, which is near three-quarters of a mile deep, and has from thirty-four to twelve fathoms water, with a clean sandy bottom, are two sandy coves, divided from each other by a rocky point. In each is a rivulet of excellent water. The northern cove is the most commodious for wooding and watering. Here is the little waterfall mentioned by Quiros, Mendana's pilot; but the town or village is in the other cove. There are several other coves or bays on this side of the island; and some of them, especially to the northward, may be mistaken for this; therefore, the best direction is the bearing of the west end of La Dominica.

The trees, plants, and other productions of these isles, so far as we know, are nearly the same as at Otaheite and the Society Isles. The refreshments to be got are hogs, fowls, plantains, yams, and some other roots; likewise bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, but of these not many. At first these articles were purchased with nails. Beads, looking-glasses, and such trifles, which are so highly valued at the Society Isles, are in no esteem here; and even nails at last lost their value for other articles far less useful. The inhabitants of these islands, collectively, are, without exception, the finest race of people in this sea. For fine shape and regular features, they perhaps surpass all other nations. Nevertheless, the affinity of their language to that spoken in Otaheite and the Society Isles shows that they are of the same nation. Oedidee could converse with them tolerably well, though *we* could not; but it was easy to see that their language was nearly the same.



NATIVES OF THE MARQUESAS.

The men are punctured, or curiously *tattooed*, from head to foot. The figures are various, and seem to be directed more by fancy than custom. These punctures make them look dark; but the women, who are but little punctured, youths, and young children who are not at all, are as fair as some Europeans. The men are in general tall; that is, about five feet ten inches or six feet; but I saw none that were fat and lusty like the *Earees* of Otaheite; nor did I see any that could be called meagre. Their teeth are not so good, nor are their eyes so full and lively, as those of many other nations. Their hair, like ours, is of many colours, except red, of which I saw none. Some have it long; but the most general custom is to wear it short, except a bunch on each side of the crown, which they tie in a knot. They observe different modes in trimming the beard, which is in general long. Some part it, and tie it in two bunches under the chin; others plat it; some wear it loose, and others quite short.

Their clothing is the same as at Otaheite, and made of the same materials; but they have

it not in such plenty, nor is it so good. The men, for the most part, have nothing to cover their nakedness, except the *Marra*, as it is called at Otaheite, which is a slip of cloth passed round the waist and betwixt the legs. This simple dress is quite sufficient for the climate, and answers every purpose modesty requires. The dress of the women is a piece of cloth, wrapped round the loins like a petticoat, which reaches down below the middle of the leg, and a loose mantle over their shoulders. Their principal head-dress, and what appears to be their chief ornament, is a sort of broad fillet, curiously made of the fibres of the husk of cocoa-nuts. In the front is fixed a mother-of-pearl shell, wrought round to the size of a tea-saucer; before that, another, smaller, of very fine tortoise-shell, perforated into curious figures. Also before, and in the centre of that, is another round piece of mother-of-pearl, about the size of half-a-crown; and before this another piece of perforated tortoise-shell, the size of a shilling. Besides this decoration in front, some have it also on each side, but in smaller pieces; and all have fixed to them the tail-feathers of cocks or tropic-birds, which, when the fillet is tied on, stand upright; so that the whole together makes a very sightly ornament. They wear round the neck a kind of ruff or necklace, call it which you please, made of light wood, the out and upper side covered with small red peas, which are fixed on with gum. They also wear small bunches of human hair, fastened to a string, and tied round the legs and arms. Sometimes, instead of hair, they make use of short feathers; but all the above-mentioned ornaments are seldom seen on the same person. I saw only the chief, who came to visit us, completely dressed in this manner. Their ordinary ornaments are necklaces and amulets made of shells, &c. I did not see any with ear-rings, and yet all of them had their ears pierced.

Their dwellings are in the valleys, and on the sides of the hills near their plantations. They are built after the same manner as at Otaheite; but are much meaner, and only covered with the leaves of the bread-tree. The most of them are built on a square or oblong pavement of stone, raised some height above the level of the ground. They likewise have such pavements near their houses, on which they sit to eat and amuse themselves. In the article of eating, these people are by no means so cleanly as the Otaheiteans. They are likewise dirty in their cookery. Pork and fowls are dressed in an oven of hot stones as at Otaheite; but fruit and roots they roast on the fire, and, after taking off the rind or skin, put them into a platter or trough with water, out of which I have seen both men and hogs eat at the same time. I once saw them make a batter of fruit and roots diluted with water, in a vessel that was loaded with dirt, and out of which the hogs had been but that moment eating, without giving it the least washing, or even washing their hands, which were equally dirty; and when I expressed a dislike, was laughed at. I know not if all are so. The actions of a few individuals are not sufficient to fix a custom on a whole nation. Nor can I say if it is the custom for men and women to have separate messes. I saw nothing to the contrary; indeed I saw but few women upon the whole.

They seemed to have dwellings, or strongholds, on the summits of the highest hills. These we only saw by the help of our glasses; for I did not permit any of our people to go there, as we were not sufficiently acquainted with the disposition of the natives, which I believe is humane and pacific. Their weapons are clubs and spears, resembling those of Otaheite, but somewhat neater. They have also slings, with which they throw stones with great velocity, and to a great distance, but not with a good aim.

Their canoes are made of wood and pieces of the bark of a soft tree which grows near the sea in great plenty, and is very tough and proper for the purpose. They are from sixteen to twenty feet long, and about fifteen inches broad; the head and stern are made of two solid pieces of wood; the stern rises or curves a little, but in an irregular direction, and ends in a point; the head projects out horizontally, and is carved into some faint and very rude resemblance of a human face. They are rowed by paddles, and some have a sort of latteen sail made of matting.

Hogs were the only quadrupeds we saw, and cocks and hens the only tame fowls. However, the woods seemed to abound with small birds of a very beautiful plumage, and fine notes; but the fear of alarming the natives hindered us from shooting so many of them as might otherwise have been done.

CHAPTER XI.—A DESCRIPTION OF SEVERAL ISLANDS DISCOVERED OR SEEN IN THE PASSAGE FROM THE MARQUESAS TO OTAHEITE, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF A NAVAL REVIEW.

With a fine easterly wind I steered south-west; south-west by west, and west by south till the 17th, at ten o'clock in the morning, when land was seen bearing W. ½ N., which, upon a nearer approach, we found to be a string of low islets connected together by a reef of coral rocks. We ranged the north-west coast, at the distance of one mile from shore, to three quarters of its length, which in the whole is near four leagues, when we came to a creek or inlet that seemed to open a communication into the lake in the middle of the isle. As I wanted to obtain some knowledge of the produce of these half-drowned isles, we brought-to, hoisted out a boat, and sent the master in to sound, there being no soundings without.

As we ran along the coast, the natives appeared in several places armed with long spears and clubs; and some were got together on one side of the creek. When the master returned, he reported that there was no passage into the lake by the creek, which was fifty fathoms wide at the entrance, and thirty deep; farther in, thirty wide and twelve deep; that the bottom was everywhere rocky, and the sides bounded by a wall of coral rocks. We were under no necessity to put the ship into such a place as this; but as the natives had shown some signs of a friendly disposition, by coming peaceably to the boat, and taking such things as were given them, I sent two boats well armed ashore, under the command of Lieutenant Cooper, with a view of having some intercourse with them, and to give Mr. Forster an opportunity of collecting something in his way. We saw our people land without the least opposition being made by a few natives who were on the shores. Some little time after, observing forty or fifty more, all armed, coming to join them, we stood close in shore in order to be ready to support our people in case of an attack. But nothing of this kind happened; and soon after our boats returned aboard, when Mr. Cooper informed me that, on his landing, only a few of the natives met him on the beach, but there were many in the skirts of the woods with spears in their hands. The presents he made them were received with great coolness, which plainly showed we were unwelcome visitors. When their reinforcement arrived, he thought proper to embark, as the day was already far spent, and I had given orders to avoid an attack by all possible means. When his men got into the boats, some were for pushing them off, others for detaining them; but, at last, they suffered them to depart at their leisure. They brought on board five dogs, which seemed to be in plenty there. They saw no fruit but cocoa-nuts, of which they got, by exchanges, two dozen. One of our people got a dog for a single plantain, which led us to conjecture they had none of this fruit.

This island, which is called by the inhabitants Tiookea, was discovered and visited by Commodore Byron. It has something of an oval shape, is about ten leagues in circuit, lying in the direction of east south-east, and west north-west, and situated in the latitude of 14° 27′ 30″ S., longitude 144° 56′ W. The inhabitants of this island, and perhaps of all the low ones, are of a much darker colour than those of the higher islands, and seem to be of a more ferine disposition. This may be owing to their situation. Nature not having bestowed her favours to these low islands with that profusion she has done to some of the others, the inhabitants are chiefly beholden to the sea for their subsistence; consequently, are much exposed to the sun and weather, and by that means become more dark in colour, and more hardy and robust; for there is no doubt of their being of the same nation. Our people observed that they were stout, well-made men, and had marked on their bodies the figure of a fish; a very good emblem of their profession.

On the 18th, at daybreak, after having spent the night making short boards, we wore down to another isle we had in sight to the westward, which we reached by eight o'clock, and ranged the south-east side at one mile from shore. We found it to be just such another as that we had left, extending north-east and south-west near four leagues, and from five to three miles broad. It lies south-west by west, two leagues distant from the west end of Tiookea, and the middle is situated in the latitude of 14° 37′ S., longitude 145° 10′ W

These must be the same islands to which Commodore Byron gave the name of George's Islands. Their situation in longitude, which was determined by lunar observations made near the shores, and still farther correct by the difference of longitude carried on by the watch to Otaheite, is 3° 54′ more east than he says they lie. This correction, I apprehend, may be applied to all the islands he discovered.

After leaving these isles, we steered south south-west, half west, and south-west by south, with a fine easterly gale, having signs of the vicinity of land, particularly a smooth sea; and, on the 19th, at seven in the morning, land was seen to the westward, which we bore down to, and reached the south-east end by nine o'clock. It proved to be another of these half-overflowed or drowned islands, which are so common to this part of the ocean; that is, a number of little isles ranged in a circular form, connected together by a reef or wall of coral rock. The sea is, in general, everywhere, on their outside, unfathomable; all their interior parts are covered with water, abounding, I have been told, with fish and turtle, on which the inhabitants subsist, and sometimes exchange the latter with the high islanders for cloth, &c. These inland seas would be excellent harbours, were they not shut up from the access of shipping, which is the case with most of them, if we can believe the report of the inhabitants of the other isles. Indeed few of them have been well searched by Europeans; the little prospect of meeting with fresh water having generally discouraged every attempt of this kind. I, who have seen a great many, have not yet seen an inlet into one.

This island is situated in the latitude of 15° 26′, longitude 146° 20′. It is five leagues long in the direction of north-north-east and south-south-west, and about three leagues broad. As we drew near the south end, we saw from the mast-head another of these low isles bearing south-east, distant about four or five leagues, but being to windward we could not fetch it. Soon after a third appeared, bearing south-west by south, for which we steered, and at two o'clock P.M. reached the east end, which is situated in latitude 15° 47′ S., longitude 146° 30′ W. This island extends west-north-west and east-south-east, and is seven leagues long in that direction; but its breadth is not above two. It is in all respects like the rest; only here are fewer islets, and less firm land on the reef which incloseth the lake. As we ranged the north coast, at the distance of half a mile, we saw people, huts, canoes, and places built, seemingly for drying of fish. They seemed to be the same sort of people as on Tiookea, and were armed with long spikes like them. Drawing near the west end, we discovered another or fourth island, bearing north-north-east. It seemed to be low like the others, and lies west from the first isle, distant six leagues. These four isles I called Palliser's Isles, in honour of my worthy friend Sir Hugh Palliser, at this time comptroller of the navy.

Not choosing to run farther in the dark, we spent the night making short boards under the top-sail, and on the 20th, at daybreak, hauled round the west end of the third isle, which was no sooner done than we found a great swell rolling in from the south; a sure sign that we were clear of these low islands; and as we saw no more land, I steered S.W. ½ S. for Otaheite; having the advantage of a stout gale at east, attended with showers of rain. It cannot be determined with any degree of certainty whether the group of isles we had lately seen be any of those discovered by the Dutch navigators or not; the situation of their discoveries not being handed down to us with sufficient accuracy. It is, however, necessary to observe, that this part of the ocean, that is from the latitude of 20° down to 14° or 12°, and from the meridian of 138° to 148° or 150° W., is so strewed with these low isles, that a navigator cannot proceed with too much caution.

We made the high land of Otaheite on the 21st, and at noon were about thirteen leagues east of Point Venus, for which we steered, and got pretty well in with it by sunset, when we shortened sail; and, having spent the night, which was squally, with rain, standing on and off, at eight o'clock the next morning anchored in Matavia Bay in seven fathoms water. This was no sooner known to the natives than many of them made us a visit, and expressed not a little joy at seeing us again. As my chief reason for putting in at this place was to give Mr. Wales an opportunity to know the error of the watch by the known longitude, and to determine anew her rate of going, the first thing we did was to land hi instruments, and to erect tents for the reception of a guard and such other people as it wa

necessary to have on shore. Sick we had none; the refreshments we got at the Marquesas had removed every complaint of that kind.

On the 23rd, showery weather. Our very good friends the natives supplied us with fruit and fish sufficient for the whole crew. On the 24th, Otoo the king, and several other chiefs, with a train of attendants, paid us a visit, and brought as presents ten or a dozen large hogs, besides fruits, which made them exceedingly welcome. I was advertised of the king's coming, and looked upon it as a good omen. Knowing how much it was my interest to make this man my friend, I met him at the tents, and conducted him and his friends on board, in my boat, where they staid dinner; after which they were dismissed with suitable presents, and highly pleased with the reception they had met with.

Next day we had much thunder, lightning, and rain. This did not hinder the king from making me another visit, and a present of a large quantity of refreshments. It hath been already mentioned, that when we were at the island of Amsterdam we had collected, amongst other curiosities, some red parrot feathers. When this was known here, all the principal people of both sexes endeavoured to ingratiate themselves into our favour by bringing us hogs, fruit, and every other thing the island afforded, in order to obtain these valuable jewels. Our having these feathers was a fortunate circumstance; for as they were valuable to the natives, they became so to us; but more especially as my stock of trade was, by this time, greatly exhausted; so that, if it had not been for the feathers, I should have found it difficult to have supplied the ship with the necessary refreshments.

When I put in at this island, I intended to stay no longer than till Mr. Wales had made the necessary observations for the purposes already mentioned; thinking we should meet with no better success than we did the last time we were here. But the reception we had already met with, and the few excursions we had made, which did not exceed the plains of Matavai and Oparree, convinced us of our error. We found, at these two places, built and and building, a great number of large canoes, and houses of every kind; people living in spacious habitations, who had not a place to shelter themselves in eight months before; several large hogs about every house; and every other sign of a rising state. Judging from these favourable circumstances that we should not mend ourselves by removing to another island, I resolved to make a longer stay, and to begin with the repairs of the ship and stores, &c. Accordingly I ordered the empty casks and sails to be got ashore to be repaired, the ship to be calked, and the rigging to be overhauled; all of which the high southern latitudes had made indispensably necessary.

In the morning of the 26th, I went down to Oparree, accompanied by some of the officers and gentlemen, to pay Otoo a visit by appointment. As we drew near we observed a number of large canoes in motion; but were surprised, when we arrived, to see upwards of three hundred ranged in order, for some distance along the shore, all completely equipped and manned, besides a vast number of armed men upon the shore. So unexpected an armament collected together in our neighbourhood, in the space of one night, gave rise to various conjectures. We landed however in the midst of them, and were received by a vast multitude, many of them under arms, and many not. The cry of the latter was *Tiyo no Otoo*, and that of the former *Tiyo no Towha*. This chief, we afterwards learned, was admiral or commander of the fleet and troops present. The moment we landed, I was met by a chief whose name was Tee, uncle to the king, and one of his prime ministers, of whom I inquired for Otoo. Presently after we were met by Towha, who received me with great courtesy. He took me by the one hand, and Tee by the other; and, without my knowing where they intended to carry me, dragged me as it were through the crowd that was divided into two parties, both of which professed themselves my friends by crying out *Tiyo no Tootee*. One party wanted me to go to Otoo, and the other to remain with Towha. Coming to the usual place of audience, a mat was spread for me to sit down upon, and Tee left me to go and bring the king. Towha was unwilling I should sit down, partly insisting on my going with him; but, as I knew nothing of this chief, I refused to comply. Presently Tee returned, and wanted to conduct me to the king, taking hold of my hand for that purpose. This Towha opposed; so that, between the one party and the other, I was like to have been torn in pieces; and was obliged to desire Tee to desist, and to leave me to the

admiral and his party, who conducted me down to the fleet. As soon as we came before the admiral's vessel, we found two lines of armed men drawn up before her, to keep off the crowd, as I supposed, and to clear the way for me to go in. But, as I was determined not to go, I made the water, which was between me and her, an excuse. This did not answer; for a man immediately squatted himself down at my feet, offering to carry me; and then I declared I would not go. That very moment Towha quitted me, without my seeing which way he went, nor would any one inform me. Turning myself round, I saw Tee, who, I believe, had never lost sight of me. Inquiring of him for the king, he told me he was gone into the country *Mataou*, and advised me to go to my boat; which we accordingly did, as soon as we could get collected together; for Mr. Edgcumbe was the only person that could keep with me; the others being jostled about in the crowd in the same manner we had been.

When we got into our boat, we took our time to view this grand fleet. The vessels of war consisted of a hundred and sixty large double canoes very well equipped, manned, and armed. But I am not sure that they had their full complement of men or rowers; I rather think not. The chiefs, and all those on the fighting stages, were dressed in their war habits; that is, in a vast quantity of cloth, turbans, breastplates, and helmets. Some of the latter were of such a length as greatly to encumber the wearer. Indeed, their whole dress seemed to be ill calculated for the day of battle, and to be designed more for show than use. Be this as it may, it certainly added grandeur to the prospect, as they were so complaisant as to show themselves to the best advantage. The vessels were decorated with flags, streamers, &c. so that the whole made a grand and noble appearance, such as we had never seen before in this sea, and what no one would have expected. Their instruments of war were clubs, spears, and stones. The vessels were ranged close alongside of each other, with their heads ashore, and their stern to the sea; the admiral's vessel being nearly in the centre. Besides the vessels of war, there were a hundred and seventy sail of smaller double canoes, all with a little house upon them, and rigged with mast and sail, which the war canoes had not. These, we judged, were designed for transports, victuallers, &c.; for in the war canoes was no sort of provisions whatever. In these three hundred and thirty vessels, I guessed there were no less than seven thousand seven hundred and sixty men; a number which appears incredible, especially as we were told they all belonged to the districts of Attahourou and Ahopatea. In this computation, I allow to each war canoe forty men, troops and rowers, and to each of the small canoes eight. Most of the gentlemen who were with me, thought the number of men belonging to the war canoes exceeded this. It is certain that the most of them were fitted to row with more paddles than I have allowed them men; but at this time I think they were not complete. Tupia informed us, when I was first here, that the whole island raised only between six and seven thousand men, but we now saw two districts only raise that number; so that he must have taken his account from some old establishment, or else he only meant *Tatatous*, that is, warriors, or men trained from their infancy to arms, and did not include the rowers, and those necessary to navigate the other vessels. I should think he only spoke of this number as the standing troops or militia of the island, and not their whole force. This point I shall leave to be discussed in another place, and return to the subject.

WAR DRESS OF OTAHEITE.

After we had well viewed this fleet, I wanted much to have seen the admiral, to have gone with him on board the war canoes. We inquired for him as we rowed past the fleet to no purpose. We put ashore and inquired, but the noise and crowd were so great that no one attended to what we said. At last Tee came, and whispered us in the ear, that Otoo was gone to Matavai, advising us to return thither, and not to land where we were. We accordingly proceeded for the ship, and this intelligence and advice received from Tee gave rise to new conjectures. In short, we concluded that this Towha was some powerful disaffected chief, who was upon the point of making war against his sovereign; for we could not imagine Otoo had any other reason for leaving Oparree in the manner he did.

We had not been long gone from Oparree before the whole fleet was in motion to the westward, from whence it came. When we got to Matavai, our friends there told us that this fleet was part of the armament intended to go against Eimeo, whose chief had thrown off the yoke of Otaheite, and assumed an independency. We were likewise informed, that Otoo neither was nor had been at Matavai; so that we were still at a loss to know why he fled from Oparree. This occasioned another trip thither in the afternoon, where we found him; and now understood that the reason of his not seeing me in the morning was, that some of his people having stolen a quantity of my clothes which were on shore washing, he was afraid I should demand restitution. He repeatedly asked me if I was not angry; and when I assured him that I was not, and that they might keep what they had got, he was satisfied. Towha was alarmed partly on the same account. He thought I was displeased when I refused to go aboard his vessel; and I was jealous of seeing such a force in our neighbourhood without being able to know anything of its design. Thus, by mistaking one another, I lost the opportunity of examining more narrowly into part of the naval force of this isle, and making myself better acquainted with its manœuvres. Such an opportunity may never occur; as it was commanded by a brave, sensible, and intelligent chief, who would have satisfied us in all the questions we had thought proper to ask; and, as the objects were before us, we could not well have misunderstood each other. It happened unluckily that Oedidee was not with us in the morning; for Tee, who was the only man we could depend on, served only to perplex us. Matters being thus cleared up, and mutual presents having passed between Otoo and me, we took leave and returned on board.

CHAPTER XII.—SOME ACCOUNT OF A VISIT FROM OTOO, TOWHA, AND SEVERAL OTHER CHIEFS; ALSO OF A ROBBERY COMMITTED BY ONE OF THE NATIVES, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES, WITH GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE SUBJECT.

In the morning of the 27th, I received a present from Towha, consisting of two large hogs and some fruit, sent by two of his servants, who had orders not to receive anything in return; nor would they, when offered them. Soon after, I went down to Oparree in my boat, where having found both this chief and the king, after a short stay, I brought them both on board to dinner, together with Tarevatoo, the king's younger brother, and Tee. As soon as we drew near the ship, the admiral, who had never seen one before, began to express much surprise at so new a sight. He was conducted all over the ship, every part of which he viewed with great attention. On this occasion Otoo was the principal show-man; for, by this time, he was well acquainted with the different parts of the ship. After dinner Towha put a hog on board and retired, without my knowing anything of the matter, or having made him any return either for this or the present I had in the morning. Soon after, the king and his attendants went away also. Otoo not only seemed to pay this chief much respect, but was desirous I should do the same; and yet he was jealous of him, but on what account we knew not. It was but the day before that he frankly told us, Towha was not his friend. Both these chiefs when on board solicited me to assist them against Tiarabou, notwithstanding a peace at this time subsisted between the two kingdoms, and we were told that their joint force was to go against Eimeo. Whether this was done with a view of breaking with their neighbours and allies, if I had promised them assistance, or only to sound my disposition, I know not. Probably they would have been ready enough to have embraced

an opportunity which would have enabled them to conquer that kingdom, and annex it to their own as it was formerly. Be this as it may, I heard no more of it; indeed, I gave them no encouragement.

Next day we had a present of a hog sent by Wahea-toua, king of Tiarabou. For this, in return, he desired a few red feathers, which were, together with other things, sent him accordingly. Mr. Forster and his party set out for the mountains, with an intent to stay out all night. I did not go out of the ship this day. Early on the morning of the 29th, Otoo, Towha, and several other grandees, came on board, and brought with them as presents, not only provisions, but some of the most valuable curiosities of the island. I made them returns, with which they were well pleased. I likewise took this opportunity to repay the civilities I had received from Towha.

The night before, one of the natives attempting to steal a water-cask from the watering-place, he was caught in the act, sent on board, and put in irons; in which situation Otoo and the other chiefs saw him. Having made known his crime to them, Otoo begged he might be set at liberty. This I refused, telling him, that since I punished my people, when they committed the least offence against his, it was but just this man should be punished also; and as I knew he would not do it, I was resolved to do it myself. Accordingly, I ordered the man to be carried on shore to the tents, and having followed myself with Otoo, Towha, and others, I ordered the guard out under arms, and the man to be tied up to a post. Otoo, his sister, and some others begged hard for him; Towha said not one word, but was very attentive to everything going forward. I expostulated with Otoo on the conduct of this man, and of his people in general; telling him, that neither I, nor any of my people, took anything from them, without first paying for it; enumerating the articles we gave in exchange for such and such things, and urging that it was wrong in them to steal from us who were their friends. I, moreover, told him, that the punishing this man would be the means of saving the lives of others of his people, by deterring them from committing crimes of this nature, in which some would certainly be shot dead, one time or another. With these and other arguments, which I believe he pretty well understood, he seemed satisfied, and only desired the man might not be *Matterou* (or killed). I then ordered the crowd, which was very great, to be kept at a proper distance, and, in the presence of them all, ordered the fellow two dozen of lashes with a cat-of-nine-tails, which he bore with great firmness, and was then set at liberty. After this the natives were going away; but Towha stepped forth, called them back, and harangued them for near half an hour. His speech consisted of short sentences, very little of which I understood; but, from what we could gather, he recapitulated part of what I had said to Otoo; named several advantages they had received from us; condemned their present conduct, and recommended a different one for the future. The gracefulness of his action, and the attention with which he was heard, bespoke him a great orator. Otoo said not one word. As soon as Towha had ended his speech, I ordered the marines to go through their exercise, and to load and fire in volleys with ball; and as they were very quick in their manœuvres, it is easier to conceive than to describe the amazement the natives were under the whole time, especially those who had not seen anything of the kind before.

This being over, the chiefs took leave and retired with all their attendants, scarcely more pleased than frightened at what they had seen. In the evening, Mr. Forster and his party returned from the mountains, where he had spent the night, having found some new plants, and some others which grew in New Zealand. He saw Huaheine, which lies forty leagues to the westward; by which a judgment may be formed of the height of the mountains in Otaheite.

Next morning I had an opportunity to see the people of ten war-canoes go through part of their paddling exercise. They had put off from the shore before I was apprised of it; so that I was only present at their landing. They were properly equipped for war, the warriors with their arms, and dressed in their war habits, &c. In landing, I observed that the moment the canoe touched the ground, all the rowers leaped out, and, with the assistance of a few people on the shore, dragged the canoe on dry land to her proper place; which being done, every one walked off with his paddle, &c. All this was executed with such

expedition, that, in five minutes' time after putting ashore, you could not tell that anything of the kind had been going forward. I thought these vessels were thinly manned with rowers; the most being not above thirty, and the least sixteen or eighteen. I observed the warriors on the stage encouraged the rowers to exert themselves. Some youths sat high up in the curved stern, above the steersmen, with white wands in their hands. I know not what they were placed there for; unless it was to look out, and direct, or give notice of what they saw, as they were elevated above every one else. Tarevatoo, the king's brother, gave me the first notice of these canoes being at sea; and, knowing that Mr. Hodges made drawings of everything curious, desired, of his own accord, that he might be sent for. I being at this time on shore with Tarevatoo, Mr. Hodges was, therefore, with me, and had an opportunity to collect some materials for a large drawing or picture of the fleet assembled at Oparree, which will convey a far better idea of it than can be expressed by words. Being present when the warriors undressed, I was surprised at the quantity and weight of cloth they had upon them, not conceiving how it was possible for them to stand under it in time of battle. Not a little was wrapped round their heads as a turban, and made into a cap. This indeed might be necessary in preventing a broken head. Many had fixed to one of this sort of caps, dried branches of small shrubs covered over with white feathers; which, however, could only be for ornament

I had a very great supply of provisions, sent and brought by different chiefs on the 1st of May; and the next day received a present from Towha, sent by his servants, consisting of a hog, and a boat-load of various sorts of fruit and roots. The like present I also had from Otoo, brought by Tarevatoo, who stayed dinner; after which I went down to Oparree, paid a visit to Otoo, and returned on board in the evening.

On the 3d, in looking into the condition of our sea-provisions, we found that the biscuit was in a state of decay, and that the airing and picking we had given it at New Zealand, had not been of that service we expected and intended; so that we were obliged to take it all on shore here, where it underwent another airing and cleaning, in which a good deal was found wholly rotten and unfit to be eaten. We could not well account for this decay in our bread, especially as it was packed in good casks, and stowed in a dry part of the hold. We judged it was owing to the ice we so frequently took in when to the southward, which made the hold damp and cold, and to the great heat which succeeded when to the north. By it this, or any other cause, the loss was equal to us: it put us to scanty allowance of this article; and we had bad bread to eat too.

On the 4th, nothing worthy of note. On the 5th, the king and several other great men paid us a visit, and brought with them, as usual, some hogs and fruit. In the afternoon, the botanists set out for the mountains, and returned the following evening, having made some new discoveries in their way.

On going ashore in the morning of the 7th, I found Otoo at the tents, and took the opportunity to ask his leave to cut down some trees for fuel. He not well understanding me, I took him to some growing near the sea-shore, where I presently made him comprehend what I wanted, and he as readily gave his consent. I told him at the same time, that I should cut down no trees that bore any fruit. He was pleased with this declaration, and told it aloud, several times, to the people about us. In the afternoon, he and the whole royal family, viz. his father, brother, and three sisters, paid us a visit on board. This was properly his father's visit of ceremony. He brought me, as a present, a complete mourning dress, a curiosity we most valued. In return, I gave him whatever he desired, which was not a little; and having distributed red feathers to all the others, conducted them ashore in my boat. Otoo was so well pleased with the reception he and his friends met with, that he told me at parting, I might cut down as many trees as I pleased, and what sort I pleased.

During the night, between the 7th and 8th, some time in the middle watch, all our friendly connexions received an interruption, through the negligence of one of the sentinels on shore. He having either slept or quitted his post, gave one of the natives an opportunity to carry off his musket. The first news I heard of it was from Tee, whom Otoo had sent on board for that purpose, and to desire that I would go to him, for that he was *mataoued*. We were not well enough acquainted with their language to understand all Tee's story; but we

understood enough to know that something had happened which had alarmed the king. In order, therefore, to be fully informed, I went ashore with Tee and Tarevatoo, who had slept aboard all night. As soon as we landed, I was informed of the whole by the serjeant who commanded the party. I found the natives all alarmed, and the most of them fled. Tarevatoo slipped from me in a moment, and hardly any remained by me but Tee. With him I went to look for Otoo; and, as we advanced, I endeavoured to allay the fears of the people, but at the same time insisted on the musket being restored. After travelling some distance into the country, inquiring of every one we saw for Otoo, Tee stopped all at once, and advised me to return, saying that Otoo was gone to the mountains, and he would proceed and tell him that I was still his friend; a question which had been asked me fifty times by different people, and if I was angry, &c. Tee also promised that he would use his endeavours to recover the musket. I was now satisfied it was to no purpose to go farther; for, although I was alone and unarmed, Otoo's fears were such, that he durst not see me; and, therefore, I took Tee's advice, and returned aboard. After this I sent Oedidee to Otoo to let him know that his fears were ill-grounded; for that I only required the return of the musket, which I knew was in his power.

Soon after Oedidee was gone, we observed six large canoes coming round Point Venus. Some people whom I had sent out, to watch the conduct of the neighbouring inhabitants, informed me they were laden with baggage, fruit, hogs, &c. There being room for suspecting that some person belonging to these canoes had committed the theft, I presently came to a resolution to intercept them; and having put off in a boat for that purpose, gave orders for another to follow. One of the canoes, which was some distance ahead of the rest, came directly for the ship. I went alongside this, and found two or three women in her whom I knew. They told me they were going on board the ship with something for me; and on my inquiring of them for Otoo, was told he was then at the tents. Pleased with this news, I contradicted the orders I had given for intercepting the other canoes, thinking they might be coming on board also, as well as this one, which I left within a few yards of the ship, and rowed ashore to speak with Otoo. But when I landed, I was told that he had not been there, nor knew they anything of him. On my looking behind me, I saw all the canoes making off in the greatest haste; even the one I had left alongside the ship had evaded going on board, and was making her escape. Vexed at being thus outwitted, I resolved to pursue them, and as I passed the ship, gave orders to send another boat for the same purpose. Five out of six we took, and brought alongside; but the first, which acted the finesse so well, got clear off. When we got on board with our prizes, I learnt that the people who had deceived me, used no endeavours to lay hold of the ship on the side they were upon, but let their canoe drop past as if they meant to come under the stern, or on the other side; and that the moment they were past, they paddled off with all speed. Thus the canoe, in which were only a few women, was to have amused us with false stories, as they actually did, while the others, in which were most of the effects, got off.

In one of the canoes we had taken, was a chief, a friend of Mr. Forster's, who had hitherto called himself an *Earee*, and would have been much offended if any one had called his title in question; also three women, his wife and daughter, and the mother of the late Toutaha. These, together with the canoes, I resolved to detain, and to send the chief to Otoo, thinking he would have weight enough with him to obtain the return of the musket, as his own property was at stake. He was, however, very unwilling to go on this embassy, and made various excuses, one of which was his being of too low a rank for this honourable employment; saying he was no *Earee*, but a *Manahouna*, and, therefore, was not a fit person to be sent; that an *Earee* ought to be sent to speak to an *Earee*; and as there were no *Earees* but Otoo and myself, it would be much more proper for me to go. All his arguments would have availed him little, if Tee and Oedidee had not, at this time, come on board and given a new turn to the affair, by declaring that the man who stole the musket was from Tiarabou, and had gone with it to that kingdom, so that it was not in the power of Otoo to recover it. I very much doubted their veracity, till they asked me to send a boat to Waheatoua, the king of Tiarabou, and offered to go themselves in her, and get it. I asked why this could not be done without my sending a boat? They said it would not otherwise be given to them.

This story of theirs, although it did not quite satisfy me, nevertheless carried with it the probability of truth; for which reason I thought it better to drop the affair altogether, rather than to punish a nation for a crime I was not sure any of its members had committed. I, therefore, suffered my new ambassador to depart with his two canoes without executing his commission. The other three canoes belonged to Maritata, a Tiarabou chief, who had been some days about the tents; and there was good reason to believe it was one of his people that carried off the musket. I intended to have detained them; but as Tee and Oedidee both assured me that Maritata and his people were quite innocent, I suffered them to be taken away also, and desired Tee to tell Otoo, that I should give myself no farther concern about the musket, since I was satisfied none of his people had stolen it. Indeed, I thought it was irrecoverably lost; but, in the dusk of the evening, it was brought to the tents, together with some other things we had lost, which we knew nothing of, by three men who had pursued the thief and taken them from him. I know not, if they took the trouble of their own accord, or by order of Otoo. I rewarded them, and made no farther inquiry about it. These men, as well as some others present, assured me that it was one of Maritata's people who had committed this theft; which vexed me that I had let his canoes so easily slip through my fingers. Here, I believe, both Tee and Oedidee designedly deceived me.

When the musket and other things were brought in, every one then present, or who came after, pretended to have had some hand in recovering them, and claimed a reward accordingly. But there was no one who acted this farce so well as Nuno, a man of some note, and well known to us when I was here in 1769. This man came, with all the savage fury imaginable in his countenance, and a large club in his hand, with which he beat about him, in order to show us how he alone had killed the thief; when, at the same time, we all knew that he had not been out of his house the whole time.

Thus ended this troublesome day; and next morning early, Tee, Otoo's faithful ambassador, came again on board, to acquaint me that Otoo was gone to Oparree, and desired I would send a person (one of the natives, as I understood) to tell him that I was still his *Tiyo*. I asked him why he did not do this himself, as I had desired. He made some excuse; but I believe the truth was, he had not seen him. In short, I found it was necessary for me to go myself; for while we thus spent our time in messages, we remained without fruit, a stop being put to all exchanges of this nature; that is, the natives brought nothing to market. Accordingly, a party of us set out with Tee in our company, and proceeded to the very utmost limits of Oparree, where, after waiting some considerable time, and several messages having passed, the king at last made his appearance. After we were seated under the shade of some trees as usual, and the first salutations were over, he desired me to *parou* (that is, to speak). Accordingly, I began with blaming him for being frightened and alarmed at what had happened, since I had always professed myself his friend, and I was not angry with him or any of his people, but with those of Tiarabou, who were the thieves. I was then asked, how I came to fire at the canoes? Chance, on this occasion, furnished me with a good excuse. I told them, that they belonged to Maritata, a Tiarabou man, one of whose people had stolen the musket, and occasioned all this disturbance; and if I had them in my power I would destroy them, or any other belonging to Tiarabou. This declaration pleased them, as I expected, from the natural aversion the one kingdom has to the other. What I said was enforced by presents, which perhaps had the greatest weight with them. Thus were things once more restored to their former state; and Otoo promised, on his part, that the next day we should be supplied with fruit, &c. as usual. We then returned with him to his proper residence at Oparree, and there took a view of some of his dock-yards (for such they well deserved to be called) and large canoes; some lately built, and others building; two of which were the largest I had ever seen in this sea, or indeed anywhere else, under that name. This done, we returned on board with Tee in our company, who, after he had dined with us, went to inform old Happi, the king's father, that all matters were accommodated.

This old chief was at this time in the neighbourhood of Matavai, and it should seem, from what followed, that he was not pleased with the conditions; for that same evening, all the

women, which were not a few, were sent for out of the ship, and people stationed on different parts of the shore to prevent any from coming off; and the next morning, no supplies whatever being brought, on my inquiring into the reason, I was told Happi was *mataoued.* Chagrined at this disappointment as I was, I forbore taking any step, from a supposition that Tee had not seen him, or that Otoo's orders had not yet reached Matavai A supply of fruit sent us from Oparree, and some brought us by our friends, served us for the present, and made us less anxious about it. Thus matters stood till the afternoon, when Otoo himself came to the tents with a large supply. Thither I went, and expostulated with him for not permitting the people in our neighbourhood to bring us fruit as usual, insisting on his giving immediate orders about it, which he either did, or had done before; for, presently after, more was brought us than we could well manage. This was not to be wondered at; for the people had everything in readiness to bring the moment they were permitted, and, I believe, thought themselves as much injured by the restriction as we did. Otoo desiring to see some of the great guns fire from the ship, I ordered twelve to be shotted, and fired towards the sea. As he had never seen a cannon fired before, the sight gave him as much pain as pleasure. In the evening we entertained him with fire-works, which gave him great satisfaction.

Thus ended all our differences, on which I beg leave to suggest the following remarks:—I have had occasion, in this journal before, to observe, that these people were continually watching opportunities to rob us. This their governors either encouraged, or had not power to prevent; but most probably the former, because the offender was always screened. That they should commit such daring thefts was the more extraordinary, as they frequently ran the risk of being shot in the attempt; and if the article that they stole was of any consequence, they knew they should be obliged to make restitution. The moment a theft of this kind was committed, it spread like the wind over the whole neighbourhood. They judged of the consequences from what they had got. If it were a trifle, and such an article as we usually gave them, little or no notice was taken of it; but if the contrary, every one took the alarm, and moved off with his moveables in all haste. The chief then was *mataoued*, giving orders to bring us no supplies, and flying to some distant part. All this was sometimes done so suddenly, that we obtained, by these appearances, the first intelligence of our being robbed. Whether we obliged them to make restitution or not, the chief must be reconciled before any of the people were permitted to bring in any refreshments. They knew very well we could not do without them; and, therefore, never failed strictly to observe this rule, without ever considering that all their war canoes, on which the strength of their nation depends, their houses, and even the very fruit they refused to supply us with, were entirely in our power. It is hard to say how they would act, were one to destroy any of these things. Except the detaining some of their canoes for a while, I never touched the least article of their property. Of the two extremes, I always chose that which appeared the most equitable and mild. A trifling present to the chief always succeeded to my wish, and very often put things upon a better footing than they had been before. That they were the first aggressors, had very little influence on my conduct in this respect, because no difference happened but when it was so. My people very rarely or never broke through the rules I thought it necessary to prescribe. Had I observed a different conduct, I must have been the loser by it in the end; and all I could expect, after destroying some part of their property, would have been the empty honour of obliging them to make the first overture towards an accommodation. But who knows if this would have been the event? Three things made them our fast friends: their own good-nature and benevolent disposition; gentle treatment on our part; and the dread of our fire-arms. By our ceasing to observe the second, the first would have worn out of course; and the too frequent use of the latter would have excited a spirit of revenge, and perhaps have taught them that fire-arms were not such terrible things as they had imagined. They were very sensible of the superiority of their numbers; and no one knows what an enraged multitude might do.

CHAPTER XIII.—PREPARATIONS TO LEAVE THE ISLAND.—ANOTHER NAVAL REVIEW, AND VARIOUS OTHER INCIDENTS; WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ISLAND, ITS NAVAL FORCE AND NUMBER OF INHABITANTS.

IN the morning of the 11th, a very large supply of fruit was brought to us from all parts. Some of it came from Towha, the admiral, sent as usual by his servants, with orders to receive nothing in return. But he desired I would go and see him at Attahourou, as he was ill, and could not come to me. As I could not well undertake this journey, I sent Oedidee, along with Towha's servants, with a present suitable to that which I had, in so genteel a manner, received from him. As the most essential repairs of the ship were nearly finished, I resolved to leave Otaheite in a few days, and accordingly ordered everything to be got off from the shore, that the natives might see we were about to depart.

On the 12th, old Oberea, the woman who, when the Dolphin was here in 1767, was thought to be queen of the island, and whom I had not seen since 1769, paid us a visit, and brought us a present of hogs and fruit. Soon after came Otoo with a great retinue, and a large quantity of provisions. I was pretty liberal in my returns, thinking it might be the last time I should see these good people who had so liberally relieved our wants; and in the evening entertained them with fire-works.

On the 13th, winds easterly, fair weather. Nevertheless, we were not ready to sail, as Otoo had made me promise to see him again, and I had a present to make him, which I reserved to the last. Oedidee was not yet come back from Attahourou; various reports arose concerning him: some said he had returned to Matavai; others that he would not return; and some would have it that he was at Oparree. In order to know more of the truth, a party of us in the evening went down to Oparree, where we found him, and likewise Towha, who, notwithstanding his illness, had resolved to see me before I sailed, and had gotten thus far on his journey. He was afflicted with a swelling in his feet and legs, which had entirely taken away the use of them. As the day was far spent, we were obliged to shorten our stay; and after seeing Otoo, we returned with Oedidee on board.

This youth, I found, was desirous of remaining at this isle, having before told him, as likewise many others, that we should not return. I now mentioned to him that he was at liberty to remain here, or to quit us at Ulietea, or to go with us to England, frankly owning that if he chose the latter, it was very probable he would never return to his country; in which case I would take care of him, and he must afterwards look upon me as his father. He threw his arms about me, and wept much, saying many people persuaded him to remain at Otaheite. I told him to go ashore and speak to his friends, and then come to me in the morning. He was well beloved in the ship, so that every one was persuading him to go with us, telling him what great things he would see in England, and the immense riches (according to his idea of riches) he would return with. But I thought proper to undeceive him, as knowing that the only inducement to his going was the expectation of returning, and I could see no prospect of an opportunity of that kind happening, unless a ship should be expressly sent out for that purpose; which neither I nor any one else had a right to expect. I thought it an act of the highest injustice to take a person from these isles, under any promise which it was not in my power to perform. At this time, indeed, it was quite unnecessary, for many youths voluntarily offered themselves to go, and even to remain and die in *Pretanee;* as they call our country. Otoo importuned me much to take one or two to collect red feathers for him at Amsterdam, willing to risk the chance of their returning. Some of the gentlemen on board were likewise desirous of taking some as servants; but I refused every solicitation of this kind, knowing, from experience, they would be of no use to us in the course of the voyage; and farther my views were not extended. What had the greatest weight with me was, the thinking myself bound to see they were afterwards properly taken care of, as they could not be carried from their native spot without consent.

Next morning early, Oedidee came on board with a resolution to remain at the island;

IEW, AND
AL FORCE

all parts.
orders to
rou, as he
ey, I sent
had, in so
ere nearly
ything to

767, was
visit, and
ue, and a
ht be the
nd in the

o sail, as
, which I
s reports
ould not
re of the
l likewise
and had
gs, which
bliged to

l him, as
e was at
owning
ntry; in
is father:
o remain
e in the
go with
(accord-
ive him,
g, and I
hould be
right to
se isles,
indeed,
nd even
e much
chance
ng some
ce, they
ere not
l to see
native

island;

COOK'S RIVER, BOTANY BAY.

Plate XII.] [*Cook's Voyages*

but
Oa
Tov
Am
him
V
rou
by
all
the
the
clos
sho
clos
stre
his
the
for
obse
Mr.
and
sail,
of T
had
Ma
just
chief
caus
parti
time
the
whic
spea
be g
couch
spear
holdi
they
hand
ease.
did n
parri
anoth
had n
on wh
gentle
they
large
they
canoe.
penda
called
this he
into o
who w

but Mr. Forster prevailed upon him to go with us to Ulietea. Soon after, Towha, Poatatou, Oamo, Happi, Oberea, and several more of our friends, came on board with fruit, &c. Towha was hoisted in, and placed on a chair on the quarter-de[illegible] wife was with him. Amongst the various articles which I gave this chief, was an English p[illegible]ant, which pleased him more than all the rest, especially after he had been instructed in the use of it.

We had no sooner despatched our friends than we saw a number of war canoes coming round the point of Oparree. Being desirous of having a nearer view of them, accompanied by some of the officers and gentlemen, I hastened down to Oparree, which we reached before all the canoes were landed, and had an opportunity of seeing in what manner they approached the shore. When they got before the place where they intended to land, they formed themselves into divisions, consisting of three or four, or perhaps more, lashed square and close alongside of each other; and then each division, one after the other, paddled in for the shore with all their might, and conducted in so judicious a manner, that they formed and closed a line along the shore to an inch. The rowers were encouraged to exert their strength by their leaders on the stages, and directed by a man who stood with a wand in his hand in the fore part of the middlemost vessel. This man, by words and actions, directed the paddlers when all should paddle, when either the one side or the other should cease, &c., for the steering paddles alone were not sufficient to direct them. All these motions they observed with such quickness, as clearly showed them to be expert in their business. After Mr. Hodges had made a drawing of them, as they lay ranged along the shore, we landed, and took a nearer view of them by going on board several. This fleet consisted of forty sail, equipped in the same manner as those we had seen before, belonged to the little district of Tettaha, and were come to Oparree to be reviewed before the king, as the former fleet had been. There were attending on this fleet some small double canoes, which they called *Marais*, having on their fore part a kind of double bed-place laid over with green leaves, each just sufficient to hold one man. These, they told us, were to lay their dead upon; their chiefs I suppose they meant, otherwise their slain must be few. Otoo, who was present, caused, at my request, some of the troops to go through their exercise on shore. Two parties first began with clubs; but this was over almost as soon as begun, so that I had no time to make my observations upon it. They then went to single combat, and exhibited the various methods of fighting with great alertness, parrying off the blows and pushes which each combatant aimed at the other with great dexterity. Their arms were clubs and spears; the latter they also used as darts. In fighting with the club, all blows intended to be given the legs were evaded by leaping over it; and those intended for the head, by couching a little, and leaping on one side; thus the blow would fall to the ground. The spear or dart was parried, by fixing the point of a spear in the ground right before them, holding it in an inclined position, more or less elevated, according to the part of the body they saw their antagonist intended to make a push, or throw his dart at, and by moving the hand a little to the right or left, either the one or the other was easily turned off with great ease. I thought that when one combatant had parried off the blows, &c., of the other, he did not use the advantage which seemed to me to accrue. As, for instance: after he had parried off a dart, he still stood on the defensive, and suffered his antagonist to take up another, when I thought there was time to run him through the body. These combatants had no superfluous dress upon them; an unnecessary piece of cloth or two which they had on when they began, were presently torn off by the bystanders, and given to some of our gentlemen present. This being over, the fleet departed,—not in any order, but as fast as they could be got afloat; and we went with Otoo to one of his dock-yards, where the two large *pahies* or canoes were building, each of which was a hundred and eight feet long: they were almost ready to launch, and were intended to make one joint double *pahie* or canoe. The king begged of me a grappling and rope, to which I added an English jack and pendant (with the use of which he was well acquainted), and desired the *pahie* might be called Britannia. This he very readily agreed to, and she was named accordingly. After this he gave me a hog, and a turtle of about sixty pounds weight, which was put privately into our boat, the giving it away not being agreeable to some of the great lords about him, who were thus deprived of a feast. He likewise would have given me a large shark they

had prisoner in a creek (some of his fins being cut off so that he could not make his escape), but the fine pork and fish we had got at this isle had spoiled our palates for such food. The king, and his prime minister Tee, accompanied us on board to dinner; and after it was over, took a most affectionate farewell. He hardly ever ceased soliciting me, this day, to return to Otaheite; and, just before he went out of the ship, took a youth by the hand, and presented him to me, desiring I would keep him on board to go to Amsterdam to collect red feathers. I told him I could not, since I knew he would never return; but that, if any ship should happen to come from Britain to this isle, I would either bring or send him red feathers in abundance. This, in some measure, satisfied him; but the youth was exceedingly desirous of going, and, if I had not come to a resolution to carry no one from the isles (except Oedidee, if he chose to go), and but just refused Mr. Forster the liberty of taking a boy, I believe I should have consented. Otoo remained alongside in his canoe till we were under sail, when he put off, and was saluted with three guns.

Our treatment at this isle was such as had induced one of our gunner's mates to form a plan to remain at it. He knew he could not execute it with success while we lay in the bay, therefore took the opportunity, as soon as we were out, the boats in, and sails set, to slip overboard, being a good swimmer: but he was discovered before he got clear of the ship, and we presently hoisted a boat out and took him up. A canoe was observed, about half-way between us and the shore, seemingly coming after us; she was intended to take him up; but as soon as the people in her saw our boat, they kept at a distance. This was a preconcerted plan between the man and them, which Otoo was acquainted with, and had encouraged. When I considered this man's situation in life, I did not think him so culpable, nor the resolution he had taken of staying here so extraordinary, as it may at first appear. He was an Irishman by birth, and had sailed in the Dutch service. I picked him up at Batavia on my return from my former voyage, and he had been with me ever since. I never learnt that he had either friends or connexions to confine him to any particular part of the world: all nations were alike to him; where then could such a man be more happy than at one of these isles? where, in one of the finest climates in the world, he could enjoy not only the necessaries, but the luxuries of life, in ease and plenty. I know not, if he might not have obtained my consent, if he had applied for it in proper time. As soon as we had got him on board, and the boat in, I steered for Huaheine, in order to pay a visit to our friends there. But, before we leave Otaheite, it will be necessary to give some account of the present state of that island, especially as it differs very much from what it was eight months before.

I have already mentioned the improvements we found in the plains of Oparree and Matavai. The same was observed in every other part into which we came. It seemed to us almost incredible that so many large canoes and houses could be built in so short a space as eight months. The iron tools which they had got from the English, and other nations who have lately touched at the isle, had, no doubt, greatly accelerated the work; and they have no want of hands, as I shall soon make appear. The number of hogs was another thing that excited our wonder. Probably they were not so scarce when we were here before as we imagined, and, not choosing to part with any, they had conveyed them out of our sight. Be this as it may, we now not only got as many as we could consume during our stay, but some to take to sea with us.

When I was last here, I conceived but an unfavourable opinion of Otoo's talents. The improvements since made in the island convinced me of my mistake; and that he must be a man of good parts. He has, indeed, some judicious, sensible men about him; who, I believe, have a great share in the government. In truth, we know not how far his power extends as king, nor how far he can command the assistance of the other chiefs, or is controllable by them. It should however seem, that all have contributed towards bringing the isle to its present flourishing state. We cannot doubt that there are divisions amongst the great men of this state, as well as of most others; or else why did the king tell us that Towha, the admiral, and Poatatou, were not his friends? They were two leading chiefs; and he must be jealous of them on account of their great power; for on every occasion he seemed to court their interest. We had reason to believe that they had raised by far the

greatest number of vessels and men to go against Eimeo, and were to be two of the commanders in the expedition, which we were told was to take place five days after our departure. Waheatoua, king of Tiarabou, was to send a fleet to join that of Otoo, to assist him in reducing to obedience the chief of Eimeo. I think we were told that young prince was one of the commanders. One would suppose that so small an island as Eimeo would hardly have attempted to make head against the united force of these two kingdoms, but have endeavoured to settle matters by negotiation. Yet we heard of no such thing; on the contrary, every one spoke of nothing but fighting. Towha told us more than once that he should die there; which, in some measure, shows what he thought of it. Oedidee told me the battle would be fought at sea; in which case the other must have a fleet nearly equal, if not quite, to the one going against them; which I think was not probable. It was therefore more likely they would remain ashore upon the defensive, as we were told they did, about five or six years ago, when attacked by the people of Tiarabou whom they repulsed. Five general officers were to command in this expedition; of which number Otoo was one; and, if they named them in order according to the posts they held, Otoo was only the third in command. This seems probable enough, as being but a young man he could not have sufficient experience to command such an expedition, where the greatest skill and judgment seemed to be necessary.

I confess I would willingly have staid five days longer, had I been sure the expedition would have then taken place; but it rather seemed that they wanted us to be gone first. We had been all along told it would be ten moons before it took place; and it was not till the evening before we sailed, that Otoo and Towha told us it was to be in five days after we were gone, as if it were necessary to have that time to put everything in order; for while we lay there, great part of their time and attention was taken up with us. I had observed that, for several days before we sailed, Otoo and the other chiefs had ceased to solicit my assistance, as they were continually doing at first, till I assured Otoo that, if they got their fleet ready in time, I would sail with them down to Eimeo: after this I heard no more of it. They probably had taken it into consideration, and concluded themselves safer without me, well knowing it would be in my power to give the victory to whom I pleased, and that, at the best, I might thwart some favourite custom, or run away with the spoils. But be their reasons what they might, they certainly wanted us to be gone, before they undertook anything. Thus we were deprived of seeing the whole fleet equipped on this occasion, and perhaps of being spectators of a sea-fight, and by that means gaining some knowledge of their manœuvres.

I never could learn what number of vessels were to go on this expedition. We knew of no more than two hundred and ten, besides smaller canoes to serve as transports, &c. and the fleet of Tiarabou, the strength of which we never learnt. Nor could I ever learn the number of men necessary to man this fleet; and whenever I asked the question, the answer was, *Warou, warou, warou te Tata*, that is, many, many, many men, as if the number far exceeded their arithmetic. If we allow forty men to each war canoe, and four to each of the others, which is thought a moderate computation, the number will amount to nine thousand: an astonishing number to be raised in four districts; and one of them, viz. Matavai, did not equip a fourth part of its fleet. The fleet of Tiarabou is not included in this account; and many other districts might be arming which we knew nothing of. I, however, believe that the whole isle did not arm on this occasion, for we saw not the least preparations making in Oparree. From what we saw and could learn, I am clearly of opinion that the chief, or chiefs, of each district superintended the equipping of the fleet belonging to that district; but, after they are equipped, they must pass in review before the king, and be approved of by him. By this means he knows the state of the whole, before they assemble to go on service.

It hath been already observed, that the number of war canoes belonging to Attahourou and Ahopata was a hundred and sixty, to Tettaha forty, and to Matavai ten, and that this district did not equip one-fourth part of their number. If we suppose every district in the island, of which there are forty-three, to raise and equip the same number of war canoes as Tettaha, we shall find, by this estimate, that the whole island can raise and equip one

thousand seven hundred and twenty war canoes, and sixty-eight thousand able men, allowing forty men to each canoe. And, as these cannot amount to above one-third part of the number of both sexes, children included, the whole island cannot contain less than two hundred and four thousand inhabitants; a number which, at first sight, exceeded my belief. But, when I came to reflect on the vast swarms which appeared wherever we came, I was convinced that this estimate was not much, if at all, too great*. There cannot be a greater proof of the richness and fertility of Otaheite (not forty leagues in circuit) than its supporting such a number of inhabitants.

This island made formerly but one kingdom; how long it has been divided into two, I cannot pretend to say; but I believe not long. The kings of Tiarabou are a branch of the family of those of Opoureonu; at present, the two are nearly related; and, I think, the former is, in some measure, dependent on the latter. Otoo is styled *Earee de hie* of the whole island; and we have been told that Waheatoua, the king of Tiarabou, must uncover before him, in the same manner as the meanest of his subjects. This homage is due to Otoo, as *Earee de hie* of the isle, to Tarevatou, his brother, and his second sister; to the one as heir, and to the other as heir apparent; his eldest sister being married, is not entitled to this homage.

The *Eowas* and *Whannos* we have sometimes seen covered before the king, but whether by courtesy, or by virtue of their office, we never could learn. These men, who are the principal persons about the king, and form his court, are generally, if not always, his relations. Tee, whom I have so often mentioned, was one of them. We have been told that the *Eowas*, who have the first rank, attend in their turns, a certain number each day, which occasioned us to call them lords in waiting; but whether this was really so, I cannot say. We seldom found Tee absent; indeed his attendance was necessary, as being best able to negotiate matters between us and them, on which service he was always employed; and he executed it, I have reason to believe, to the satisfaction of both parties.

It is to be regretted that we know little more of this government than the general outline; for, of its subdivisions, classes, or orders of the constituent parts, how disposed, or in what manner connected, so as to form one body politic, we know but little. We, however, are sure that it is of the feudal kind; and, if we may judge from what we have seen, it has sufficient stability, and is by no means badly constructed. The *Eowas* and *Whannos* always eat with the king; indeed I do not know if any one is excluded from this privilege but the *Toutous*. For as to the women, they are out of the question, as they never eat with the men, let their rank be ever so much elevated.

Notwithstanding this kind of kingly establishment, there was very little about Otoo's person or court by which a stranger could distinguish the king from the subject. I seldom saw him dressed in anything but a common piece of cloth wrapped round his loins; so that he seemed to avoid all unnecessary pomp, and even to demean himself more than any other of the *Earees*. I have seen him work at a paddle, in coming to and going from the ship, in common with the other paddlers; and even when some of his *Toutous* sat looking on. All have free access to him, and speak to him wherever they see him, without the least ceremony: such is the easy freedom which every individual of this happy isle enjoys. I have observed that the chiefs of these isles are more beloved, by the bulk of the people, than feared. May we not from hence conclude, that the government is mild and equitable?

* Mr. Ellis in his Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 26, has the following passage in relation to the population of Otaheite:—"It is impossible for any one who has visited these shores, or traversed any one of the districts, to entertain the slightest doubt that the number of inhabitants in the South Sea Islands was formerly much greater than at present. What their number in any remote period of their history may have been it is not easy to ascertain: Captain Cook estimated those residing in Tahiti at 200,000. The grounds, however, on which he formed his conclusion were certainly fallacious. The population was at all times so fugitive and uncertain, as to the proportion it bore to any section of geographical surface, that no correct inference, as to the amount of the whole could be drawn from the numbers seen in one part. Captain Wilson's calculations, in 1797, made the population of Tahiti only about 16,000; and not many years afterwards, the Missionaries declared it as their opinion that this island did not contain more than 8000 souls; and I cannot think that within the last thirty years it has ever contained fewer inhabitants. The present number of natives is about 10,000." There are ancient remains which indicate that formerly, the Society and other neighbouring islands were far more densely populated than they were at the period at which they were first visited by Europeans. Some further remarks on this subject will be found in the Appendix. —Ed.

We have mentioned that Waheatoua of Tiabarou is related to Otoo. The same may be said of the chiefs of Eimeo, Tapamannoo, Huaheine, Ulietea, Otaha, and Bolabola; for they are all related to the royal family of Otaheite. It is a maxim with the *Earees*, and others of superior rank, never to intermarry with the *Toutous*, or others of inferior rank. Probably this custom is one great inducement to the establishment of these societies called *Earecoies*. It is certain that these societies greatly prevent the increase of the superior classes of people, of which they are composed, and do not at all interfere with the inferiors or *Toutous;* for I never heard of one of these being an *Earreoy*. Nor did I ever hear that a *Toutou* could rise in life above the rank in which he was born.

I have occasionally mentioned the extraordinary fondness the people of Otaheite showed for red feathers. These they call *Oora*, and they are as valuable here as jewels are in Europe, especially those which they call *Oravine*, and grow on the head of the green parroquet: all red feathers are, indeed, esteemed, but none equally with these; and they are such good judges as to know very well how to distinguish one sort from another. Many of our people attempted to deceive them, by dyeing other feathers; but I never heard that any one succeeded. These feathers they make up in little bunches, consisting of eight or ten, and fix them to the end of a small cord about three or four inches long, which is made of the strong outside fibres of the cocoa-nut, twisted so hard, that it is like a wire, and serves as a handle to the bunch. Thus prepared, they are used as symbols of the *Eatuas*, or divinities, in all their religious ceremonies. I have often seen them hold one of these bunches, and sometimes only two or three feathers, between the fore-finger and thumb, and say a prayer, not one word of which I could ever understand. Whoever comes to this island will do well to provide himself with red feathers, the finest and smallest that are to be got. He must also have a good stock of axes and hatchets, spike-nails, files, knives, looking-glasses, beads, &c. Sheets and shirts are much sought after, especially by the ladies; as many of our gentlemen found by experience.

The two goats which Captain Furneaux gave to Otoo when we were last here, seemed to promise fair for answering the end for which they were put on shore. The ewe soon after had two female kids, which were now so far grown as to be nearly ready to propagate; and the old ewe was again with kid. The people seemed to be very fond of them, and they to like their situation as well; for they were in excellent condition. From this circumstance, we may hope that, in a few years, they will have some to spare to their neighbours; and, by that means, they may in time spread over all the isles in this ocean. The sheep which we left, died soon after, excepting one, which we understood was yet alive. We have also furnished them with a stock of cats; no less than twenty having been given away at this isle, besides what were left at Ulietea and Huaheine.

CHAPTER XIV.—THE ARRIVAL OF THE SHIP AT THE ISLAND OF HUAHEINE; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF AN EXPEDITION INTO THE ISLAND, AND SEVERAL OTHER INCIDENTS WHICH HAPPENED WHILE SHE LAY THERE.

At one o'clock in the afternoon on the 15th, we anchored in the north entrance of O'Wharre harbour, in the island of Huaheine; hoisted out the boats, warped into a proper berth, and moored with the bower and kedge anchor, not quite a cable's length from the shore. While this was doing, several of the natives made us a visit, amongst whom was old Oree, the chief, who brought a hog, and some other articles, which he presented to me, with the usual ceremony.

Next morning, the natives began to bring us fruit. I returned Oree's visit, and made my present to him; one article of which was red feathers. Two or three of these the chief took in his right hand, holding them up between the finger and thumb, and said a prayer, as I understood, which was little noticed by any present. Two hogs were, soon after, put into my boat; and he, and several of his friends, came on board, and dined with us. After dinner Oree gave me to understand what articles would be most acceptable to him and his friends; which were chiefly axes and nails. Accordingly I gave him what he asked, and

desired he would distribute them to the others, which he did, seemingly to the satisfaction of every one. A youth about ten or twelve years of age, either his son or grandson, seemed to be the person of most note, and had the greatest share. After the distribution was over, they all returned ashore. Mr. Forster and his party being out in the country botanising, his servant, a feeble man, was beset by five or six fellows, who would have stripped him, if, that moment, one of the party had not come to his assistance; after which, they made off with a hatchet they had got from him.

On the 17th I went ashore to look for the chief, in order to complain of the outrage committed as above; but he was not in the neighbourhood. Being ashore in the afternoon, a person came and told me Oree wanted to see me. I went with the man, and was conducted to a large house, where the chief, and several other persons of note, were assembled, in council, as well as I could understand. After I was seated and some conversation had passed among them, Oree made a speech, and was answered by another. I understood no more of either, than just to know it regarded the robbery committed the day before. The chief then began to assure me, that neither he, nor any one present (who were the principal chiefs in the neighbourhood) had any hand in it; and desired me to kill, with the guns, all those which had. I assured him that I was satisfied that neither he, nor those present, were at all concerned in the affair; and that I should do with the fellows as he desired, or any others who where guilty of the like crimes. Having asked where the fellows were, and desired they would bring them to me that I might do with them as he had said; his answer was, they were gone to the mountains, and he could not get them. Whether this was the case or not, I will not pretend to say. I knew fair means would never make them deliver them up; and I had no intention to try others. So the affair dropt, and the council broke up.

In the evening, some of the gentlemen went to a dramatic entertainment. The piece represented a girl as running away with us from Otaheite; which was in some degree true; as a young woman had taken a passage with us down to Ulietea, and happened now to be present at the representation of her own adventures; which had such an effect upon her, that it was with great difficulty our gentlemen could prevail upon her to see the play out, or to refrain from tears while it was acting. The piece concluded with the reception she was supposed to meet with from her friends at her return; which was not a very favourable one. These people can add little extempore pieces to their entertainments when they see occasion. Is it not then reasonable to suppose that this was intended as a satire against this girl, and to discourage others from following her steps?

In the morning of the 18th Oree came on board with a present of fruit, stayed dinner, and in the afternoon desired to see some great guns fired, shotted, which I complied with. The reason of his making this request was his hearing, from Oedidee and our Otaheitean passengers, that we had so done at their island. The chief would have had us fire at the hills; but I did not approve of that, lest the shot should fall short, and do some mischief. Besides, the effect was better seen in the water. Some of the petty officers, who had leave to go into the country for their amusement, took two of the natives with them to be their guides, and to carry their bags, containing nails, hatchets, &c., the current cash we traded with here; which the fellows made off with in the following artful manner:—The gentlemen had with them two muskets for shooting birds. After a shower of rain, their guides pointed out some for them to shoot. One of the muskets having missed fire several times, and the other having gone off, the instant the fellows saw themselves secure from both, they ran away, leaving the gentlemen gazing after them with so much surprise, that no one had presence of mind to pursue them.

The 19th, showery morning; fair afternoon; nothing happened worthy of note. Early in the morning of the 20th, three of the officers set out on a shooting party, rather contrary to my inclination; as I found the natives, at least some of them, were continually watching every opportunity to rob straggling parties, and were daily growing more daring. About three o'clock in the afternoon, I got intelligence that they were seized and stripped of everything they had about them. Upon this I immediately went on shore with a boat's crew, accompanied by Mr. Forster, and took possession of a large house with all its effects, and

two chiefs, whom I found in it; but this we did in such a manner that they hardly knew what we were about, being unwilling to alarm the neighbourhood. In this situation I remained till I heard the officers had got back safe, and had all their things restored to them: then I quitted the house; and presently after everything in it was carried off. When I got on board, I was informed of the whole affair by the officers themselves. Some little insult on their part induced the natives to seize their guns, on which a scuffle ensued, some chiefs interfered, took the officers out of the crowd, and caused everything which had been taken from them to be restored. This was at a place where we had before been told, that a set of fellows had formed themselves into a gang, with a resolution to rob every one who should go that way. It should seem, from what followed, that the chief could not prevent this, or put a stop to these repeated outrages. I did not see him this evening, as he was not come into the neighbourhood when I went on board; but I learnt from Oedidee that he came soon after, and was so concerned at what had happened that he wept. Daylight no sooner broke upon us on the 21st, than we saw upwards of sixty canoes under sail going out of the harbour, and steering over for Ulietea. On our inquiring the reason, we were told that the people in them were *Eareeoies*, and were going to visit their brethren in the neighbouring isles. One may almost compare these men to freemasons; they tell us they assist each other when need requires; they seem to have customs among them which they either will not or cannot explain. Oedidee told us he was one; Tupia was one; and yet I have not been able to get any tolerable idea of this set of men from either of them. Oedidee denies that the children they have by their mistresses are put to death, as we understood from Tupia and others. I have had some conversation with Omai on this subject, and find that he confirms everything that is said upon it in the narrative of my former voyage *.

Oedidee, who generally slept on shore, came off with a message from Oree, desiring I would land with twenty-two men, to go with him to chastise the robbers. The messenger brought with him, by way of assisting his memory, twenty-two pieces of leaves, a method customary amongst them. On my receiving this extraordinary message, I went to the chief for better information; and all I could learn of him was, that these fellows were a sort of banditti, who had formed themselves into a body with a resolution of seizing and robbing our people wherever they found them, and were now armed for that purpose; for which reason he wanted me to go along with him to chastise them. I told him, if I went, they would fly to the mountains; but he said they were resolved to fight us, and therefore desired I would destroy both them and their house; but begged I would spare those in the neighbourhood, as also the canoes and the *Whenooa*. By way of securing these, he presented me with a pig as a peace-offering for the *Whenooa*. It was too small to be meant for anything but a ceremony of this kind. This sensible old chief could see (what, perhaps, none of the others ever thought of) that everything in the neighbourhood was at our mercy, and therefore took care to secure them by this method, which I suppose to be of weight with them. When I returned on board, I considered of the chief's request, which, upon the whole, appeared an extraordinary one. I, however, resolved to go, lest these fellows should be (by our refusal) encouraged to commit greater acts of violence; and, as their proceeding would soon reach Ulietea, where I intended to go next, the people there might be induced to treat us in the same manner, or worse, they being more numerous. Accordingly, I landed with forty-eight men, including officers, Mr. Forster, and some others of the gentlemen. The chief joined us with a few people, and we began to march, in search of the banditti, in good order. As we proceeded, the chief's party increased like a snow-ball. Oedidee, who was with us, began to be alarmed, observing that many of the people in our company were of the very party we were going against, and at last telling us that they were only leading us to some place where they could attack us to advantage. Whether there was any truth in this, or it was only Oedidee's fears, I will not pretend to say; he, however, was the only person we could confide in, and we regulated our motions according to the information he had given us. After marching some miles, we got intelligence that the men we were going after had fled to the mountains; but I think this was not till I had declared to the chief I would

* For a full account of the constitution of the Areois see the Appendix.—Ed.

proceed no farther; for we were then about crossing a deep valley, bounded on each side by steep rocks, where a few men, with stones only, might have made our retreat difficult, if their intentions were what Oedidee had suggested, and which he still persisted in. Having come to a resolution to return, we marched back in the same order as we went, and saw, in several places, people, who had been following us, coming down from the sides of the hills with their arms in their hands, which they instantly quitted, and hid in the bushes, when they saw they were discovered by us. This seemed to prove that there must have been some foundation for what Oedidee had said; but I cannot believe the chief had any such design, whatever the people might have. In our return, we halted at a convenient place to refresh ourselves. I ordered the people to bring us some cocoa-nuts, which they did immediately: indeed, by this time, I believe many of them wished us on board out of the way; for although no one step was taken that could give them the least alarm, they certainly were in terror. Two chiefs brought each of them a pig, a dog, and some young plantain trees, the usual peace-offerings, and, with due ceremony, presented them singly to me. Another brought a very large hog, with which he followed us to the ship. After this we continued our course to the landing-place, where I caused several volleys to be fired, to convince the natives that we could support a continual fire. This being done, we all embarked and went on board; and soon after the chief following, brought with him a quantity of fruit, and sat down with us to dinner. We had scarce dined, before more fruit was brought us by others, and two hogs; so that we were likely to make more by this little excursion than by all the presents we had made them. It certainly gave them some alarm to see so strong a party of men march into their country, and probably gave them a better opinion of fire-arms than they had before; for I believe they had but an indifferent, or rather contemptible, idea of muskets in general, having never seen any fired but at birds, &c., by such of our people as used to straggle about the country, the most of them but indifferent marksmen, losing generally two shots out of three, their pieces often missing fire, and being slow in charging. Of all this they had taken great notice, and concluded, as well they might, that fire-arms were not so terrible things as they had been taught to believe.

When the chiefs took leave in the evening, they promised to bring us the next day a very large supply of provisions. In the article of fruit they were as good as their word; but of hogs, which we most wanted, they brought far less than we expected. Going ashore in the afternoon, I found the chief just sitting down to dinner. I cannot say what was the occasion of his dining so late. As soon as he was seated, several people began chewing the pepper-root; about a pint of the juice of which, without any mixture, was the first dish, and was despatched in a moment. A cup of it was presented to me, but the manner of brewing it was at this time sufficient. Oedidee was not so nice, but took what I refused. After this the chief washed his mouth with cocoa-nut water; then he ate of repe, plantain, and mahee, of each not a little; and, lastly, finished his repast by eating, or rather drinking, about three pints of *popoie*, which is made of bread-fruit, plantains, mahee, &c., beat together, and diluted with water till it is of the consistence of a custard. This was at the outside of his house, in the open air; for at this time a play was acting within, as was done almost every day in the neighbourhood; but they were such poor performances that I never attended. I observed that, after the juice had been squeezed out of the chewed pepper-root for the chief, the fibres were carefully picked up and taken away by one of his servants. On my asking what he intended to do with it, I was told he would put water to it, and strain it again. Thus he would make what I will call small beer.

The 23d, wind easterly, as it had been ever since we left Otaheite. Early in the morning we unmoored, and at eight weighed and put to sea. The good old chief was the last man who went out of the ship. At parting I told him we should see each other no more; at which he wept, and said, "Let your sons come; we will treat them well." Oree is a good man, in the utmost sense of the word; but many of the people are far from being of that disposition, and seem to take advantage of his old age, Teraderre, his grandson and heir, being yet but a youth. The gentle treatment the people of this isle ever met with from me, and the careless and imprudent manner in which many of our people had rambled about in the country, from a vain opinion that fire-arms rendered them invincible, encouraged many

at Huaheine to commit acts of violence, which no man at Otaheite ever durst attempt. During our stay here we got bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, &c., more than we could well consume, but not hogs enough by far to supply our daily expense; and yet it did not appear that they were scarce in the isle. It must, however, be allowed, that the number we took away, when last here, must have thinned them greatly, and at the same time stocked the isle with our articles. Besides, we now wanted a proper assortment of trade; what we had being nearly exhausted, and the few remaining red feathers being here but of little value, when compared to the estimation they stand in at Otaheite. This obliged me to set the smiths to work, to make different sorts of iron tools, nails, &c., in order to enable me to procure refreshments at the other isles, and to support my credit and influence among the natives.

CHAPTER XV.—ARRIVAL AT ULIETEA, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE RECEPTION WE MET WITH THERE, AND THE SEVERAL INCIDENTS WHICH HAPPENED DURING OUR STAY. A REPORT OF TWO SHIPS BEING AT HUAHEINE. PREPARATIONS TO LEAVE THE ISLAND, AND THE REGRET THE INHABITANTS SHOWED ON THE OCCASION. THE CHARACTER OF OEDIDEE, WITH SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE ISLANDS.

As soon as we were clear of the harbour, we made sail, and stood over for the south end of Ulietea. Oreo took the opportunity to send a man with a message to Opoony. Being little wind all the latter part of the day, it was dark before we reached the west side of the isle, where we spent the night. The same light variable wind continued till ten o'clock next morning, when the trade-wind at east prevailed, and we ventured to ply up to the harbour, first sending a boat to lie in anchorage in the entrance. After making a few trips, we got before the channel, and with all our sails set, and the head-way the ship had acquired, shut her in as far as she would go; then dropped the anchor, and took in the sails. This is the method of getting into most of the harbours which are on the lee-side of these isles; for the channels, in general, are too narrow to ply in. We were now anchored between the two points of the reef which form the entrance; each not more than two-thirds the length of a cable from us, and on which the sea broke with such height and violence, as, to people less acquainted with the place, would have been terrible. Having all our boats out with anchors and warps in them, which were presently run out, the ship warped into safety, where we dropped anchor for the night. While this work was going forward, my old friend Oreo the chief, and several more, came to see us. The chief came not empty.

Next day we warped the ship into, and moored her in, a proper berth, so as to command all the shores around us. In the mean time a party of us went ashore to pay the chief a visit, and to make the customary present. At our first entering his house, we were met by four or five old women, weeping and lamenting, as it were, most bitterly, and at the same time cutting their heads with instruments made of sharks' teeth, till the blood ran plentifully down their faces and on their shoulders. What was still worse, we were obliged to submit to the embraces of these old hags, and by that means were all besmeared with blood. This ceremony (for it was merely such) being over, they went out, washed themselves, and immediately after appeared as cheerful as any of the company. Having made some little stay, and given my present to the chief and his friends, he put a hog and some fruit into my boat, and came on board with us to dinner. In the afternoon, we had a vast number of people and canoes about us, from different parts of the island. They all took up their quarters in our neighbourhood, where they remained feasting for some days. We understood the most of them were *Eareoys*.

The 26th afforded nothing remarkable, excepting that Mr. Forster, in his botanical excursions, saw a burying-place for dogs, which they called *Marai no te Oore*. But, I think, we ought not to look upon this as one of their customs; because few dogs die a natural death, being generally, if not always, killed and eaten, or else given as an offering to the gods. Probably this might be a *Marai* or altar, where this sort of offering was made; or it might have been the whim of some person to have buried his favourite dog in this manner. But

be it as it will, I cannot think it is a general custom in the nation; and, for my own part, I neither saw nor heard of such a thing before.

Early in the morning of the 27th, Oreo, his wife, son, daughter, and several more of his friends, made us a visit and brought with them a good quantity of all manner of refreshments; little having as yet been got from anybody else. They staid dinner; after which a party of us accompanied them on shore, where we were entertained with a play, called *Mididij Harramy*, which signifies the *Child is coming*. It concluded with the representation of a woman in labour, acted by a set of great brawny fellows, one of whom at last brought forth a strapping boy, about six feet high, who ran about the stage, dragging after him a large wisp of straw which hung by a string from his middle. I had an opportunity of seeing this acted another time, when I observed, that the moment they had got hold of the fellow who represented the child, they flattened or pressed his nose. From this I judged that they do so by their children when born, which may be the reason why all in general have flat noses. This part of the play, from its newness, and the ludicrous manner in which it was performed, gave us, the first time we saw it, some entertainment, and caused a loud laugh, which might be the reason why they acted it so often afterwards. But this, like all their other pieces, could entertain us no more than once; especially as we could gather little from them, for want of knowing more of their language.

The 28th was spent by me in much the same manner as the preceding day, viz., in entertaining my friends, and being entertained by them; Mr. Forster and his party in the country botanising. Next morning, we found several articles had been stolen out of our boats lying at the buoy, about sixty or seventy yards from the ship. As soon as I was informed of it, I went to the chief to acquaint him therewith. I found that he not only knew they were stolen, but by whom, and where they were; and he went immediately with me in my boat in pursuit of them. After proceeding a good way along shore, towards the south end of the island, the chief ordered us to land near some houses, where we did not wait long before all the articles were brought to us, except the pinnace's iron tiller, which I was told was still farther off. But, when I wanted to go after it, I found the chief unwilling to proceed; and he actually gave me the slip, and retired into the country. Without him I knew I could do nothing. The people began to be alarmed when they saw I was for going farther; by which I concluded that the tiller was out of their reach also. I therefore sent one of them to the chief to desire him to return. He returned accordingly; when we sat down, and had some victuals set before us; thinking perhaps that, as I had not breakfasted, I must be hungry, and not in a good humour. Thus I was amused till two hogs were produced, which they entreated me to accept. This I did, and then their fears vanished; and I thought myself not ill off in having gotten two good hogs for a thing which seemed to be quite out of my reach. Matters being thus settled, we returned on board, and had the company of the chief and his son to dinner. After that we all went ashore, where a play was acted for the entertainment of such as would spend their time in looking at it. Besides these plays, which the chief caused frequently to be acted, there were a set of strolling players in the neighbourhood, who performed every day. But their pieces seemed to be so much alike, that we soon grew tired of them; especially as we could not collect any interesting circumstances from them. We, our ship, and our country, were frequently brought on the stage; but on what account I know not. It can hardly be doubted that this was designed as a compliment to us, and probably not acted but when some of us were present. I generally appeared at Oreo's theatre towards the close of the play, and twice at the other, in order to give my mite to the actors. The only actress at Oreo's theatre was his daughter, a pretty brown girl, at whose shrine, on these occasions, many offerings were made by her numerous votaries. This, I believe, was one great inducement to her father's giving us these entertainments so often.

Early in the morning of the 30th, I set out with the two boats, accompanied by the two Mr. Forsters, Oedidee, the chief, his wife, son, and daughter, for an estate which Oedidee called his, situated at the north end of the island. There I was promised to have hogs and fruit in abundance; but when we came there we found that poor Oedidee could not command one single thing, whatever right he might have to the *Whenooa*, which was now in possession

of his brother, who, soon after we landed, presented to me, with the usual ceremony, two pigs. I made him a very handsome present in return, and Oedidee gave him every thing he had left of what he had collected the time he was with us.

After this ceremony was over, I ordered one of the pigs to be killed and dressed for dinner, and attended myself to the whole operation, which was as follows:—They first strangled the hog, which was done by three men; the hog being placed on his back, two of them laid a pretty strong stick across his throat, and pressed with all their weight on each end; the third man held his hind legs, kept him on his back, and plugged up his fundament with grass, I suppose to prevent any air from passing or repassing that way. In this manner they held him for about ten minutes before he was quite dead. In the mean time, some hands were employed in making a fire, to heat the oven, which was close by. As soon as the hog was quite dead, they laid him on the fire, and burnt or singed the hair, so that it came off with almost the same ease as if it had been scalded. As the hair was got off one part, another was applied to the fire till they had got off the whole, yet not so clean but that another operation was necessary; which was to carry it to the sea-side, and there give it a good scrubbing with sandy stones, and sand. This brought off all the scurf &c. which the fire had left on. After well washing off the sand and dirt, the carcase was brought again to the former place, and laid on clean green leaves, in order to be opened. They first ripped up the skin of the belly, and took out the fat or lard from between the skin and the flesh, which they laid on a large green leaf. The belly was then ripped open, and the entrails taken out and carried away in a basket, so that I know not what became of them; but am certain they were not thrown away. The blood was next taken out and put into a large leaf, and then the lard, which was put to the other fat. The hog was now washed clean, both inside and out, with fresh water, and several hot stones put into his belly, which were shaken in under the breast, and green leaves crammed in upon them. By this time the oven was sufficiently heated; what fire remained was taken away, together with some of the hot stones; the rest made a kind of pavement in the bottom of the hole or oven, and were covered with leaves, on which the hog was placed on his belly. The lard and fat, after being washed with water, were put into a vessel, made just then of the green bark of a plantain tree, together with two or three hot stones, and placed on one side the hog. A hot stone was put to the blood, which was tied up in the leaf, and put into the oven; as also bread-fruits and plantains. Then the whole was covered with green leaves, on which were laid the remainder of the hot stones; over them were leaves; then any sort of rubbish they could lay their hands on; finishing the operation by well covering the whole with earth. While the victuals were baking, a table was spread with green leaves on the floor, at one end of a large boat-house. At the close of two hours and ten minutes, the oven was opened, and all the victuals taken out. Those of the natives who dined with us, sat down by themselves, at one end of the table, and we at the other. The hog was placed before us, and the fat and blood before them, on which they chiefly dined, and said it was *Mamity*, very good victuals; and we not only said, but thought the same of the pork. The hog weighed about fifty pounds. Some parts about the ribs I thought rather overdone; but the more fleshy parts were excellent; and the skin, which by our way of dressing can hardly be eaten, had, by this method, a taste and flavour superior to any thing I ever met with of the kind. I have now only to add, that during the whole of the various operations, they exhibited a cleanliness well worthy of imitation. I have been the more particular in this account, because I do not remember that any one of us had seen the whole process before; nor is it well described in the narrative of my former voyage.

While dinner was preparing, I took a view of this *Whenoa* of Oedidee. It was small, but a pleasant spot; and the houses were so disposed as to form a very pretty village, which is very rarely the case at these isles. Soon after we had dined, we set out for the ship, with the other pig, and a few races of plantains, which proved to be the sum total of our great expectations. In our return to the ship, we put ashore at a place where, in the corner of a house, we saw four wooden images, each two feet long, standing on a shelf, having a piece of cloth round their middle, and a kind of turban on their heads, in which were stuck long cocks' feathers. A person in the house told us they were *Eatua no te Toutou*, gods of the

servants or slaves. I doubt if this be sufficient to conclude that they pay them divine worship, and that the servants or slaves are not allowed the same gods as men of more elevated rank. I never heard that Tupia made any such distinction, or that they worshipped any visible thing whatever. Besides, these were the first wooden gods we had seen in any of the isles; and all the authority we had for their being such was the bare word of perhaps a superstitious person, and whom we were likewise liable to misunderstand. It must be allowed that the people of this isle are, in general, more superstitious than at Otaheite. At the first visit I made the chief after our arrival, he desired I would not suffer any of my people to shoot herons and woodpeckers; birds as sacred with them as robin-redbreasts, swallows, &c. are with many old women in England. Tupia, who was a priest, and well acquainted with their religion, customs, traditions, &c., paid little or no regard to these birds. I mention this because some amongst us were of opinion that these birds are their *Eatuas*, or gods. We, indeed, fell into this opinion when I was here in 1769, and into some others still more absurd, which we had undoubtedly adopted if Tupia had not undeceived us. A man of his knowledge and understanding we have not since met with, and consequently have added nothing to his account of their religion, but superstitious notions.

The people, knowing that we should sail soon, began, on the 31st, to bring on board more fruit than usual. Amongst those who came was a young man who measured six feet four inches and six-tenths; and his sister, younger than he, measured five feet ten inches and a half. A brisk trade for hogs and fruit continued on the 1st of June. On the 2d, in the afternoon, we got intelligence that, three days before, two ships had arrived at Huaheine. The same report said the one was commanded by Mr. Banks, and the other by Captain Furneaux. The man who brought the account said he was made drunk on board one of them, and described the persons of Mr. Banks and Captain Furneaux so well, that I had not the least doubt of the truth, and began to consider about sending a boat over that very evening, with orders to Captain Furneaux, when a man, a friend of Mr. Forster, happened to come on board, and denied the whole, saying it was *wa warre*, a lie. The man from whom we had the intelligence was now gone, so that I could not confront them, and there were none else present who knew anything about it but by report; so that I laid aside sending over a boat till I should be better informed. This evening we entertained the people with fire-works, on one of the little isles near the entrance of the harbour.

I had fixed on the next day for sailing, but the intelligence from Huaheine put a stop to it. The chief had promised to bring the man on board who first brought the account; but he was either not to be found, or would not appear. In the morning, the people were divided in their opinions; but in the afternoon all said it was a false report. I had sent Mr. Clerke, in the morning, to the farthest part of the island, to make inquiries there: he returned without learning anything satisfactory. In short, the report appeared now too ill-founded to authorise me to send a boat over, or to wait any longer here; and, therefore, early in the morning of the 4th, I got everything in readiness to sail. Oreo, the chief, and his whole family, came on board, to take their last farewell, accompanied by Oo-oo-rou, the *Earee de hi*, and Boba the *Earee* of Otaha, and several of their friends. None of them came empty; but Oo-oo-rou brought a pretty large present, this being his first and only visit. I distributed amongst them almost everything I had left. The very hospitable manner in which I had ever been received by these people, had endeared them to me, and given them a just title to every thing in my power to grant. I questioned them again about the ships at Huaheine; and they all, to a man, denied that any were there. During the time these people remained on board, they were continually importuning me to return. The chief, his wife, and daughter, but especially the two latter, scarcely ever ceased weeping. I will not pretend to say whether it was real or feigned grief they showed on this occasion. Perhaps there was a mixture of both; but were I to abide by my own opinion only, I should believe it was real. At last, when we were about to weigh, they took a most affectionate leave. Oreo's last request was for me to return; when he saw he could not obtain that promise, he asked the name of my *Marai* (burying-place). As strange a question as this was, I hesitated not a moment to tell him Stepney; the parish in which I live when in London. I was made to repeat it several times over till they could pronounce it: then, Stepney, *Marai no Toote*, was echoed

through a hundred mouths at once. I afterwards found the same question had been put to Mr. Forster by a man on shore; but he gave a different, and, indeed, more proper answer, by saying, no man, who used the sea, could say where he should be buried. It is the custom at these isles for all the great families to have burial-places of their own, where their remains are interred. These go with the estate to the next heir. The *Marai* at Oparree at Otaheite, when Tootaha swayed the sceptre, was called *Marai no Tootaha;* but now it is called *Marai no Otoo.* What greater proof could we have of these people esteeming us as friends, than their wishing to remember us, even beyond the period of our lives? They had been repeatedly told that we should see them no more; they then wanted to know where we were to mingle with our parent dust.

As I could not promise, or even suppose, that more English ships would be sent to those isles, our faithful companion, Oedidee, chose to remain in his native country. But he left us with a regret fully demonstrative of the esteem he bore to us; nor could anything, but the fear of never returning, have torn him from us. When the chief teased me so much about returning, I sometimes gave such answers as left them hopes. Oedidee would instantly catch at this, take me on one side, and ask me over again. In short, I have not words to describe the anguish which appeared in this young man's breast, when he went away. He looked up at the ship, burst into tears, and then sunk down into the canoe. The maxim that a prophet has no honour in his own country was never more fully verified than in this youth. At Otaheite he might have had anything that was in their power to bestow; whereas here he was not in the least noticed. He was a youth of good parts, and, like most of his countrymen, of a docile, gentle, and humane disposition; but, in a manner, wholly ignorant of their religion, government, manners, customs, and traditions; consequently, no material knowledge could have been gathered from him, had I brought him away. Indeed, he would have been a better specimen of the nation, in every respect, than Omai. Just as Oedidee was going out of the ship, he asked me to *Tatou* some *Purou* for him, in order to show the commanders of any other ships which might stop here. I complied with his request, gave him a certificate of the time he had been with us, and recommended him to the notice of those who might touch at the island after me.

We did not get clear of our friends till eleven o'clock, when we weighed, and put to sea; but Oedidee did not leave us till we were almost out of the harbour. He staid in order to fire some guns; for it being his Majesty's birth-day, we fired the salute at going away.

When I first came to these islands, I had some thought of visiting Tupia's famous Bolabola. But as I had now got on board a plentiful supply of all manner of refreshments, and the route I had in view allowing me no time to spare, I laid this design aside, and directed my course to the west; taking our final leave of these happy isles, on which benevolent nature has spread her luxuriant sweets with a lavish hand. The natives, copying the bounty of nature, are equally liberal; contributing plentifully and cheerfully to the wants of navigators. During the six weeks we had remained at them, we had fresh pork, and all the fruits which were in season, in the utmost profusion; besides fish at Otaheite, and fowls at the other isles. All these articles we got in exchange for axes, hatchets, nails, chisels, cloth, red feathers, beads, knives, scissars, looking-glasses, &c., articles which will ever be valuable here. I ought not to omit shirts as a very capital article in making presents; especially with those who have any connexions with the fair sex. A shirt here is full as necessary as a piece of gold in England. The ladies at Otaheite, after they had pretty well stripped their lovers of shirts, found a method of clothing themselves with their own cloth. It was their custom to go on shore every morning, and to return on board in the evening, generally clad in rags. This furnished a pretence to importune the lover for better clothes; and when he had no more of his own, he was to dress them in new cloth of the country, which they always left ashore; and appearing again in rags, they must again be clothed. So that the same suit might pass through twenty different hands, and be as often sold, bought, and given away.

Before I finish this account of these islands, it is necessary to mention all I know concerning the government of Ulietea and Otaha. Oreo, so often mentioned, is a native of

Bolabola; but is possessed of *Whenooas* or lands at Ulietea; which, I suppose, he, as well as many of his countrymen, got at the conquest. He resides here as Opoony's lieutenant; seeming to be vested with regal authority, and to be the supreme magistrate in the island. Oo-oo-rou, who is the *Eares* by hereditary right, seems to have little more left him than the bare title, and his own *Whenooa* or district, in which, I think, he is sovereign. I have always seen Oreo pay him the respect due to his rank; and he was pleased when he saw me distinguish him from others.

Otaha, so far as I can find, is upon the very same footing. Boba and Ota are the two chiefs; the latter I have not seen; Boba is a stout, well-made young man; and we are told, is, after Opoony's death, to marry his daughter, by which marriage he will be vested with the same regal authority as Opoony has now; so that, it should seem, though a woman may be vested with regal dignity, she cannot have regal power. I cannot find that Opoony has got anything to himself by the conquest of these isles, any farther than providing for his nobles, who have seized on best part of the lands. He seems to have no demand on them for any of the many articles they have had from us. Oedidee has several times enumerated to me all the axes, nails, &c. which Opoony is possessed of, which hardly amount to as many as he had from me when I saw him in 1769. Old as this famous man is, he seems not to spend his last days in indolence. When we first arrived here, he was at Maurana; soon after, he returned to Bolabola; and we were now told he was gone to Tubi.

I shall conclude this account of these islands with some observations on the watch which Mr. Wales hath communicated to me. At our arrival in Matavai Bay in Otaheite, the longitude pointed out by the watch was 2° 8′ 38¼″ too far to the west; that is, it had gained, since our leaving Queen Charlotte's Sound, of its then rate of going, 8′ 34½″. This was in about five months, or rather more, during which time it had passed through the extremes of cold and heat. It was judged that half this error arose after we left Easter Island; by which it appeared that it went better in the cold than in the hot climates *.

BOOK III.

FROM ULIETEA TO NEW ZEALAND.

CHAPTER I.—PASSAGE FROM ULIETEA TO THE FRIENDLY ISLES; WITH A DESCRIPTION OF SEVERAL ISLANDS THAT WERE DISCOVERED, AND THE INCIDENTS WHICH HAPPENED IN THAT TRACK.

On the 6th, being the day after leaving Ulietea, at eleven o'clock A. M., we saw land bearing N.W., which, upon a nearer approach, we found to be a low reef island about four leagues in compass, and of a circular form. It is composed of several small patches connected together by breakers, the largest lying on the N.E. part. This is Howe Island, discovered by Captain Wallis, who, I think, sent his boat to examine it; and, if I have not

* Capt. Fitzroy, in the Appendix to the surveying voyages of the Adventure and the Beagle, page 326, gives it as his opinion, "confirmed by eight years' observations of the movements of chronometers," that "temperature is the chief, if not the only cause (generally speaking), of marked changes of rate: the balances of but few watches being so well compensated as to be proof against a long continuance of higher or lower temperature." In connexion with this subject, Capt. Fitzroy has the following remarks, deserving of great attention by all travellers and readers of travels, and which serve to illustrate the observations in the text, though not fully to explain the result there noticed:—"Some chronometrical measurements have erred, and caused much perplexity in the following manner:—The chronometers were rated in air whose average temperature was—let us suppose for example, seventy. They were then carried through air either considerably hotter, or considerably colder, and again rated in a temperature nearly equal to that specified. The rates were not found to differ much, and it was supposed that the chronometers had been going extremely well; though, in truth, the rates of most of the watches had differed extremely (from those found in port) during the voyage; but they had returned nearly to the old rates upon reaching nearly equal temperature. And this has happened, more or less, to every ship carrying chronometers across the equator; especially when going to Rio de Janeiro with the sun to the northward of the line." The consideration of this fact will account for many errors into which navigators, depending solely on their chronometers for their longitude, have been and are continually liable to fall.—Ed.

been misinformed, found a channel through, within the reef, near the N.W. part *. The inhabitants of Ulietea speak of an uninhabited island, about this situation, called by them Mopeha, to which they go at certain seasons for turtle. Perhaps this may be the same; as we saw no signs of inhabitants upon it. Its latitude is 16° 46′ South; longitude 154° 8′ West

From this day to the 16th we met with nothing remarkable, and our course was West southerly; the winds variable from the North round by the East to S.W. attended with cloudy, rainy, unsettled weather, and a southerly swell. We generally brought-to, or stood upon a wind, during night; and in the day made all the sail we could. About half-an-hour after sunrise this morning, land was seen from the topmast head, bearing N.N.E. We immediately altered the course and steering for it, found it to be another reef island, composed of five or six woody islets, connected together by sand-banks and breakers, inclosing a lake, into which we could see no entrance. We ranged the West and N.W. coasts, from its southern to its northern extremity, which is about two leagues; and so near the shore, that at one time we could see the rocks under us; yet we found no anchorage, nor saw we any signs of inhabitants. There were plenty of various kinds of birds, and the coast seemed to abound with fish. The situation of this isle is not very distant from that assigned by Mr. Dalrymple for La Sagitaria, discovered by Quiros; but, by the description the discoverer has given of it it cannot be the same. For this reason I looked upon it as a new discovery, and named it Palmerston Island, in honour of Lord Palmerston, one of the Lords of the Admiralty. It is situated in latitude 18° 4′ South, longitude 163° 10′ West.

At four o'clock in the afternoon we left this isle, and resumed our course to the W. by S. with a fine steady gale easterly, till noon on the 20th, at which time, being in latitude 18° 50′, longitude 168° 52′, we thought we saw land to S.S.W. and hauled up for it accordingly. But, two hours after, we discovered our mistake, and resumed our course W. by. S. Soon after we saw land from the mast-head in the same direction; and, as we drew nearer, found it to be an island which, at five o'clock, bore West, distant five leagues. Here we spent the night plying under the topsails; and, at daybreak next morning, bore away, steering for the northern point, and ranging the West coast at the distance of one mile, till near noon. Then, perceiving some people on the shore, and landing seeming to be easy, we brought-to, and hoisted out two boats, with which I put off to the land, accompanied by some of the officers and gentlemen. As we drew near the shore, some of the inhabitants, who were on the rocks, retired to the woods, to meet us, as we supposed; and we afterwards found our conjectures right. We landed with ease in a small creek, and took post on a high rock to prevent a surprise. Here we displayed our colours, and Mr. Forster and his party began to collect plants, &c. The coast was so overrun with woods, bushes, plants, stones, &c. that we could not see forty yards round us. I took two men, and with them entered a kind of chasm, which opened a way into the woods. We had not gone far before we heard the natives approaching; upon which I called to Mr. Forster to retire to the party, as I did likewise. We had no sooner joined, than the islanders appeared at the entrance of a chasm not a stone's throw from us. We began to speak, and make all the friendly signs we could think of to them, which they answered by menaces; and one of two men, who were advanced before the rest, threw a stone, which struck Mr. Sparrman on the arm. Upon this two muskets were fired, without order, which made them retire under cover of the woods; and we saw them no more.

After waiting some little time, and till we were satisfied nothing was to be done here, the country being so overrun with bushes that it was hardly possible to come to parley with them, we embarked and proceeded down along shore, in hopes of meeting with better success in another place. After ranging the coast for some miles without seeing a living soul, or any convenient landing-place, we at length came before a small beach, on which lay four canoes. Here we landed by means of a little creek, formed by the flat rocks before it, with a view of just looking at the canoes, and to leave some medals, nails, &c. in them, for not a soul was to be seen. The situation of this place was to us worse than the former. A flat rock lay next the sea; behind it a narrow stone beach; this was bounded by a perpendicular

* Captain Wallis did not land on this island, being deterred from attempting to do so by the breakers.—ED.

rocky cliff of unequal height, whose top was covered with shrubs; two deep and narrow chasms in the cliff seemed to open a communication into the country. In or before one of these lay the four canoes which we were going to look at; but in the doing of this, I saw we should be exposed to an attack from the natives, if there were any, without being in a situation proper for a defence. To prevent this as much as could be, and to secure a retreat in case of an attack, I ordered the men to be drawn up upon the rock, from whence they had a view of the heights; and only myself, and four of the gentlemen, went up to the canoes. We had been there but a few minutes, before the natives, I cannot say how many, rushed down the chasm out of the wood upon us. The endeavours we used to bring them to a parley were to no purpose; for they came with the ferocity of wild boars, and threw their darts. Two or three muskets, discharged in the air, did not hinder one of them from advancing still farther, and throwing another dart, or rather a spear, which passed close over my shoulder. His courage would have cost him his life, had not my musket missed fire; for I was not five paces from him when he threw his spear, and had resolved to shoot him to save myself. I was glad afterwards that it happened as it did. At this instant, our men on the rock began to fire at others who appeared on the heights, which abated the ardour of the party we were engaged with, and gave us time to join our people, when I caused the firing to cease. The last discharge sent all the islanders to the woods, from whence they did not return so long as we remained. We did not know that any were hurt. It was remarkable, that when I joined our party, I tried my musket in the air, and it went off as well as a piece could do. Seeing no good was to be got with these people, or at the isle, as having no port, we returned on board, and having hoisted in the boats, made sail to W.S.W. I had forgot to mention, in its proper order, that having put ashore a little before we came to this last place, three or four of us went upon the cliffs, where we found the country, as before, nothing but coral rocks, all overrun with bushes; so that it was hardly possible to penetrate into it, and we embarked again with intent to return directly on board, till we saw the canoes; being directed to the place by the opinion of some of us, who thought they heard some people.

The conduct and aspect of these islanders occasioned my naming it Savage Island *. It is situated in the latitude 19° 1′ South, longitude 169° 37′ West. It is about eleven league

CORAL ROCKS.

in circuit; of a round form, and good height; and hath deep waters close to its shores. All the sea-coast, and as far inland as we could see, is wholly covered with trees, shrubs, &c.

* The natives of Savage Island are still, it appears, deserving of the title bestowed on them by Cook, being described by Mr. Williams as the most wretched and degraded of any nation he had ever seen except the Aborigines of New Holland, and as having lost none of their ferocity of disposition. A fuller notice of the little that is known of these people will be given in its proper place in the Appendix.—Ed.

amongst which were some cocoa-nut trees; but what the interior parts may produce we know not. To judge of the whole garment by the skirts, it cannot produce much; for so much as we saw of it consisted wholly of coral rocks, all overrun with wood and bushes. Not a bit of soil was to be seen; the rocks alone supplying the trees with humidity. If these coral rocks were first formed in the sea by animals, how came they thrown up to such a height? Has this island been raised by an earthquake? Or has the sea receded from it? Some philosophers have attempted to account for the formation of low isles, such as are in this sea; but I do not know that anything has been said of high islands, or such as I have been speaking of. In this island, not only the loose rocks which cover the surface, but the cliffs which bound the shores, are of coral stone, which the continual beating of the sea has formed into a variety of curious caverns, some of them very large: the roof or rock over them being supported by pillars, which the foaming waves have formed into a multitude of shapes, and made more curious than the caverns themselves. In one we saw, light was admitted through a hole at the top; in another place, we observed that the whole roof of one of these caverns had sunk in, and formed a kind of valley above, which lay considerably below the circumjacent rocks.

I can say but little of the inhabitants, who, I believe, are not numerous. They seemed to be stout, well-made men, were naked, except round the waists, and some of them had their faces, breast, and thighs painted black. The canoes were precisely like those of Amsterdam; with the addition of a little rising like a gunwale on each side of the open part; and had some carving about them, which showed that these people are full as ingenious. Both these islanders and their canoes agree very well with the descriptions M. de Bougainville has given of those he saw off the Isle of Navigators, which lies nearly under the same meridian.

After leaving Savage Island, we continued to steer W.S.W. with a fine easterly trade-wind, till the 24th in the evening, when, judging ourselves not far from Rotterdam, we brought-to, and spent the night plying under the topsails. At daybreak, next morning, we bore away West; and soon after saw a string of islands * extending from S.S.W. by the West to N.N.W. The wind being at N.E. we hauled to N.W. with a view of discovering more distinctly the isles in that quarter; but, presently after, we discovered a reef of rocks a-head, extending on each bow farther than we could see. As we could not weather them, it became necessary to tack and bear up to the South, to look for a passage that way. At noon, the southernmost island bore S.W., distant four miles. North of this isle were three others, all connected by breakers, which we were not sure did not join to those we had seen in the morning, as some were observed in the intermediate space. Some islands were also seen to the West of those four; but Rotterdam was not yet in sight. Latitude 20° 23′ S., longitude 174° 6′ West. During the whole afternoon, we had little wind: so that, at sunset, the southernmost isle bore W.N.W., distant five miles; and some breakers, we had seen to the South, bore now S.S.W. half W. Soon after it fell calm, and we were left to the mercy of a great easterly swell; which, however, happened to have no great effect upon the ship. The calm continued till four o'clock the next morning, when it was succeeded by a breeze from the South. At daylight, perceiving a likelihood of a passage between the islands to the North and the breakers to the South, we stretched in West, and soon after saw more islands, both to the S.W. and N.W., but the passage seemed open and clear. Upon drawing near the islands, we sounded, and found forty-five and forty fathoms, a clear sandy bottom. I was now quite easy, since it was in our power to anchor, in case of a calm; or to spend the night, if we found no passage. Towards noon, some canoes came off to us from one of the isles, having two or three people in each; who advanced boldly alongside, and exchanged some cocoa-nuts and shaddocks for small nails. They pointed out to us Anamocka or Rotterdam; an advantage we derived from knowing the proper names. They likewise gave us the names of some of the other isles, and invited us much to go to theirs, which they called Cornango. The breeze freshening, we left them astern, and steered for Anamocka; meeting with a clear passage, in which we found unequal sounding, from forty to nine fathoms, depending, I believe, in a great measure, on our distance from the islands which form it.

As we drew near the south end of Rotterdam, or Anamocka, we were met by a number

* The Hapai islands, now christianised.—ED.

of canoes, laden with fruit and roots; but, as I did not shorten sail, we had but little traffic with them. The people in one canoe inquired for me by name; a proof that these people have an intercourse with those of Amsterdam. They importuned us much to go towards their coast, letting us know, as we understood them, that we might anchor there. This was on the S.W. side of the island, where the coast seemed to be sheltered from the South and S.E. winds; but as the day was far spent, I could not attempt to go in there, as it would have been necessary to have sent first a boat in to examine it. I therefore stood for the north side of the island, where we anchored about three-fourths of a mile from shore; the extremes of it bearing S. 88° East to S.W. a cove with a sandy beach at the bottom of it S. 50° East.

CHAPTER II. — RECEPTION AT ANAMOCKA; A ROBBERY AND ITS CONSEQUENCES, WITH A VARIETY OF OTHER INCIDENTS. DEPARTURE FROM THE ISLAND. A SAILING CANOE DESCRIBED. SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE NAVIGATION OF THESE ISLANDERS. A DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND, AND OF THOSE IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE INHABITANTS, AND NAUTICAL REMARKS.

BEFORE we had well got to an anchor, the natives came off from all parts in canoes, bringing with them yams and shaddocks, which they exchanged for small nails and old rags. One man taking a vast liking to our lead and line, got hold of it, and, in spite of all the threats I could make use of, cut the line with a stone; but a discharge of small shot made him return it. Early in the morning, I went ashore, with Mr. Gilbert, to look for fresh water. We landed in the cove above mentioned, and were received with great courtesy by the natives. After I had distributed some presents amongst them, I asked for water, and was conducted to a pond of it that was brackish, about three-fourths of a mile from the landing-place; which I suppose to be the same that Tasman watered at. In the mean time, the people in the boat had laden her with fruit and roots, which the natives had brought down, and exchanged for nails and beads. On our return to the ship, I found the same sort of traffic carrying on there. After breakfast, I went ashore with two boats to trade with the people, accompanied by several of the gentlemen, and ordered the launch to follow with casks to be filled with water. The natives assisted us to roll them to and from the pond; and a nail or a bead was the expense of their labour. Fruit and roots, especially shaddocks and yams, were brought down in such plenty, that the two boats were laden, sent off, cleared, and laden a second time, before noon; by which time also the launch had got a full supply of water, and the botanical and shooting parties had all come in, except the surgeon, for whom we could not wait, as the tide was ebbing fast out of the cove; consequently he was left behind. As there is no getting into the cove with a boat, from between half ebb to half flood, we could get off no water in the afternoon. However, there is a very good landing-place without it, near the southern point, where boats can get ashore at all times of the tide; here some of the officers landed after dinner, where they found the surgeon, who had been robbed of his gun. Having come down to the shore some time after the boats had put off, he got a canoe to bring him on board; but as he was getting into her, a fellow snatched hold of the gun, and ran off with it. After that no one would carry him to the ship, and they would have stripped him, as he imagined, had he not presented a toothpick case, which they, no doubt, thought was a little gun. As soon as I heard of this, I landed at the place above mentioned, and the few natives who were there fled at my approach. After landing, I went in search of the officers, whom I found in the cove, where we had been in the morning, with a good many of the natives about them. No step had been taken to recover the gun, nor did I think proper to take any; but in this I was wrong. The easy manner of obtaining this gun, which they now, no doubt, thought secure in their possession, encouraged them to proceed in these tricks, as will soon appear. The alarm the natives had caught being soon over, they carried fruit, &c. to the boats, which got pretty well laden before night, when we all returned on board.

Early in the morning of the 28th. Lieutenant Clerke, with the Master and fourteen or

fifteen men, went on shore in the launch for water. I did intend to have followed in another boat myself, but rather unluckily deferred it till after breakfast. The launch was no sooner landed than the natives gathered about her, behaving in so rude a manner, that the officers were in some doubt if they should land the casks; but, as they expected me on shore soon, they ventured, and, with difficulty, got them filled, and into the boat again. In the doing of this, Mr. Clerke's gun was snatched from him, and carried off; as were also some of the cooper's tools; and several of the people were stripped of one thing or another. All this was done, as it were, by stealth; for they laid hold of nothing by main force. I landed just as the launch was ready to put off; and the natives, who were pretty numerous on the beach, as soon as they saw me, fled; so that I suspected something had happened. However, I prevailed on many to stay, and Mr. Clerke came, and informed me of all the preceding circumstances. I quickly came to a resolution to oblige them to make restitution; and, for this purpose, ordered all the marines to be armed, and sent on shore. Mr. Forster and his party being gone into the country, I ordered two or three guns to be fired from the ship, in order to alarm him; not knowing how the natives might act on this occasion. These orders being given, I sent all the boats off but one, with which I stayed, having a good many of the natives about me, who behaved with their usual courtesy. I made them so sensible of my intention, that long before the marines came, Mr. Clerke's musket was brought, but they used many excuses to divert me from insisting on the other. At length Mr. Edgecumbe arriving with the marines, this alarmed them so much, that some of them fled. The first step I took was to seize on two large double-sailing canoes which were in the cove. One fellow making resistance, I fired some small shot at him, and sent him limping off. The natives being now convinced that I was in earnest, all fled; but on my calling to them, many returned; and, presently after, the other musket was brought, and laid at my feet. That moment I ordered the canoes to be restored, to show them on what account they were detained. The other things we had lost being of less value, I was the more indifferent about them. By this time the launch was ashore for another turn of water, and we were permitted to fill the casks without any one daring to come near us; except one man, who had befriended us during the whole affair, and seemed to disapprove of the conduct of his countrymen.

On my returning from the pond to the cove, I found a good many people collected together, from whom we understood that the man I had fired at was dead. This story I treated as improbable, and addressed a man, who seemed of some consequence, for the restitution of a cooper's adze we had lost in the morning. He immediately sent away two men, as I thought, for it; but I soon found that we had greatly mistaken each other; for, instead of the adze, they brought the wounded man, stretched out on a board, and laid him down by me, to all appearance dead. I was much moved at the sight; but soon saw my mistake, and that he was only wounded in the hand and thigh. I therefore desired he might be carried out of the sun, and sent for the surgeon to dress his wounds. In the mean time, I addressed several people for the adze; for as I had now nothing else to do, I determined to have it. The one I applied the most to, was an elderly woman, who had always a great deal to say to me, from my first landing; but, on this occasion, she gave her tongue full scope. I understood but little of her eloquence; and all I could gather from her arguments was, that it was mean in me to insist on the return of so trifling a thing. But when she found I was determined, she and three or four more women went away; and soon after the adze was brought me, but I saw her no more. This I was sorry for, as I wanted to make her a present, in return for the part she had taken in all our transactions, private as well as public. For I was no sooner returned from the pond, the first time I landed,

As soon as the surgeon got ashore, he dressed the man's wounds, and bled him; and was of opinion that he was in no sort of danger, as the shot had done little more than penetrate the skin. In the operation, some poultice being wanting, the surgeon asked for ripe plantains; but they brought sugar-cane, and having chewed it to a pulp, gave it him to apply to the wound. This being of a more balsamic nature than the other, proves that these people have some knowledge of simples. As soon as the man's wounds were dressed, I made him a present, which his master, or at least the man who owned the canoe, took most

probably to himself. Matters being thus settled, apparently to the satisfaction of all parties, we repaired on board to dinner, where I found a good supply of fruit and roots, and therefore gave orders to get everything in readiness to sail.

I now was informed of a circumstance which was observed on board: several canoes being at the ship, when the great guns were fired in the morning, they all retired, but one man, who was baling the water out of his canoe, which lay alongside, directly under the guns. When the first was fired, he just looked up, and then, quite unconcerned, continued his work; nor had the second gun any other effect upon him; he did not stir till the water was all out of his canoe, when he paddled leisurely off. This man had several times been observed to take fruit and roots out of other canoes, and sell them to us. If the owners did not willingly part with them, he took them by force; by which he obtained the appellation of custom-house officer. One time, after he had been collecting tribute, he happened to be lying alongside of a sailing canoe which was on board. One of her people seeing him look another way, and his attention otherwise engaged, took the opportunity of stealing somewhat out of his canoe; they then put off, and set their sail; but the man, perceiving the trick they had played him, darted after them, and having soon got on board their canoe, beat him who had taken his things, and not only brought back his own but many other articles which he took from them. This man had likewise been observed making collections on shore at the trading-place. I remembered to have seen him there; and, on account of his gathering tribute, took him to be a man of consequence, and was going to make him a present; but some of their people would not let me, saying he was no *Areeke* (that is, chief).

SCENE IN THE FRIENDLY ISLES.

He had his hair always powdered with some kind of white dust

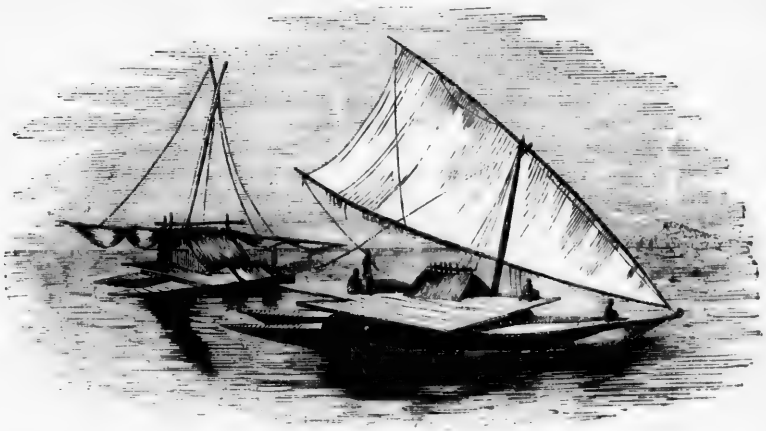
As we had no wind to sail this afternoon, a party of us went ashore in the evening. We found the natives everywhere courteous and obliging; so that, had we made a longer stay, it is probable we should have had no more reason to complain of their conduct. While I was now on shore, I got the names of twenty islands which lie between the N.W. and N.E., some of them in sight. Two of them, which lie most to the West, viz. Amattafoa and Oghao, are remarkable on account of their great height. In Amattafoa, which is the westernmost, we judged there was a volcano, by the continual column of smoke we saw daily ascending from the middle of it.

Both Mr. Cooper and myself being on shore at noon, Mr. Wales could not wind up the watch at the usual time; and as we did not come on board till late in the afternoon, it was forgotten till it was down. This circumstance was of no consequence, as Mr. Wales had had several altitudes of the sun at this place before it went down, and also had opportunities of taking some after.

At daybreak on the 29th, having got under sail with a light breeze at west, we stood to the north for the two high islands; but the wind, scanting upon us, carried us in amongst the low isles and shoals, so that we had to ply to clear them. This gave time for a great many canoes, from all parts, to get up with us. The people in them brought for traffic various articles; some roots, fruits, and fowls, but of the latter not many. They took in exchange small nails and pieces of any kinds of cloth. I believe, before they went away,

they stripped the most of our people of the few clothes the ladies of Otaheite had left them; for the passion for curiosities was as great as ever. Having got clear of the low isles, we made a stretch to the south, and did but fetch a little to windward of the south end of Anamocka; so that we got little by this day's plying. Here we spent the night, making short boards over that space with which we made ourselves acquainted the preceding day. On the 30th, at daybreak, stretched out for Amattafoa, with a gentle breeze at W.S.W. Day no sooner dawned than we saw canoes coming from all parts. Their traffic was much the same as it had been the day before, or rather better; for out of one canoe I got two pigs, which were scarce articles here. At four in the afternoon, we drew near the island of Amattafoa, and passed between it and Oghao, the channel being two miles broad, safe, and without soundings. While we were in the passage, we had little wind and calms. This gave time for a large sailing double canoe, which had been following us all the day, as well as some others with paddles, to come up with us.

I had now an opportunity to verify a thing I was before in doubt about; which was, whether or not some of these canoes did not, in changing tacks, only shift the sail, and so proceed with that end foremost which before was the stern. the one we now saw wrought in this manner; the sail is latteen, extended to a latteen yard above, and to a boom at the foot; in one word, it is like a whole mizen, supposing the whole foot to be extended to a boom. The yard is slung nearly in the middle, or upon an equipoise. When they change tacks, they throw the vessel up in the wind, ease off the sheet, and bring the heel or tack-end of the yard to the other end of the boat, and the sheet in like manner: there are notches, or sockets, at each end of the vessel, in which the end of the yard fixes. In short, they work just as those do at the Ladrone Islands, according to Mr. Walter's description *. When they want to sail large, or before the wind, the yard is taken out of the socket and squared. It must be observed, that all their sailing vessels are not rigged to sail in the same manner; some, and those of the largest size, are rigged so as to tack about. These have a short, but pretty stout mast, which steps on a kind of roller that is fixed to the deck near the fore part. It is made to lean or incline very much forward; the head is forked: on the two points of



SAILING CANOES OF ANAMOCKA.

which the yard rests, as on two pivots, by means of two strong cleats of wood secured to each side of the y[illegible], at about one-third its length from the tack or heel, which, when under sail, is confined down between the two canoes by means of two strong ropes, one to and passing through a hole at the head of each canoe; for, it must be observed, that all the sailing vessels of this sort are double. The tack being thus fixed, it is plain that, in changing tacks, the vessels must be put about; the sail and boom on the one tack will be clear of the mast, and on the other it will lie against it, just as a whole mizen. However, I am not

* See Lord Anson's Voyage.

sure if they do not sometimes unlace that part of the sail from the yard which is between the tack and mast-head, and so shift both sail and boom leeward of the mast. The drawings which Mr. Hodges made of these vessels seem to favour this supposition, and will not only illustrate, but in a manner make the description of them unnecessary. The out-riggers and ropes used for shrouds &c. are all stout and strong: indeed, the sail, yard, and boom are all together of such an enormous weight, that strength is required.

The summit of Amattafoa was hid in the clouds the whole day, so that we were not able to determine with certainty whether there was a volcano or not; but everything we could see concurred to make us believe there was. This island is about five leagues in circuit: Oghao is not so much, but more round and peaked. They lie in the direction of N.N.W. ½ W. from Anamocka, eleven or twelve leagues distant: they are both inhabited, but neither of them seemed fertile. We were hardly through the passage before we got a fresh breeze at south. That moment, all the natives made haste to be gone, and we steered to the west, all sails set. I had some thoughts of touching at Amsterdam, as it lay not much out of the way; but, as the wind was now, we could not fetch it; and this was the occasion of my laying my design aside altogether.

Let us now return to Anamocka, as it is called by the natives. It is situated in the latitude of 20° 15′ S., longitude 174° 31′ W., and was first discovered by Tasman, and by him named Rotterdam. It is of a triangular form, each side whereof is about three and a half or four miles. A salt-water lake in the middle of it occupies not a little of its surface, and in a manner cuts off the S.E. angle. Round the island, that is, from the N.W. to the S., round by the N. and E., lie scattered a number of small isles, sand-banks, and breakers. We could see no end to their extent to the north; and it is not impossible that they reach as far south as Amsterdam or Tongatabu. These, together with Middleburg, or Eaoowee, and Pylstart, make a group, containing about three degrees of latitude and two of longitude, which I have named the Friendly Isles or Archipelago, as a firm reliance and friendship seems to subsist among their inhabitants, and their courteous behaviour to strangers entitles them to that appellation; under which we might perhaps extend their group much farther, even down to Boscawen and Keppel's Isles, discovered by Captain Wallis, and lying nearly under the same meridian, and in the latitude of 15° 53′; for, from the little account I have had of the people of these two isles, they seem to have the same sort of friendly disposition we observed in our Archipelago.

The inhabitants, productions, &c. of Rotterdam and the neighbouring isles, are the same as at Amsterdam. Hogs and fowls are, indeed, much scarcer; of the former having got but six, and not many of the latter. Yams and shaddocks were what we got the most of; other fruits were not so plenty. Not half the isle is laid out in inclosed plantations as at Amsterdam; but the parts which are not inclosed are not less fertile or uncultivated. There is, however, far more waste land on this isle, in proportion to its size, than upon the other, and the people seem to be much poorer; that is, in cloth, matting, ornaments, &c., which constitute a great part of the riches of the South Sea islanders. The people of this isle seem to be more affected with the leprosy, or some scrofulous disorder, than any I have seen elsewhere It breaks out in the face more than any other part of the body: I have seen several whose faces were ruined by it, and their noses quite gone. In one of my excursions, happening to peep into a house where one or more of them were, one man only appeared at the door, or hole by which I must have entered, and which he began to stop up, by drawing several parts of a cord across it; but the intolerable stench which came from his putrid face was alone sufficient to keep me out, had the entrance been ever so wide. His nose was quite gone, and his whole face in one continued ulcer, so that the very sight of him was shocking. As our people had not all got clear of a certain disease they had contracted at the Society Isles, I took all possible care to prevent its being communicated to the natives here; and I have reason to believe my endeavours succeeded.

Having mentioned a house, it may not be amiss to observe, that some here differ from those I saw at the other isles; being inclosed or walled on every side with reeds neatly put together, but not close. The entrance is by a square hole about two and a half feet each way. The form of these houses is an oblong square; the floor or foundation every way

shorter than the eve, which is about four feet from the ground. By this construction, the rain that falls on the roof is carried off from the wall; which otherwise would decay and rot. We did not distinguish any king, or leading chief, or any person who took upon him the appearance of supreme authority. The man and woman before mentioned, whom I believed to be man and wife, interested themselves on several occasions in our affairs; but it was easy to see they had no great authority. Amongst other things which I gave them as a reward for their service, was a young dog and bitch, animals which they have not, but are very fond of, and know very well by name. They have some of the same sort of earthen pots we saw at Amsterdam; and I am of opinion they are of their own manufacture, or that of some neighbouring isle.

The road, as I have already mentioned, is on the north side of the isle, just to the southward of the southernmost cove; for there are two on this side. The bank is of some extent, and the bottom free from rocks, with twenty-five and twenty fathoms water, one or two miles from the shore. Fire-wood is very convenient to be got at, and easy to be shipped off; but the water is so brackish that it is not worth the trouble of carrying it on board; unless one is in great distress for want of that article, and can get no better. There is, however, better, not only on this isle, but on others in the neighbourhood; for the people brought us some in cocoa-nut shells, which was as good as need be; but probably the springs are too trifling to water a ship.

I have already observed that the S.W. side of the island is covered by a reef or reefs of rocks and small isles. If there be a sufficient depth of water between them and the island, as there appeared to be, and a good bottom, this would be a much securer place for a ship to anchor in than that where we had our station.

CHAPTER III.—THE PASSAGE FROM THE FRIENDLY ISLES TO THE NEW HEBRIDES; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF TURTLE ISLAND, AND A VARIETY OF INCIDENTS WHICH HAPPENED, BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER THE SHIP ARRIVED IN PORT SANDWICH, IN THE ISLAND OF MALLICOLLO.—A DESCRIPTION OF THE PORT; THE ADJACENT COUNTRY; ITS INHABITANTS, AND MANY OTHER PARTICULARS.

ON the 1st of July, at sunrise, Amattafoa was still in sight, bearing E. by N., distant twenty leagues. Continuing our course to the west, we, the next day at noon, discovered land bearing N.W. by W., for which we steered, and, upon a nearer approach, found it to be a small island. At 4 o'clock it bore, from N.W. ½ W. to N.W. by N., and, at the same time, breakers were seen from the mast-head, extending from W. to S.W. The day being too far spent to make farther discoveries, we soon after shortened sail, hauled the wind, and spent the night making short boards, which, at daybreak, we found had been so advantageous, that we were farther from the island than we expected, and it was eleven o'clock before we reached the N.W. or lee side, where anchorage and landing seemed practicable. In order to obtain a knowledge of the former, I sent the master with a boat to sound; and, in the mean time, we stood on and off with the ship. At this time, four or five people were seen on the reef, which lies round the isle, and about three times that number on the shore. As the boat advanced, those on the reef retired, and joined the others; and when the boat landed, they all fled to the woods. It was not long before the boat returned, when the master informed me that there were no soundings without the reef, over which, in one place only, he found a boat-channel of six feet water. Entering by it, he rowed in for the shore, thinking to speak with the people, not more than twenty in number, who were armed with clubs and spears; but the moment he set his foot on shore, they retired to the woods. He left on the rocks some medals, nails, and a knife; which they, no doubt, found, as some were seen near the place afterwards. This island is not quite a league in length, in the direction of N.E. and S.W., and not half that in breadth. It is covered with wood, and surrounded by a reef of coral rocks, which, in some places, extend two miles from the shore. It seems to be too small to contain many inhabitants; and probably the few whom we saw may have come from some isle in the neighbourhood to fish for turtle;

as many were seen near this reef, and occasioned that name to be given to the island, which is situated in latitude 19° 48′ S., longitude 178° 2′ W.

Seeing breakers to the S.S.W., which I was desirous of knowing the extent of before night, I left Turtle Isle, and stood for them. At two o'clock we found they were occasioned by a coral bank of about four or five leagues in circuit. By the bearing we had taken, we knew these to be the same breakers we had seen the preceding evening. Hardly any part of this bank or reef is above water at the reflux of the waves. The heads of some rocks are to be seen near the edge of the reef, where it is the shoalest; for in the middle is deep water. In short, this bank wants only a few little islets to make it exactly like one of the half-drowned isles so often mentioned. It lies S.W. from Turtle Island, about five or six miles, and the channel between it and the reef of that isle is three miles over. Seeing no more shoals or islands, and thinking there might be turtle on this bank, two boats were properly equipped and sent thither, but returned without having seen one.

The boats were now hoisted in, and we made sail to the west, with a brisk gale at east, which continued till the 9th, when we had, for a few hours, a breeze at N.W., attended with squalls of rain. This was succeeded by a steady fresh gale at S.E., with which we steered N.W., being at this time in the latitude of 20° 20′ S., longitude 176° 8′ E. On the 15th at noon, being in the latitude of 15° 9′ S., longitude 171° 16′ E., I steered W. The next day the weather was foggy, and the wind blew in heavy squalls, attended with rain, which in this ocean, within the tropics, generally indicates the vicinity of some high land. This was verified at three in the afternoon, when high land was seen bearing S.W. Upon this we took in the small sails, reefed the top-sails, and hauling up for it, at half past five, we could see it extend from S.S.W. to N.W. by W. ½ W. Soon after we tacked and spent the night, which was very stormy, in plying. Our boards were disadvantageous; for, in the morning, we found we had lost ground. This, indeed, was no wonder, for having an old suit of sails bent, the most of them were split to pieces; particularly a fore-top-sail, which was rendered quite useless. We got others to the yards, and continued to ply, being desirous of getting round the south ends of the lands, or at least so far to the south as to be able to judge of their extent in that direction. For no one doubted that this was the Australia del Espiritu Santo of Quiros, which M. de Bougainville calls the Great Cyclades, and that the coast we were now upon was the east side of Aurora Island, whose longitude is 168° 30′ E.

The gale kept increasing till we were reduced to our low sails; so that, on the 18th, at seven in the morning, I gave over plying, set the top-sails double-reefed, bore up for, and hauled round the north end of Aurora Island, and then stretched over for the Isle of Lepers, under close-reefed top-sails and courses, with a very hard gale at N.E.; but we had now the advantage of a smooth sea, having the Isle of Aurora to windward. At noon the north end of it bore N.E. ½ N., distant four leagues; our latitude, found by double altitudes, and reduced to this time, was 15° 1′ 30″ S., longitude 168° 14′ E. At two o'clock P.M. we drew near the middle of the Isle of Lepers, and tacked about two miles from land; in which situation we had no soundings with a line of seventy fathoms. We now saw people on the shore, and many beautiful cascades of water pouring down the neighbouring hills. The next time we stood for this isle, we came to within half-a-mile of it, where we found thirty fathoms, a sandy bottom; but a mile off we had no soundings at seventy fathoms. Here two canoes came off to us, in one of which were three men, and in the other but one. Though we made all the signs of friendship, we could not bring them nearer than a stone's throw; and they made but a short stay before they retired ashore, where we saw a great number of people assembled in parties, and armed with bows and arrows. They are of a very dark colour, and, excepting some ornaments at their breast and arms, seemed to be entirely naked.

As I intended to get to the south, in order to explore the land which might lie there, we continued to ply between the Isle of Lepers and Aurora; and on the 19th, at noon, the south end of the last-mentioned isle bore south 24° east, and the north end north, distant twenty miles. Latitude observed, 15° 11″. The wind continued to blow strong at S.E.; so that what we got by plying in the day, we lost in the night. On the 20th, at sunrise,

we found ourselves off the south end of Aurora, on the N.W. side of which the coast forms a small bay. In this we made some trips to try for anchorage; but found no less than eighty fathoms water, the bottom a fine dark sand, at half-a-mile from shore. Nevertheless, I am of opinion that, nearer, there is much less depth, and secure riding; and in the neighbourhood is plenty of fresh water and wood for fuel. The whole isle, from the sea-shore to the summits of the hills, seemed to be covered with the latter; and every valley produced a fine stream of the former. We saw people on the shore, and some canoes on the coast, but none came off to us. Leaving the bay just mentioned, we stretched across the channel which divides Aurora from Whitsuntide island. At noon we were abreast of the north end of this latter, which bore E.N.E., and observed in 15° 28½′. The Isle of Aurora bore from N. to N.E. ½ E., and the Isle of Lepers from N. by W. ½ W. to W. Whitsuntide Isle appeared joined to the land to the S. and S.W. of it; but in stretching to S.W. we discovered the separation. This was about four o'clock P.M., and then we tacked and stretched in for the island till near sunset, when the wind veering more to the east made it necessary to resume our course to the south. We saw people on the shore, smokes in many parts of the island, and several places which seemed to be cultivated. About midnight, drawing near the south land, we tacked and stretched to the north, in order to spend the remainder of the night.

At daybreak on the 21st, we found ourselves before the channel that divides Whitsuntide island from the south land, which is about two leagues over. At this time, the land to the southward extended from S. by E. round to the west farther than the eye could reach, and on the part nearest to us, which is of considerable height, we observed two very large columns of smoke, which, I judged, ascended from volcanoes. We now stood S.S.W. with a fine breeze at S.E., and, at ten o'clock, discovered this part of the land to be an island which is called by the natives Ambrym. Soon after an elevated land appeared open off the south end of Ambrym; and after that, another still higher, on which is a high peaked hill. We judged these lands to belong to two separate islands. The first came in sight at S.E., the second at E. by S., and they appeared to be ten leagues distant. Holding on our course for the land ahead, at noon it was five miles distant from us, extending from S.S.E. to N.W. by W., and appeared to be continued. The islands to the east bore from N.E. by E., to S.E. by E.; latitude observed 16° 17′ South. As we drew nearer the shore we discovered a creek, which had the appearance of being a good harbour, formed by a low point or peninsula, projecting out to the north. On this a number of people were assembled, who seemed to invite us ashore; probably with no good intent, as the most of them were armed with bows and arrows. In order to gain room and time to hoist out and arm our boats, to reconnoitre this place, we tacked and made a trip off, which occasioned the discovery of another port about a league more to the south. Having sent two armed boats to sound, and look for anchorage, on their making the signal for the latter, we sailed in S.S.W. and anchored in eleven fathoms water, not two cables' length from the S.E. shore, and a mile within the entrance. We had no sooner anchored than several of the natives came off in canoes. They were very cautious at first; but, at last, trusted themselves alongside, and exchanged, for pieces of cloth, arrows; some of which were pointed with bone, and dipped in some green gummy substance, which we naturally suppose was poisonous. Two men having ventured on board, after a short stay I sent them away with presents. Others, probably induced by this, came off by moonlight; but I gave orders to permit none to come alongside; by which means we got clear of them for the night.

Next morning early, a good many came round us, some in canoes, and others swimming. I soon prevailed on one to come on board; which he no sooner did than he was followed by more than I desired; so that not only our deck but rigging was presently filled with them. I took four into the cabin, and gave them various articles, which they showed to those in the canoes, and seemed much pleased with their reception. While I was thus making friends with those in the cabin, an accident happened that threw all into confusion, but in the end, I believe, proved advantageous to us. A fellow in a canoe having been refused admittance into one of our boats that lay alongside, bent his bow to shoot a poisoned arrow at the boat-keeper. Some of his countrymen prevented his doing it that instant, and gave time to

acquaint me with it. I ran instantly on deck, and saw another man struggling with him; one of those who had been in the cabin, and had leaped out of the window for this purpose. The other seemed resolved, shook him off, and directed his bow again to the boat-keeper; but on my calling to him, pointed it at me. Having a musket in my hand, loaded with small-shot, I gave him the contents. This staggered him for a moment, but did not prevent him from holding his bow still in the attitude of shooting. Another discharge of the same nature made him drop it, and the others, who were in the canoe, to paddle off with all speed. At this time, some began to shoot arrows on the other side. A musket discharged in the air had no effect; but a four-pound shot over their heads sent them off in the utmost confusion. Many quitted their canoes and swam on shore: those in the great cabin leaped out of the windows; and those who were on the deck, and on different parts of the rigging, all leaped overboard. After this we took no farther notice of them, but suffered them to come off and pick up their canoes; and some even ventured again alongside the ship. Immediately after the great gun was fired, we heard the beating of drums on shore; which was, probably, the signal for the country to assemble in arms. We now got every thing in readiness to land, to cut some wood, of which we were in want, and to try to get some refreshments, nothing of this kind having been seen in any of the canoes.

About nine o'clock, we put off in two boats, and landed in the face of four or five hundred people, who were assembled on the shore. Though they were all armed with bows and arrows, clubs and spears, they made not the least opposition. On the contrary, seeing me advance alone, with nothing but a green branch in my hand, one of them, who seemed to be a chief, giving his bow and arrows to another, met me in the water, bearing also a green branch, which having exchanged for the one I held, he then took me by the hand, and led me up to the crowd. I immediately distributed presents to them, and, in the mean time, the marines were drawn up on the beach. I then made signs (for we understood not a word of their language) that we wanted wood; and they made signs to us to cut down the trees. By this time, a small pig being brought down and presented to me, I gave the bearer a piece of cloth, with which he seemed well pleased. This made us hope that we should soon have some more; but we were mistaken. The pig was not brought to be exchanged for what we had, but on some other account; probably as a peace-offering. For all we could say or do did not prevail on them to bring down, after this, above half-a-dozen cocoa-nuts, and a small quantity of fresh water. They set no value on nails, or any sort of iron tools; nor indeed on anything we had. They would, now and then, exchange an arrow for a piece of cloth; but very seldom would part with a bow. They were unwilling we should go off the beach, and very desirous we should return on board. At length, about noon, after sending what wood we had cut on board, we embarked ourselves; and they all retired, some one way and some another.

Before we had dined, the afternoon was too far spent to do anything on shore; and all hands were employed, setting up the rigging, and repairing some defects in it. But seeing a man bring along the strand a buoy, which they had taken in the night from the kedge-anchor, I went on shore for it, accompanied by some of the gentlemen. The moment we landed, it was put into the boat by a man who walked off again without speaking one word. It ought to be observed, that this was the only thing they took, or even attempted to take from us, by any means whatever. Being landed near some of their plantations and houses, which were just within the skirts of the woods, I prevailed on one man to conduct me to them; but, though they suffered Mr. Forster to go with me, they were unwilling any more should follow. These houses were something like those of the other isles; rather low, and covered with palm thatch; some were inclosed, or walled round with boards; and the entrance to these was by a square hole at one end, which at this time was shut up, and they were unwilling to open it for us to look in. There were here about six houses, and some small plantations of roots, &c. fenced round with reeds as at the Friendly Isles. There were, likewise, some bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, and plantain trees; but very little fruit on any of them. A good many fine yams were piled up upon sticks, or a kind of raised platform; and about twenty pigs, and a few fowls, were running about loose. After making these observations, having embarked, we proceeded to the S.E. point of the harbour, where we again landed

and walked along the beach till we could see the islands to the S.E. already mentioned. The names of these we now obtained, as well as the name of that on which we were. This they called Mallicollo *: the island that first appeared over the south end of Ambrym is called Apee; and the other, with the hill on it, Paoom. We found on the beach a fruit like an orange, called by them Abbi-mora, but whether it be fit for eating, I cannot say, as this was decayed.

Proceeding next to the other side of the harbour, we there landed, near a few houses, at the invitation of some people who came down to the shore; but we had not been there five minutes before they wanted us to be gone. We complied, and proceeded up the harbour in order to search it, and to look for fresh water, of which, as yet, we had seen none, but the very little that the natives brought, which we knew not where they got. Nor was our search now attended with success; but this is no proof that there is not any. The day was too far spent to examine the place well enough to determine this point. Night having brought us on board, I was informed that no soul had been off to the ship; so soon was the curiosity of these people satisfied. As we were coming on board, we heard the sound of a drum, and, I think of some other instruments, and saw people dancing; but as soon as they heard the noise of the oars, or saw us, all was silent.

Being unwilling to lose the benefit of the moonlight nights, which now happened, at seven A. M. on the 23d we weighed, and, with a light air of wind, and the assistance of our boats, proceeded out of the harbour; the south end of which, at noon, bore W.S.W. distant about two miles. When the natives saw us under sail, they came off in canoes, making exchanges with more confidence than before, and giving such extraordinary proofs of their honesty as surprised us. As the ship at first had fresh way through the water, several of them dropped astern after they had received our goods, and before they had time to deliver them in return. Instead of taking advantage of this, as our friends at the Society Isles would have done, they used their utmost efforts to get up with us, and to deliver what they had already been paid for. One man, in particular, followed us a considerable time, and did not reach us till it was calm, and the thing was forgotten. As soon as he came alongside, he held up the thing which several were ready to buy; but he refused to part with it, till he saw the person to whom he had before sold it, and to him he gave it. The person not knowing him again, offered him something in return, which he refused, and showed him what he had given him before. Pieces of cloth and marble paper were in most esteem with them; but edge-tools, nails, and beads, they seemed to disregard. The greatest number of canoes we had alongside at once did not exceed eight, and not more than four or five people in each; who would frequently retire to the shore all on a sudden, before they had disposed of half their things, and then others would come off.

At the time we came out of the harbour, it was about low water, and great numbers of people were then on the shoals or reefs which lie along the shore, looking, as we supposed, for shell and other fish. Thus our being on their coast, and in one of their ports, did not hinder them from following the necessary employments. By this time they might be satisfied we meant them no harm; so that, had we made a longer stay, we might soon have been upon good terms with this ape-like nation; for, in general, they are the most ugly, ill-proportioned people I ever saw, and in every respect different from any we had met with in this sea. They are a very dark-coloured and rather diminutive race; with long heads, flat faces, and monkey countenances. Their hair, mostly black or brown, is short and curly; but not quite so soft and woolly as that of a negro. Their beards are very strong, crisp, and bushy, and generally black and short. But what most adds to their deformity, is a belt, or cord, which they wear round the waist, and tie so tight over the belly that the shape of their bodies is not unlike that of an overgrown pismire. The men go quite naked, except a piece of cloth or leaf used as a wrapper †.

* Or Mallicolo. Some of our people pronounced it Manicolo or Manicola, and thus it is also written in Quiros's Memorial, as printed by Dalrymple, vol. ii. p. 146.

† The particular manner of applying the wrapper may be seen in Wafer's Voyage, who mentions this singular custom as existing, though with some little variation, amongst the Indians of the Isthmus of Darien. See Wafer's Voyage, p. 140.

We saw but few women, and they were not less ugly than the men: their heads, faces, and shoulders are painted red; they wear a kind of petticoat; and some of them had something over their shoulders like a bag, in which they carry their children. None of them came off to the ship, and they generally kept at a distance when we were on shore. Their ornaments are ear-rings, made of tortoiseshell, and bracelets. A curious one of the latter, four or five inches broad, wrought with thread or cord, and studded with shells, is worn by them just above the elbow. Round the right wrist they wear hogs' tusks bent circular and rings made of shells; and round their left, a round piece of wood, which we judged was to ward off the bow-string. The bridge of the nose is pierced, in which they wear a piece of white stone, about an inch and a half long, and in this shape.

As signs of friendship they present a green branch, and sprinkle water with the hand over the head.

Their weapons are clubs, spears, and bows and arrows. The two former are made of hard or iron wood. Their bows are about four feet long, made of a stick split down the middle, and are not circular, but in this form. The arrows, which are a sort of reeds, are sometimes armed with a long and sharp point, made of the hard wood, and sometimes with a very hard point made of bone; and these points are all covered with a substance which we took for poison. Indeed, the people themselves confirmed our suspicions, by making signs to us not to touch the point, and giving us to understand, that if we were pricked by them we should die. They are very careful of them themselves, and keep them always wrapped up in a quiver. Some of these arrows are armed with two or three points, each with small prickles on the edges, to prevent the arrow being drawn out of the wound.

The people of Mallicollo seemed to be a quite different nation from any we had yet met with, and speak a different language. Of about eighty words which Mr. Forster collected, hardly one bears any affinity to the language spoken at any other island or place I had ever been at. The letter R is used in many of their words; and frequently two or three being joined together, such words we found difficult to pronounce. I observed that they could pronounce most of our words with great ease. They express their admiration by hissing like a goose.

To judge of the country by the little we saw of it, it must be fertile; but I believe their fruits are not so good as those of the Society or Friendly Isles. Their cocoa-nut trees, I am certain, are not; and their bread-fruit and plantains did not seem much better. But their yams appeared to be very good. We saw no other animals than those I have already mentioned. They have not so much as a name for a dog, and consequently have none; for which reason we left them a dog and a bitch; and there is no doubt they will be taken care of, as they were very fond of them. After we had got to sea, we tried what effect one of the poisoned arrows would have on a dog. Indeed we had tried it in the harbour the very first night, but we thought the operation had been too slight, as it had no effect. The surgeon now made a deep incision in the dog's thigh, into which he laid a large portion of the poison just as it was scraped from the arrows, and then bound up the wound with a bandage. For several days after, we thought the dog was not so well as he had been before; but whether this was really so, or only suggested by imagination, I know not. He was afterwards as if nothing had been done to him, and lived to be brought home to England. However, I have no doubt of this stuff being of a poisonous quality, as it could answer no other purpose. The people seemed not unacquainted with the nature of poisons; for when they brought us water on shore, they first tasted it, and then gave us to understand we might with safety drink it.

This harbour, which is situated on the N.E. side of Mallicollo, not far from the S.E. end, in latitude 16° 25′ 20″ S., longitude 167° 57″ 23′ E., I named Port Sandwich. It lies in S.W. by S. about one league, and is one-third of a league broad. A reef of rocks extends out a little way from each point; but the channel is of a good breadth, and hath in it from forty to twenty-four fathoms water. In the port, the depth of water is from twenty to four fathoms; and it is so sheltered that no winds can disturb a ship at anchor there. Another great advantage is, you can lie so near the shore as to cover your people who may be at work upon it.

CHAPTER IV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF SEVERAL ISLANDS, AN INTERVIEW AND SKIRMISH WITH THE INHABITANTS UPON ONE OF THEM. THE ARRIVAL OF THE SHIP AT TANNA, AND THE RECEPTION WE MET WITH THERE.

SOON after we got to sea, we had a breeze at E.S.E. with which we stood over for Ambrym till three o'clock in the afternoon, when the wind veering to E.N.E. we tacked and stretched to the S.E. and weathered the S.E. end of Mallicollo, off which we discovered three or four small islands, that before appeared to be connected. At sunset the point bore S. 77° west, distant three leagues, from which the coast seemed to trend away west. At this time the isle of Ambrym extended from N. 30° E. to N. 65° E. The isle of Paoom from N. 76° E. to S. 88° E. and the isle of Apee from S. 83° E. to S. 43° east. We stood for this last isle, which we reached by midnight, and then brought to till daybreak on the 24th, when we made sail to the S.E. with a view of plying up to the eastward on the south side of Apee. At sunrise, we discovered several more islands, extending from the S.E. point of Apee to the south as far as S.E. by S. The nearest to us we reached by ten o'clock, and not being able to weather it, we tacked a mile from its shore in fourteen fathoms water. This island is about four leagues in circuit, is remarkable by having three high peaked hills upon it, by which it has obtained that name. In the P.M. the wind veering more to the north, we resumed our course to the east; and having weathered Threehills, stood for the group of small isles which lie off the S.E. point of Apee. These I called Shepherd's Isles, in honour of my worthy friend Dr. Shepherd, Plumian professor of astronomy at Cambridge. Having a fine breeze, I had thoughts of going through between them; but the channels being narrow, and seeing broken water in the one we were steering for, I gave up the design, and bore up, in order to go without, or to the south of them. Before this could be accomplished, it fell calm, and we were left to the mercy of the current, close to the isles, where we could find no soundings with a line of a hundred and eighty fathoms. We had now lands or islands in every direction, and were not able to count the number which lay round us. The mountain on Paoom was seen over the east end of Apee, bearing N.N.W. at eight o'clock. A breeze at S.E. relieved us from the anxiety the calm had occasioned; and we spent the night making short boards.

The night before we came out of Port Sandwich, two reddish fish, about the size of large bream, and not unlike them, were caught with hook and line. On these fish most of the officers, and some of the petty officers, dined the next day. The night following, every one who had eaten of them was seized with violent pains in the head and bones, attended with a scorching heat all over the skin, and numbness in the joints. There remained no doubt that this was occasioned by the fish being of a poisonous nature, and having communicated its bad effects to all who partook of them; even to the hogs and dogs. One of the former died about sixteen hours after; it was not long before one of the latter shared the same fate; and it was a week or ten days, before all the gentlemen recovered. These must have been the same sort of fish mentioned by Quiros*, under the name of Pargos, which poisoned the crews of his ships, so that it was some time before they recovered; and we should, doubtless, have been in the same situation, had more of them been eaten.

At daybreak on the 25th, we made a short stretch to the east of Shepherd's Isles till after sunrise, when, seeing no more land in that direction, we tacked and stood for the island we had seen in the south, having a gentle breeze at S E. We passed to the east of Threehills, and likewise of a low isle, which lies on the S.E. side of it, between a remarkable peaked rock which obtained the name of Monument, and a small island named Twohills, on account of two peaked hills upon it, disjoined by a low and narrow isthmus. The channel between this island and the Monument is near a mile broad, and twenty-four fathoms deep. Except this rock, which is only accessible to birds, we did not find an island on which people were not seen. At noon, we observed, in latitude 17° 18′ 30″ longitude, made from Port Sand-

* Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p 140, 141.

wich, 45′ east. In this situation the Monument bore N. 16° east, distant two miles; Twohills bore N. 25° west, distant two miles, and in a line with the S.W. part of Threehills; and the islands to the south extended from S. 16° 30′ E. to S. 42° west.

Continuing our course to the south, at five P.M. we drew near the southern lands, which we found to consist of one large island, whose southern and western extremities extended beyond our sight, and three or four smaller ones, lying off its north side. The two northernmost are much the largest, have a good height, and lie in the direction of E. by S. and W. by N. from each other, distant two leagues. I named the one Montagu, and the other Hinchinbrook, and the large island Sandwich, in honour of my noble patron the earl of Sandwich. Seeing broken water a-head between Montagu and Hinchinbrook Isles, we tacked; and soon after it fell calm. The calm continued till seven o'clock the next morning, when it was succeeded by a breeze from the westward. During the calm, having been carried by the currents and a S.E. swell, four leagues to the W.N.W., we passed Hinchinbrook Isle, saw the western extremity of Sandwich Island, bearing S.S.W. about five leagues distant, and at the same time discovered a small island to the west of this direction. After getting the westerly breeze, I steered S.E. in order to pass between Montagu Isle and the north end of Sandwich Island. At noon we were in the middle of the channel, and observed in latitude 17° 31′ S. The distance from one island to the other is about four or five miles; but the channel is not much above half that breadth, being contracted by breakers. We had no soundings in it with a line of forty fathoms.

As we passed Montagu Isle several people came down to the sea-side, and, by signs, seemed to invite us ashore. Some were also seen on Sandwich Island, which exhibited a most delightful prospect, being spotted with woods and lawns, agreeably diversified, over the whole surface. It hath a gentle slope from the hills, which are of a moderate height, down to the sea-coast. This is low and guarded by a chain of breakers, so that there is no approaching it at this part. But more to the west, beyond Hinchinbrook Island, there seemed to run in a bay, sheltered from the reigning winds. The examining it not being so much an object with me as the getting to the south, in order to find the southern extremity of the archipelago, with this view I steered S.S.E., being the direction of the coast of Sandwich Island. We had but just got through the passage, before the west wind left us to variable light airs and calms; so that we were apprehensive of being carried back again by the currents, or rather of being obliged to return in order to avoid being driven on the shoals, as there was no anchorage, a line of a hundred and sixty fathoms not reaching to the bottom. At length a breeze springing up at S.W., we stood to S.E., and at sunset the Monument bore N. 14° 30′ W., and Montagu Island N. 28° W., distant three leagues. We judged we saw the S.E. extremity of Sandwich Island bearing about S. by E.

We continued to stand to S.E. till four A.M. on the 27th, when we tacked to the west. At sunrise having discovered a new land bearing south, and making in three hills, this occasioned us to tack and stand towards it. At this time Montagu Isle bore N. 52° W., distant thirteen leagues; at noon it was nearly in the same direction, and the new land extended from S. ½ E. to S. by W., and three hills seemed to be connected. Our latitude, by observation, was 18° 1′ S., and the longitude, made from Port Sandwich, 1° 23′ E. We continued to stand to the S.E. with a gentle breeze at S.W. and S.S.W. till the 28th at sunrise, when, the wind veering to the south, we tacked and stood to the west. The three hills mentioned above, we now saw belonged to one island, which extended from S. 35° to 71° W., distant about ten or twelve leagues.

Retarded by contrary winds, calms, and the currents that set to N.W., we were three days in gaining this space; in which time we discovered an elevated land to the south of this. It first appeared in detached hummocks, but we judged it to be connected. At length, on the 1st of August, about ten A.M. we got a fine breeze at E.S.E. which soon after veered to N.E., and we steered for the N.W. side of the island. Reaching it about two P.M., we ranged the west coast at one mile from shore, on which the inhabitants appeared in several parts, and by signs invited us to land. We continued to sound without finding bottom, till we came before a small bay, or bending of the coast, where, near a mile from

shore, we found thirty and twenty-two fathoms water, a sandy bottom. I had thoughts of anchoring here, but the wind almost instantly veered to N.W., which being nearly on shore, I laid this design aside. Besides, I was unwilling to lose the opportunity that now offered of getting to the south-east, in order first to explore the lands which lay there. I therefore continued to range the coast to the south, at about the same distance from shore; but we soon got out of soundings. About a league to the south of this bay, which hath about two miles extent, is another more extensive. Towards the evening, the breeze began to abate, so that it was sunset before we got the length of it. I intended not to stop here, and stand to the south under an easy sail all night, but at eight o'clock, as we were steering S.S.E., we saw a light a-head. Not knowing but it might be on some low detached isle, dangerous to approach while dark, we hauled the wind, and spent the night standing off and on, or rather driving to and fro; for we had but very little wind.

At sunrise on the 2nd, we saw no more land than the coast we were upon; but found that the currents had carried us some miles to the north, and we attempted, to little purpose, to regain what we had lost. At noon we were about a league from the coast, which extended from S.S.E. to N.E. Latitude observed 18° 46′ S. In the afternoon, finding the ship to drift, not only to the north, but in shore also, and being yet to the south of the bay we passed the day before, I had thoughts of getting to an anchor before night, while we had it in our power to make choice of a place. With this view, having hoisted out two boats, one of them was sent a-head to tow the ship; in the other Mr. Gilbert went to sound for anchorage. Soon after, the towing boat was sent to assist him. So much time was spent in sounding this bay, that the ship drove past, which made it necessary to call the boats on board to tow her off from the northern point. But this service was performed by a breeze of wind, which, that moment, sprung up at S.W., so that as the boats got on board, we hoisted them in, and then bore up for the north side of the island, intending once more to try to get round by the east. Mr. Gilbert informed me that, at the south part of the bay, he found no soundings till close to a steep stone beach, where he landed to taste a stream of water he saw there, which proved to be salt. Some people were seen there, but they kept at a distance. Farther down the coast, that is to the north, he found twenty, twenty-four, and thirty fathoms, three-fourths of a mile, or a mile from shore, the bottom a fine dark sand.

On the 3rd, at sunrise, we found ourselves abreast a lofty promontory on the S.E. side of the island, and about three leagues from it. Having but little wind, and that from the south, right in our teeth, and being in want of fire-wood, I sent Lieutenant Clerke with two boats to a small islet which lies off the promontory, to endeavour to get some. In the mean time we continued to ply up with the ship; but what we gained by our sails, we lost by the current. At length, towards noon, we got a breeze at E.S.E. and E. with which we could lie up for the head; and soon after Mr. Clerke returned, having not been able to land, on account of a high surf on the shore. They met with no people on the isle; but saw a large bat, and some birds, and caught a water-snake. At six o'clock P.M. we got in with the land, under the N.W. side of the head, where we anchored in seventeen fathoms water, the bottom a fine dark sand, half-a-mile from shore; the point of the head bearing N. 18° E., distant half a league; the little islet before-mentioned N.E. by E. ¼ E., and the N.W. point of the bay N. 32° W. Many people appeared on the shore, and some attempted to swim off to us; but having occasion to send the boat a-head to sound, they retired as she drew near them. This, however gave us a favourable idea of them.

On the 4th, at daybreak, I went with two boats to examine the coast, to look for a proper landing-place, wood, and water. At this time the natives began to assemble on the shore, and by signs invited us to land. I went first to a small beach, which is towards the head, where I found no good landing, on account of some rocks which everywhere lined the coast. I, however, put the boat's bow to the shore, and gave cloth, medals, &c. to some people who were there. For this treatment they offered to haul the boats over the breakers to the sandy beach, which I thought a friendly offer, but had reason afterwards to alter my opinion. When they found I would not do as they desired, they made signs for us to go down into the bay, which we accordingly did, and they ran along shore abreast of us, their

number increasing prodigiously. I put into the shore in two or three places, but, not liking the situation, did not land. By this time, I believe, the natives conceived what I wanted, as they directed me round a rocky point, where, on a fine sandy beach, I stepped out of the boat without wetting a foot, in the face of a vast multitude, with only a green branch in my hand, which I had before got from one of them. I took but one man out of the boat with me, and ordered the other boat to lie to a little distance off. They received me with great courtesy and politeness, and would retire back from the boat on my making the least motion with my hand. A man whom I took to be a chief, seeing this, made them form a semicircle round the boat's bow, and beat such as attempted to break through this order. This man I loaded with presents, giving likewise to others, and asked by signs for

ERROMANGO.

fresh water, in hopes of seeing where they got it. The chief immediately sent a man for some, who ran to a house, and presently returned with a little in a bamboo; so that I gained but little information by this. I next asked, by the same means, for something to eat; and they as readily brought me a yam and some cocoa-nuts. In short, I was charmed with their behaviour; and the only thing which could give the least suspicion was, that most of them were armed with clubs, spears, darts, and bows and arrows. For this reason I kept my eye continually upon the chief, and watched his looks as well as his actions. He made many signs to me to haul the boat up upon the shore, and at last slipped into the crowd, where I observed him speak to several people, and then return to me, repeating signs to haul the boat up, and hesitating a good deal before he would receive some spike-nails which I then offered him. This made me suspect something was intended, and immediately I stepped into the boat, telling them by signs that I should soon return. But they were not for parting so soon, and now attempted, by force, what they could not obtain by gentle means. The gang-board happened unluckily to be laid out for me to come into the boat. I say unluckily, for if it had not been out, and if the crew had been a little quicker in getting the boat off, the natives might not have had time to put their design in execution, nor would the following disagreeable scene have happened. As we were putting off the boat, they laid hold of the gang-board, and unhooked it off the boat's stern, but as they did not take it away, I thought this had been done by accident, and ordered the boat in again to take it up. Then they themselves hooked it over the boat's stern, and attempted to haul her ashore; others, at the same time, snatched the oars out of the people's hands. On my pointing a musket at them, they in some measure desisted, but returned in an instant, seemingly determined to haul the boat ashore. At the head of this party was the chief; the others, who could not come at the boat, stood behind with darts, stones, and bows and arrows in hand, ready to support them. Signs and threats having no effect, our own safety

became the only consideration; and yet I was unwilling to fire on the multitude, and resolved to make the chief alone fall a victim to his own treachery; but my musket at this critical moment missed fire. Whatever idea they might have formed of the arms we held in our hands, they must now have looked upon them as childish weapons, and began to let us see how much better theirs were, by throwing stones and darts, and by shooting arrows. This made it absolutely necessary for me to give orders to fire. The first discharge threw them into confusion; but a second was hardly sufficient to drive them off the beach; and, after all, they continued to throw stones from behind the trees and bushes, and, every now and then, to pop out and throw a dart. Four lay, to all appearance dead, on the shore; but two of them afterwards crawled into the bushes. Happy it was for these people, that not half our muskets would go off, otherwise many more must have fallen. We had one man wounded in the cheek with a dart, the point of which was as thick as my finger, and yet it entered above two inches; which shows that it must have come with great force, though indeed we were very near them. An arrow struck Mr. Gilbert's naked breast, who was about thirty yards off; but probably it had struck something before; for it hardly penetrated the skin. The arrows were pointed with hard wood.

As soon as we got on board, I ordered the anchor to be weighed, with a view of anchoring near the landing-place. While this was doing, several people appeared on the low rocky point, displaying two oars we had lost in the scuffle. I looked on this as a sign of submission, and of their wanting to give us the oars. I was, nevertheless, prevailed on to fire a four-pound shot at them, to let them see the effect of our great guns. The ball fell short, but frightened them so much, that none were seen afterwards; and they left the oars standing up against the bushes. It was now calm; but the anchor was hardly at the bow before a breeze sprung up at north, of which we took the advantage, set our sails, and plied out of the bay, as it did not seem capable of supplying our wants, with that conveniency I wished to have. Besides, I always had it in my power to return to this place, in case I should find none more convenient farther south.

These islanders seemed to be a different race from those of Mallicollo, and spoke a different language. They are of the middle size, have a good shape, and tolerable features. Their colour is very dark, and they paint their faces, some with black, and others with red pigment. Their hair is very curly and crisp, and somewhat woolly. I saw a few women, and I thought them ugly; they wore a kind of petticoat made of palm leaves, or some plant like it. But the men, like those of Mallicollo, were in a manner naked; having only the belt about the waist, and the piece of cloth, or leaf, used as a wrapper *. I saw no canoes with these people, nor were any seen in any part of this island. They live in houses covered with thatch, and their plantations are laid out by line, and fenced round.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, we were clear of the bay, bore up round the head, and steered S.S.E. for the south end of the island, having a fine breeze at N.W. On the S.W. side of the head is a pretty deep bay, which seemed to run in behind the one on the N.W. side. Its shores are low, and the adjacent lands appeared very fertile. It is exposed to the S.E. winds; for which reason, until it be better known, the N.W. bay is preferable, because it is sheltered from the reigning winds; and the winds to which it is open, viz. from N.W. by N. to E. by N. seldom blow strong. The promontory, or peninsula, which disjoins these two bays, I named Traitor's Head, from the treacherous behaviour of its inhabitants. It is the N.E. point of the island, situated in the latitude 18° 43′ south, longitude 169° 28′ east, and terminates in a saddle hill which is of height sufficient to be seen sixteen or eighteen leagues. As we advanced to S.S.E., the new island we had before discovered began to appear over the S.E. point of the one near us, bearing S. ½ E. distant ten or twelve leagues. After leaving this one, we steered for the east end of the other, being directed by a great light we saw upon it.

At one o'clock the next morning, drawing near the shore, we tacked, and spent the remainder of the night making short boards. At sun-rise, we discovered a high table land (an island) bearing E. by S., and a small low isle in the direction of N.N.E. which we had

* See the note, p. 499.

passed in the night without seeing it. Traitor's Head was still in sight, bearing N. 20° West, distant fifteen leagues, and the island to the south extended from S. 7° West to S. 87° West, distant three or four miles. We then found that the light we had seen in the night was occasioned by a volcano, which we observed to throw up vast quantities of fire and smoke, with a rumbling noise heard at a great distance. We now made sail for the island; and, presently after, discovered a small inlet which had the appearance of being a good harbour. In order to be better informed, I sent away two armed boats under the command of Lieutenant Cooper, to sound it; and, in the mean while, we stood on and off with the ship, to be ready to follow, or give them any assistance they might want. On the east point of the entrance, we observed a number of people, and several houses and canoes; and when our boats entered the harbour they launched some, and followed them, but came not near. It was not long before Mr. Cooper made the signal for anchorage; and we stood in with the ship. The wind being at west, and our course S.S.W. we borrowed close to the west point, and passed over some sunken rocks, which might have been avoided by keeping a little more to the east, or about one-third channel over. The wind left us as soon as we were within the entrance, and obliged us to drop an anchor in four fathoms water. After this, the boats were sent again to sound; and, in the mean time, the launch was hoisted out, in order to carry out anchors to warp in by, as soon as we should be acquainted with the channel.

While we were thus employed, many of the natives got together in parties, on several parts of the shore, all armed with bows, spears, &c. Some swam off to us, others came in canoes. At first they were shy, and kept at the distance of a stone's throw; they grew insensibly bolder; and at last, came under our stern, and made some exchanges. The people in one of the first canoes, after coming as near as they durst, threw towards us some cocoa-nuts. I went into a boat and picked them up, giving them in return some cloth and other articles. This induced others to come under the stern, and alongside, where their behaviour was insolent and daring. They wanted to carry off everything within their reach; they got hold of the fly of the ensign, and would have torn it from the staff; others attempted to knock the rings off the rudder; but the greatest trouble they gave us was to look after the buoys of our anchors, which were no sooner thrown out of the boats, or let go from the ship, than they got hold of them. A few muskets fired in the air had no effect; but a four-pounder frightened them so much, that they quitted their canoes that instant, and took to the water. But as soon as they found themselves unhurt, they got again into their canoes; gave us some halloos; flourished their weapons; and returned once more to the buoys. This put us to the expense of a few musketoon shot, which had the desired effect. Although none were hurt, they were afterwards afraid to come near the buoys; very soon all retired on shore; and we were permitted to sit down to dinner undisturbed.

During these transactions, a friendly old man in a small canoe made several trips between us and the shore, bringing off each time a few cocoa-nuts, or a yam, and taking in exchange whatever we gave him. Another was on the gangway, when the great gun was fired, but I could not prevail on him to stay there long. Towards the evening, after the ship was moored, I landed at the head of the harbour, in the S.E. corner, with a strong party of men, without any opposition being made by a great number of the natives who were assembled in two parties, the one on our right, the other on our left, armed with clubs, darts, spears, slings and stones, bows and arrows, &c. After distributing to the old people, (for we could distinguish no chief,) and some others, presents of cloth, medals, &c., I ordered two casks to be filled with water out of a pond about twenty paces behind the landing-place; giving the natives to understand that this was one of the articles we wanted. Besides water, we got from them a few cocoa-nuts, which seemed to be in plenty on the trees; but they could not be prevailed upon to part with any of their weapons. These they held in constant readiness, and in the proper attitudes of offence and defence; so that little was wanting to make them attack us; at least we thought so, by their pressing so much upon us, and in spite of our endeavours to keep them off. Our early re-embarking probably disconcerted their scheme; and after that, they all retired. The friendly old man before mentioned was in one of these parties; and we judged, from his conduct, that his temper was pacific.

CHAPTER V.—AN INTERCOURSE ESTABLISHED WITH THE NATIVES; SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ISLAND; AND A VARIETY OF INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED DURING OUR STAY AT IT.

As we wanted to take in a large quantity both of wood and water, and as, when I was on shore, I had found it practicable to lay the ship much nearer the landing-place than she now was, which would greatly facilitate that work, as well as overawe the natives, and enable us better to cover and protect the working party on shore; with this view, on the 6th, we went to work to transport the ship to the place I designed to moor her in. While we were about this, we observed the natives assembling from all parts, and forming themselves into two parties, as they did the preceding evening, one on each side the landing-place, to the amount of some thousands, armed as before. A canoe, sometimes conducted by one, and at other times by two or three men, now and then came off, bringing a few cocoa-nuts or plantains. These they gave us without asking for any return; but I took care that they should always have something. Their chief design seemed to be to invite us on shore. One of those who came off was the old man who had already ingratiated himself into our favour. I made him understand, by signs, that they were to lay aside their weapons, took those which were in the canoe and threw them overboard, and made him a present of a large piece of cloth. There was no doubt that he understood me, and made my request known to his countrymen. For as soon as he landed we observed him to go first to the one party, and then to the other; nor was he, ever after, seen by us with any thing like a weapon in his hand. After this, three fellows came in a canoe under the stern, one of them brandishing a club, with which he struck the ship's side, and committed other acts of defiance, but at last offered to exchange it for a string of beads, and some other trifles. These were sent down to him by a line; but the moment they were in his possession, he and his companions paddled off in all haste, without giving the club, or anything else, in return. This was what I expected, and indeed what I was not sorry for, as I wanted an opportunity to show the multitude on shore the effect of our fire-arms, without materially hurting any of them. Having a fowling-piece loaded with small shot, (No. 3,) I gave the fellow the contents; and, when they were above musket-shot off, I ordered some of the musketoons, or wall-pieces, to be fired, which made them leap out of the canoe, keep under her off side, and swim with her ashore. This transaction seemed to make little or no impression on the people there. On the contrary, they began to halloo, and to make sport of it.

After mooring the ship, by four anchors, with her broadside to the landing-place, hardly a musket-shot off, and placing our artillery in such a manner as to command the whole harbour, I embarked with the marines, and a party of seamen, in three boats, and rowed in for the shore. It hath been already mentioned, that the two divisions of the natives were drawn up on each side the landing-place. They had left a space between them of about thirty or forty yards, in which were laid, to the most advantage, a few small bunches of plantains, a yam, and two or three roots. Between these and the water were stuck upright in the sand, for what purpose I never could learn, four small reeds, about two feet from each other, in a line at right angles to the shore, where they remained for two or three days after. The old man before mentioned, and two more, stood by these things, inviting us by signs to land; but I had not forgot the trap I was so near being caught in at the last island; and this looked something like it. We answered, by making signs for the two divisions to retire farther back, and give us more room. The old man seemed to desire them so to do, but no more regard was paid to him than to us. More were continually joining them, and, except two or three old men, not one unarmed. In short, everything conspired to make us believe they meant to attack us as soon as we should be on shore; the consequence of which was easily supposed; many of them must have been killed and wounded, and we should hardly have escaped unhurt; two things I equally wished to prevent. Since, therefore, they would not give us the room we required, I thought it was better to frighten them into it, than to oblige them by the deadly effect of our fire-arms. I accordingly ordered a musket to be fired over the party on our right, which was by far the strongest body; but the alarm it gave them was momentary. In an instant they recovered themselves, and began to display their weapons. One fellow showed us his backside, in a manner which plainly

conveyed his meaning. After this I ordered three or four muskets to be fired. This was the signal for the ship to fire a few great guns, which presently dispersed them; and then we landed, and marked out the limits, on the right and left, by a line. Our old friend stood his ground, though deserted by his two companions, and I rewarded his confidence with a present. The natives came gradually to us, seemingly in a more friendly manner; some even without their weapons, but by far the greatest part brought them; and when we made signs to lay them down, they gave us to understand that we must lay down ours first. Thus all parties stood armed. The presents I made to the old people, and to such as seemed to be of consequence, had little effect on their conduct. They indeed climbed the cocoa-nut trees, and threw us down the nuts, without requiring any thing for them; but I took care that they should always have somewhat in return. I observed that many were afraid to touch what belonged to us; and they seemed to have no notion of exchanging one thing for another. I took the old man, whose name we now found to be Paowang, to the woods, and made him understand I wanted to cut down some trees to take on board the ship; cutting some down at the same time, which we put into one of our boats, together with a few small casks of water, with a view of letting the people see what it was we chiefly wanted. Paowang very readily gave his consent to cut wood; nor was there any one who made the least objection. He only desired the cocoa-nut trees might not be cut down. Matters being thus settled, we embarked and returned on board to dinner, and immediately after they all dispersed. I never learnt that any one was hurt by our shot, either on this or the preceding day; which was a very happy circumstance. In the afternoon, having landed again, we loaded the launch with water, and having made three hauls with the seine, caught upwards of three hundred pounds of mullet and other fish. It was some time before any of the natives appeared, and not above twenty or thirty at last, amongst whom was our trusty friend Paowang, who made us a present of a small pig, which was the only one we got at this isle, or that was offered us.

During the night, the volcano, which was about four miles to the west of us, vomited up vast quantities of fire and smoke, as it had also done the night before; and the flames were seen to rise above the hill which lay between us and it. At every eruption, it made a long rumbling noise like that of thunder, or the blowing up of large mines. A heavy shower of rain, which fell at this time, seemed to increase it; and the wind blowing from the same quarter, the air was loaded with its ashes, which fell so thick that every thing was covered with the dust. It was a kind of fine sand or stone, ground or burnt to powder, and was exceedingly troublesome to the eyes.

Early in the morning of the 7th, the natives began again to assemble near the watering-place, armed as usual, but not in such numbers as at first. After breakfast we landed, in order to cut wood and fill water. I found many of the islanders much inclined to be friends with us, especially the old people; on the other hand, most of the younger were daring and insolent, and obliged us to keep to our arms. I staid till I saw no disturbance was like to happen, and then returned to the ship, leaving the party under the command of Lieutenants Clerke and Edgcumbe. When they came on board to dinner, they informed me that the people continued to behave in the same inconsistent manner as in the morning; but more especially one man, whom Mr. Edgcumbe was obliged to fire at, and believed he had struck with a swan-shot. After that, the others behaved with more discretion; and as soon as our people embarked, they all retired. While we were sitting at dinner, an old man came on board, looked into many parts of the ship, and then went ashore again.

In the afternoon, only a few of those who lived in the neighbourhood, with whom we were now upon a tolerable footing, made their appearance at the watering-place. Paowang brought us an axe which had been left by our people, either in the woods or on the beach, and found by some of the native. A few other articles were afterwards returned to us which either they had stolen, or we had lost by our negligence. So careful were they now not to offend us in this respect. Early the next morning I sent the launch, protected by a party of marines in another boat, to take in Ballast, which we wanted. This work was done before breakfast; and after it, she was sent for wood and water, and with her the people employed in the service under the protection of a serjeant's guard, which was now

thought sufficient, as the natives seemed to be pretty well reconciled to us. I was told, that they asked our people to go home with them, on condition they stripped naked as they were. This shows that they had no design to rob them, whatever other they might have.

On the 9th, I sent the launch for more ballast, and the guard and wooders to the usual place. With these I went myself, and found a good many of the natives collected together, whose behaviour, though armed, was courteous and obliging; so that there was no longer any occasion to mark out the limits by a line; they observed them without this precaution. As it was necessary for Mr. Wales's instruments to remain on shore all the middle of the day, the guard did not return to dinner, as they had done before, till relieved by others. When I came off, I prevailed on a young man, whose name was Wha-a-gou, to accompany me. Before dinner I showed him every part of the ship; but did not observe that any one thing fixed his attention a moment, or caused in him the least surprise. He had no knowledge of goats, dogs, or cats, calling them all hogs (*Booga* or *Boogas*). I made him a present of a dog and a bitch, as he showed a liking to that kind of animal. Soon after he came on board, some of his friends followed in a canoe, and inquired for him, probably doubtful of his safety. He looked out of the quarter-gallery, and having spoken to them, they went ashore, and quickly returned with a cock, a little sugar-cane, and a few cocoa-nuts, as a present to me. Though he sat down with us, he did but just taste our salt pork, but ate pretty heartily of yam, and drank a glass of wine. After dinner I made him presents, and then conducted him ashore.

As soon as we landed, the youth and some of his friends took me by the hand with a view, as I understood, to conduct me to their habitations. We had not gone far, before some of them, for what reason I know not, were unwilling I should proceed; in consequence of which the whole company stopped; and, if I was not mistaken, a person was despatched for something or other to give me; for I was desired to sit down and wait, which I accordingly did. During this interval, several of our gentlemen passed us, at which they showed great uneasiness, and importuned me so much to order them back, that I was at last obliged to comply. They were jealous of our going up the country, or even along the shore of the harbour. While I was waiting here, our friend Paowang came with a present of fruit and roots, carried by about twenty men; in order, as I supposed, to make it appear the greater. One had a small bunch of plantains, another a yam, a third a cocoa-nut, &c.: but two men might have carried the whole with ease. This present was in return for something I had given him in the morning; however, I thought the least I could do now was to pay the porters. After I had despatched Paowang, I returned to Wha-a-gou and his friends, who were still for detaining me. They seemed to wait with great impatience for something, and to be unwilling and ashamed to take away the two dogs, without making me a return. As night was approaching, I pressed to be gone; with which they complied, and so we parted.

The preceding day, Mr. Forster learnt from the people the proper name of the island, which they call Tanna; and this day I learnt from them the names of those in the neighbourhood. The one we touched at last is called Erromango *; the small isle which we discovered the morning we landed here, Immer; the Table Island to the east, discovered at the same time, Erronan or Foottoona; and an island which lies to the S.E. Annattom. All these islands are to be seen from Tanna.

They gave us to understand, in a manner which I thought admitted of no doubt, that they eat human flesh, and that circumcision was practised among them. They began the subject of eating human flesh of their own accord, by asking us if we did; otherwise I

* It was at this island that the well-known missionary John Williams lost his life in 1839, in a fray occasioned by a misunderstanding with the natives. This excellent and indefatigable minister of the Gospel was bred a smith; but notwithstanding the disadvantages of his early life, his zeal and energy enabled him to surmount those difficulties, and not only to qualify himself for a preacher, but to attain considerable skill in other branches of knowledge, which under the guidance of the strong common sense which was his peculiar characteristic, rendered him one of the most efficient instructors of the heathen that has ever adventured upon that difficult task. His work, entitled "Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands," is not only interesting from its immediate subject, but is attractive from its plain and nervous style, and from the variety of information it contains. The notices on the language and races of the inhabitants are very valuable.—Ed.

should never have thought of asking them such a question. I have heard people argue that no nation could be cannibals, if they had other flesh to eat, or did not want food; thus deriving the custom from necessity. The people of this island can be under no such necessity; they have fine pork and fowls, and plenty of roots and fruits. But since we have not actually seen them eat human flesh, it will admit of doubt with some, whether they are cannibals.

When I got on board, I learnt that, when the launch was on the west side of the harbour taking in ballast, one of the men employed on this work had scalded his fingers in taking a stone up out of some water. This circumstance produced the discovery of several hot springs at the foot of the cliff, and rather below high-water mark. This day, Mr. Wales and two or three of the officers advanced a little, for the first time, into the island. They met with a straggling village, the inhabitants of which treated them with great civility; and the next morning, Mr. Forster and his party, and some others, made another excursion inland. They met with several fine plantations of plantains, sugar-canes, yams, &c.; and the natives were courteous and civil. Indeed, by this time, the people, especially those in our neighbourhood, were so well reconciled to us, that they showed not the least dislike at our rambling about in the skirts of the woods, shooting, &c. In the afternoon, some boys having got behind thickets, and having thrown two or three stones at our people, who were cutting wood, they were fired at by the petty officers present on duty. Being ashore at the time, I was alarmed at hearing the report of the muskets, and seeing two or three boys run out of the wood. When I knew the cause, I was much displeased at so wanton a use being made of our fire-arms, and took measures to prevent it for the future.

VIEW IN THE ISLAND OF TANNA.

Wind southerly, with heavy showers of rain. During the night, and also all the 11th, the volcano was exceedingly troublesome, and made a terrible noise, throwing up prodigious columns of fire and smoke at each explosion, which happened every three or four minutes; and at one time, great stones were seen high in the air. Besides the necessary work of wooding and watering, we struck the maintopmast to fix new trestle-trees and back-stays. Mr. Forster and his party went up the hill on the west side of the harbour, where he found three places from whence smoke of a sulphureous smell issued, through cracks or fissures in the earth. The ground about these was exceedingly hot, and parched or burnt, and they seemed to keep pace with the volcano,

for at every explosion of the latter, the quantity of smoke or steam in these was greatly increased, and forced out so as to rise in small columns, which we saw from the ship, and had taken for common fires made by the natives. At the foot of this hill are the hot springs before mentioned. In the afternoon Mr. Forster, having begun his botanical researches on the other side of the harbour, fell in with our friend Paowang's house, where he saw most of the articles I had given him, hanging on the adjoining trees and bushes, as if they were not worthy of being under his roof.

On the 12th, some of the officers accompanied Mr. Forster to the hot places he had been at the preceding day. A thermometer placed in a little hole made in one of them rose from 80, at which it stood in the open air, to 170. Several other parts of the hill emitted smoke or steam all the day, and the volcano was unusually furious, insomuch that the air was loaded with its ashes. The rain which fell at this time was a compound of water, sand, and earth; so that it properly might be called showers of mire. Whichever way the wind was, we were plagued with the ashes; unless it blew very strong indeed from the opposite direction. Notwithstanding the natives seemed well enough satisfied with the few expeditions we had made in the neighbourhood, they were unwilling we should extend them farther. As a proof of this, some undertook to guide the gentlemen, when they were in the country, to a place where they might see the mouth of the volcano. They very readily embraced the offer, and were conducted down to the harbour before they perceived the cheat.

The 13th, wind at N.E., gloomy weather. The only thing worthy of note this day was, that Paowang being at dinner with us on board, I took the opportunity to show him several parts of the ship, and various articles, in hopes of finding out something which they might value, and be induced to take from us in exchange for refreshments; for what we got of this kind was trifling. But he looked on everything that was shown him with the utmost indifference; nor did he take notice of any one thing except a wooden sand-box, which he seemed to admire, and turned two or three times over in his hand.

Next morning, after breakfast, a party of us set out for the country, to try if we could not get a nearer and better view of the volcano. We went by the way of one of those hot smoking places before mentioned, and dug a hole in the hottest part, into which a thermometer of Fahrenheit's construction was put; and the mercury presently rose to 100°. It remained in the hole two minutes and a half without either rising or falling The earth about this place was a kind of white clay, had a sulphureous smell, and was soft and wet, the surface only excepted, over which was spread a thin dry crust, that had upon it some sulphur, and a vitriolic substance, tasting like alum. The place affected by the heat was not above eight or ten yards square; and near it were some fig-trees, which spread their branches over a part of it, and seemed to like their situation. We thought that this extraordinary heat was caused by the steam of boiling water, strongly impregnated with sulphur. I was told that some of the other places were larger than this; though we did not go out of the road to look at them, but proceeded up the hill through a country so covered with trees, shrubs, and plants, that the bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees, which seem to have been planted here by nature, were in a manner choked up. Here and there we met with a house, some few people, and plantations. These latter we found in different states; some of long standing, others lately cleared, and some only clearing, and before anything had been planted. The clearing a piece of ground for a plantation seemed to be a work of much labour considering the tools they had to work with, which, though much inferior to those at the Society Isles, are of the same kind. Their method is, however, judicious, and as expeditious as it can well be. They lop off the small branches of the large trees, dig under the roots, and there burn the branches and small shrubs and plants which they root up. The soil in some parts is a rich black mould; in other parts it seemed to be composed of decayed vegetables and of the ashes the volcano sends forth throughout all its neighbourhood. Happening to turn out of the common path, we came into a plantation, where we found a man at work, who, either out of good-nature, or to get us the sooner out of his territories, under-

took to be our guide. We followed him accordingly, but had not gone far before we came to the junction of two roads, in one of which stood another man with a sling and a stone, which he thought proper to lay down when a musket was pointed at him. The attitude in which we found him, the ferocity appearing in his looks, and his behaviour after, convinced us that he meant to defend the path he stood in. He in some measure gained his point; for our guide took the other road, and we followed; but not without suspecting he was leading us out of the common way. The other man went with us likewise, counting us several times over, and hallooing, as we judged, for assistance; for we were presently joined by two or three more, among whom was a young woman with a club in her hand. By these people we were conducted to the brow of a hill, and shown a road leading down to the harbour, which they wanted us to take. Not choosing to comply, we returned to that we had left, which we pursued alone, our guide refusing to go with us. After ascending another ridge, as thickly covered with wood as those we had come over, we saw yet other hills between us and the volcano, which seemed as far off as at our first setting out. This discouraged us from proceeding farther, especially as we could get no one to be our guide. We therefore came to a resolution to return; and had but just put this in execution, when we met between twenty and thirty people, whom the fellow before mentioned had collected together, with a design, as we judged, to oppose our advancing into the country; but as they saw us returning, they suffered us to pass unmolested. Some of them put us into the right road, accompanied us down the hill, made us stop by the way to entertain us with cocoa-nuts, plantains, and sugar-cane; and what we did not eat on the spot they brought down the hill with us. Thus, we found these people hospitable, civil, and good-natured, when not prompted to a contrary conduct by jealousy; a conduct I cannot tell how to blame them for, especially when I consider the light in which they must view us. It was impossible for them to know our real design; we enter their ports without their daring to oppose; we endeavour to land in their country as friends, and it is well if this succeeds; we land nevertheless, and maintain the footing we have got, by the superiority of our fire-arms. Under such circumstances, what opinion are they to form of us? Is it not as reasonable for them to think that we come to invade their country, as to pay them a friendly visit? Time, and some acquaintance with us, can only convince them of the latter. These people are yet in a rude state; and, if we may judge from circumstances and appearances, are frequently at war, not only with their neighbours, but among themselves; consequently must be jealous of every new face. I will allow there are some exceptions to this rule to be found in this sea; but there are few nations who would willingly suffer visitors like us to advance far into their country

BREAD-FRUIT TREE.

In the evening I took a walk, with some of the gentlemen, into the country on the other side of the harbour, where we had very different treatment from what we had met with in

the morning. The people we now visited, among whom was our friend Paowang, being better acquainted with us, showed a readiness to oblige us in everything in their power. We came to the village which had been visited on the 9th. It consisted of about twenty houses, the most of which need no other description than comparing them to the roof of a thatched house in England taken off the walls and placed on the ground. Some were open at both ends, others partly closed with reeds; and all were covered with palm thatch. A few of them were thirty or forty feet long, and fourteen or sixteen broad. Besides these, they have other mean hovels, which, I conceived, were only to sleep in. Some of these stood in a plantation, and I was given to understand that in one of them lay a dead corpse. They made signs that described sleep, or death; and circumstances pointed out the latter. Curious to see all I could, I prevailed on an elderly man to go with me to the hut, which was separated from the others by a reed fence, built quite round it, at the distance of four or five feet. The entrance was by a space in the fence, made so low as to admit one to step over. The two sides and one end of the hut were closed or built up in the same manner, and with the same materials, as the roof. The other end had been open, but was now well closed up with mats, which I could not prevail on the man to remove, or suffer me to do it. There hung at this end of the hut a matted bag or basket, in which was a piece of roasted yam, and some sort of leaves, all quite fresh. I had a strong desire to see the inside of the hut, but the man was peremptory in refusing this, and even showed an unwillingness to permit me to look into the basket. He wore round his neck, fastened to a string, two or three locks of human hair; and a woman present had several about her neck. I offered something in exchange for them; but they gave me to understand they could not part with them, as it was the hair of the person who lay in the hut. Thus I was led to believe that these people dispose of their dead in a manner similar to that of Otaheite. The same custom of wearing the hair is observed by the people of that island, and also by the New Zealanders. The former make *Tamau* of the hair of their deceased friends, and the latter make ear-rings and necklaces of their teeth.

Near most of their large houses were fixed upright in the ground the stems of four cocoa-nut trees, in a square position, about three feet from each other. Some of our gentlemen, who first saw them, were inclined to believe they were thus placed on a religious account; but I was now satisfied that it was for no other purpose but to hang cocoa-nuts on to dry. For when I asked, as well as I could, the use of them, a man took me to one, loaded with cocoa-nuts from the bottom to the top; and no words could have informed me better. Their situation is well chosen for this use, as most of their large houses are built in an open airy place, or where the wind has a free passage, from whatever direction it blows. Near most, if not all of them, is a large tree or two, whose spreading branches afford an agreeable retreat from the scorching sun. This part of the island was well cultivated, open, and airy; the plantations were laid out by line, abounding with plantains, sugar-canes, yams, and other roots, and stocked with fruit-trees. In our walk we met with our old friend Paowang, who, with some others, accompanied us to the water-side, and brought with them, as a present, a few yams and cocoa-nuts.

On the 15th, having finished wooding and watering, a few hands only were on shore making brooms, the rest being employed on board, setting up the rigging, and putting the ship in a condition for sea. Mr. Forster, in his botanical excursion this day, shot a pigeon, in the craw of which was a wild nutmeg. He took some pains to find the tree, but his endeavours were without success. In the evening a party of us walked to the eastern sea-shore, in order to take the bearing of Annatom, and Erronan or Foottoona. The horizon proved so hazy that I could see neither; but one of the natives gave me, as I afterwards found, the true direction of them. We observed that in all, or most of their sugar plantations, were dug holes or pits, four feet deep, and five or six in diameter; and on our inquiring their use, we were given to understand that they caught rats in them. These animals, which are very destructive to the canes, are here in great plenty. The canes, I observed, were planted as thick as possible round the edge of these pits, so that the rats in coming at them are the more liable to tumble in.

RATS AND TRAP.

Next morning we found the tiller sprung in the rudder-head, and, by some strange neglect, we had not a spare one on board, which we were ignorant of till now it was wanting. It knew but of one tree in the neighbourhood fit for this purpose, which I sent the carpenter on shore to look at, and an officer, with a party of men, to cut it down, provided he could obtain leave of the natives; if not, he was ordered to acquaint me. He understood that no one had any objection, and set the people to work accordingly. But as the tree was large, this required some time; and before it was down, word was brought me that our friend Paowang was not pleased. Upon this I gave orders to desist, as we found that, by scarfing a piece to the inner end of the tiller, and letting it farther into the rudder-head, it would still perform its office. But as it was necessary to have a spare one on board, I went on shore, sent for Paowang, made him a present of a dog and a piece of cloth, and then explained to him that our great steering paddle was broken, and that I wanted that tree to make a new one. It was easy to see how well pleased every one present was with the means I took to obtain it. With one voice they gave their consent, Paowang joining his also, which he perhaps could not have done without the others; for I do not know that he had either more property or more authority than the rest. This point being obtained, I took our friend on board to dinner, and after it was over went with him on shore, to pay a visit to an old chief, who was said to be king of the island, which was a doubt with me. Paowang took little or no notice of him. I made him a present, after which he immediately went away, as if he had got all he came for. His name was Geogy, and they gave him the title of *Areeke*. He was very old, but had a merry, open countenance. He wore round his waist a broad red and white checkered belt, the materials and manufacture of which seemed the same as that of Otaheite cloth; but this was hardly a mark of distinction. He had with him a son, not less than forty-five or fifty years of age. A great number of people were at this time at the landing-place; most of them from distant parts. The behaviour of many was friendly, while others were daring and insolent, which I thought proper to put up with, as our stay was nearly at an end.

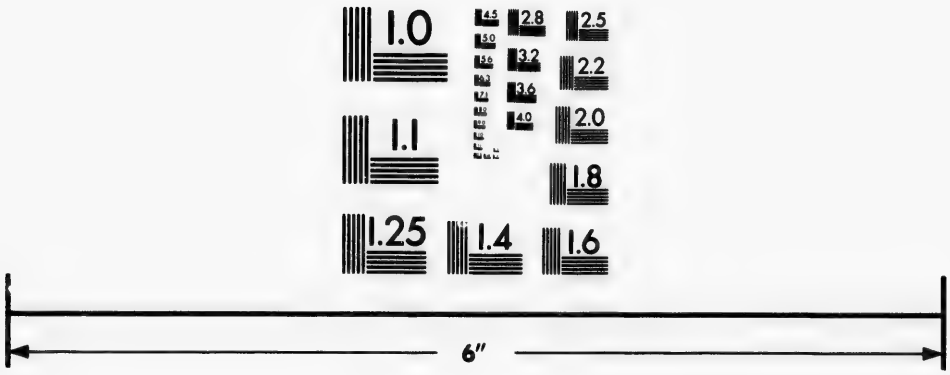
On the 17th, about ten o'clock, I went ashore, and found in the crowd old Geogy and his son, who soon made me understand that they wanted to dine with me; and accordingly I brought them and two more on board. They all called them *Areekees* (or kings); but I doubt if any of them had the least pretensions to that title over the whole island. It had been remarked that one of these kings had not authority enough to order one of the people up into a cocoa-nut tree to bring him down some nuts. Although he spoke to several, he was at last obliged to go himself, and by way of revenge, as it was thought, left not a nut on the

tree, taking what he wanted himself, and giving the rest to some of our people. When I got them on board, I went with them all over the ship, which they viewed with uncommon surprise and attention. We happened to have for their entertainment a kind of pie or pudding made of plantains, and some sort of greens which we had got from one of the natives. On this, and on yams, they made a hearty dinner; for as to the salt beef and pork, they would hardly taste them. In the afternoon, having made each of them a present of a hatchet, a spike-nail, and some medals, I conducted them ashore.

Mr. Forster and I then went over to the other side of the harbour, and having tried, with Fahrenheit's thermometer, the head of one of the hot springs, we found that the mercury rose to 191°. At this time the tide was up within two or three feet of the spring, so that we judged it might, in some degree, be cooled by it. We were mistaken, however; for, on repeating the experiment next morning, when the tide was out, the mercury rose no higher than 187°; but at another spring, where the water bubbled out of the sand from under the rock at the S.W. corner of the harbour, the mercury, in the same thermometer, rose to 202½°, which is but little colder than boiling water. The hot places before mentioned are from about three to four hundred feet perpendicular above these springs, and on the slope of the same ridge with the volcano; that is, there are no valleys between them but such as are formed in the ridge itself; nor is the volcano on the highest part of the ridge, but on the S.E. side of it. This is, I have been told, contrary to the general opinion of philosophers, who say that volcanoes must be on the summits of the highest hills. So far is this from being the case on this island, that some of its hills are more than double the height of that on which the volcano is, and close to it. To these remarks I must add, that, in wet or moist weather, the volcano was most violent. There seems to be room for some philosophical reasoning on these phenomena of nature; but not having any talent that way, I must content myself with stating facts as I found them, and leave the causes to men of more abilities.

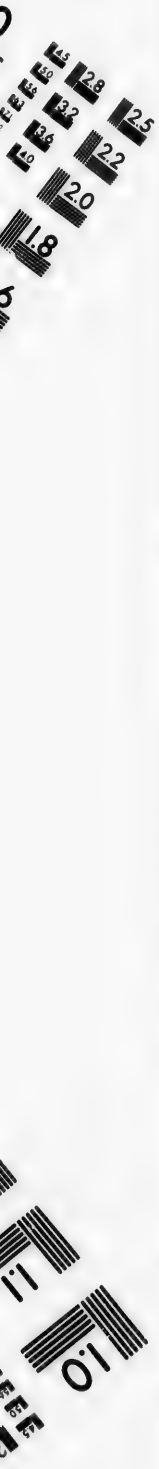
The tiller was now finished; but as the wind was unfavourable for sailing, the guard was sent on shore on the 19th, as before, and a party of men to cut up and bring off the remainder of the tree from which we had got the tiller. Having nothing else to do, I went on shore with them, and finding a good number of the natives collected about the landing-place as usual, I distributed among them all the articles I had with me, and then went on board for more. In less than an hour I returned, just as our people were getting some large logs into the boat. At the same time four or five of the natives stepped forward to see what we were about, and as we did not allow them to come within certain limits, unless to pass along the beach, the sentry ordered them back, which they readily complied with. At this time, having my eyes fixed on them, I observed the sentry present his piece (as I thought at these men), and was just going to reprove him for it, because I had observed that, whenever this was done, some of the natives would hold up their arms, to let us see they were equally ready. But I was astonished beyond measure when the sentry fired, for I saw not the least cause. At this outrage most of the people fled: it was only a few I could prevail on to remain. As they ran off, I observed one man to fall; and he was immediately lifted up by two others, who took him into the water, washed his wound, and then led him off. Presently after, some came and described to me the nature of his wound; and, as I found he was not carried far, I sent for the surgeon. As soon as he arrived, I went with him to the man, whom we found expiring. The ball had struck his left arm, which was much shattered, and then entered his body by the short ribs, one of which was broken. The rascal who fired pretended that a man had laid an arrow across his bow, and was going to shoot at him, so that he apprehended himself in danger. But this was no more than they had always done, and with no other view than to show they were armed as well as we; at least I have reason to think so, as they never went farther. What made this incident the more unfortunate, was, it not appearing to be the man who bent the bow that was shot, but one who stood by him. This affair threw the natives into the utmost consternation; and the few that were prevailed on to stay ran to the plantations and brought cocoa-nuts, &c. which they laid down at our feet So soon were these daring people humbled! When I went on board to dinner they all retired, and only a few appeared in the afternoon, amongst whom were Paowang and Wha-a-gou. I had not seen this young man since the day he dined on board. Both he and Paowang promised to bring me fruit, &c. the next morning, but our early departure put it out of their power.

IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)



Photographic
Sciences
Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503


2.8
2.5
3.2
3.6
2.2
2.0
1.8
1.1
1.0

CHAPTER VI.—DEPARTURE FROM TANNA; WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF ITS INHABITANTS, THEIR MANNERS, AND ARTS.

During the night the wind had veered round to S.E. As this was favourable for getting out of the harbour, at four o'clock in the morning of the 20th we began to unmoor, and at eight, having weighed our last anchor, put to sea. As soon as we were clear of the land, I brought to, waiting for the launch which was left behind to take up a kedge-anchor and hawser we had out, to cast by. About day-break a noise was heard in the woods, nearly abreast of us, on the east side of the harbour, not unlike singing of psalms. I was told that the like had been heard at the same time every morning, but it never came to my knowledge till now, when it was too late to learn the occasion of it. Some were of opinion, that at the east point of the harbour (where we observed, in coming in, some houses, boats, &c.) was something sacred to religion, because some of our people had attempted to go to this point, and were prevented by the natives. I thought, and do still think, it was only owing to a desire they showed, on every occasion, of fixing bounds to our excursions. So far as we had once been, we might go again, but not farther with their consent; but by encroaching a little every time, our country expeditions were insensibly extended without giving the least umbrage Besides, these morning ceremonies, whether religious or not, were not performed down at that point, but in a part where some of our people had been daily.

I cannot say what might be the true cause of these people showing such dislike to our going up into their country: it might be owing to a naturally jealous disposition, or perhaps to their being accustomed to hostile visits from their neighbours, or quarrels among themselves. Circumstances seemed to show that such must frequently happen; for we observed them very expert in arms, and well accustomed to them, seldom or never travelling without them. It is possible all this might be on our account, but I hardly think it. We never gave them the least molestation, nor did we touch any part of their property, not even the wood and water, without first having obtained their consent. The very cocoa-nuts, hanging over the heads of the workmen, were as safe as those in the middle of the island. It happened, rather fortunately, that there were so many cocoa-nut trees near the skirts of the harbour, which seemed not to be private property; so that we could generally prevail on the natives to bring us some of these nuts, when nothing would induce them to bring any out of the country.

We were not wholly without refreshments; for besides the fish, which our seine now and then provided us with, we procured daily some fruits or roots from the natives, though but little in proportion to what we could consume. The reason why we got no more might be our having nothing to give them in exchange which they thought valuable. They had not the least knowledge of iron; consequently, nails and iron tools, beads, &c., which had so great a run at the more eastern isles, were of no consideration here; and cloth can be of no use to people who go naked.

The produce of this island is bread-fruit, plantains, cocoa-nuts, a fruit like a nectarine, yams, terra, a sort of potatoe, sugar-cane, wild figs, a fruit like an orange, which is not eatable, and some other fruit and nuts whose names I have not. Nor have I any doubt that the nutmeg before mentioned was the produce of this island. The bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and plantains: are neither so plentiful nor so good as at Otaheite; on the other hand, sugar-canes and yams are not only in greater plenty, but of superior quality, and much larger. We got one of the latter which weighed fifty-six pounds, every ounce of which was good. Hogs did not seem to be scarce, but we saw not many fowls: these are the only domestic animals they have. Land-birds are not more numerous than at Otaheite and the other islands; but we met with some small birds, with a very beautiful plumage, which we had never seen before. There is as great a variety of trees and plants here as at any island we touched at, where our botanists had time to examine. I believe these people live chiefly on the produce of the land, and that the sea contributes but little to their subsistence. Whether this arises from the coast not abounding with fish, or from their being bad fishermen, I know not; both

causes perhaps concur. I never saw any sort of fishing-tackle amongst them, nor any one out fishing, except on the shoals, or along the shores of the harbour, where they would watch to strike with a dart such fish as came within their reach; and in this they were expert. They seemed much to admire our catching fish with the seine, and, I believe, were not well pleased with it at last. I doubt not they have other methods of catching fish besides striking them.

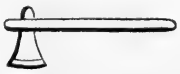
We understood that the little isle of Immer was chiefly inhabited by fishermen, and that the canoes we frequently saw pass, to and from that isle and the east point of the harbour, were fishing-canoes. These canoes were of unequal sizes, some thirty feet long, two broad, and three deep; and they are composed of several pieces of wood clumsily sewed together with bandages. The joints are covered on the outside by a thin batten champhered off at the edges, over which the bandages pass. They are navigated either by paddles or sails: the sail is latteen, extended to a yard and boom, and hoisted to a short mast. Some of the large canoes have two sails, and all of them outriggers.

At first we thought the people of this island, as well as those of Erromango, were a race between the natives of the Friendly Islands and those of Mallicollo; but a little acquaintance with them convinced us that they had little or no affinity to either, except it be in their hair, which is much like what the people of the latter island have. The general colours of it are black and brown, growing to a tolerable length, and very crisp and curly. They separate it into small locks, which they woold or cue round with the rind of a slender plant, down to about an inch of the ends; and, as the hair grows, the woolding is continued. Each of these cues or locks is somewhat thicker than common whipcord, and they look like a parcel of small strings hanging down from the crown of their heads. Their beards, which are strong and bushy, are generally short. The women do not wear their hair so, but cropped; nor do the boys, till they approach manhood. Some few men, women, and children were seen who had hair like ours; but it was obvious that these were of another nation; and I think we understood they came from Erronan. It is to this island they ascribe one of the two languages which they speak, and which is nearly, if not exactly, the same as that spoken at the Friendly Isles. It is, therefore, more than probable that Erronan was peopled from that nation, and that, by long intercourse with Tanna and the other neighbouring islands, each hath learnt the other's language, which they use indiscriminately. The other language which the people of Tanna speak, and, as we understood, those of Erromango and Annattom, is properly their own. It is different from any we had before met with, and bears no affinity to that of Mallicollo; so that, it should seem, the people of these islands are a distinct nation of themselves. Mallicollo, Apee, &c., were names entirely unknown to them; they even knew nothing of Sandwich Island, which is much the nearer. I took no small pains to know how far their geographical knowledge extended, and did not find that it exceeded the limits of their horizon.

These people are of the middle size, rather slender than otherwise; many are little, but few tall or stout; the most of them have good features, and agreeable countenances; are like all the tropical race, active and nimble; and seem to excel in the use of arms, but not to be fond of labour. They never would put a hand to assist in any work we were carrying on, which the people of the other islands used to delight in. But what I judge most from, is their making the females do the most laborious work, as if they were pack-horses. I have seen a woman carrying a large bundle on her back, or a child on her back and a bundle under her arm, and a fellow strutting before her with nothing but a club or spear, or some such thing. We have frequently observed little troops of women pass, to and fro, along the beach, laden with fruit and roots, escorted by a party of men under arms; though, now and then, we have seen a man carry a burden at the same time, but not often. I know not on what account this was done, nor that an armed troop was necessary. At first, we thought they were moving out of the neighbourhood with their effects; but we afterwards saw them both carry out and bring in every day.

I cannot say the women are beauties; but I think them handsome enough for the men, and too handsome for the use that is made of them. Both sexes are of a very dark colour, but not black; nor have they the least characteristic of the negro about them. They make themselves blacker than they really are, by painting their faces with a pigment of the colour

of black lead. They also use another sort which is red, and a third sort brown, or a colour between red and black. All these, but especially the first, they lay on, with a liberal hand, not only on the face, but on the neck, shoulders, and breast. The men wear nothing but a belt, and the wrapping leaf as at Mallicollo *. The women have a kind of petticoat made of the filaments of the plantain-tree, flags, or some such thing, which reaches below the knee. Both sexes wear ornaments, such as bracelets, ear-rings, necklaces, and amulets. The bracelets are chiefly worn by the men; some made of sea-shells, and others of those of the cocoa-nut. The men also wear amulets; and those of most value being made of a greenish stone, the green stone of New Zealand is valued by them for this purpose. Necklaces are chiefly used by the women, and made mostly of shells. Ear-rings are common to both sexes, and those valued most are made of tortoise-shell. Some of our people having got some at the Friendly Islands, brought it to a good market here, where it was of more value than anything we had besides; from which I conclude that these people catch but few turtle, though I saw one in the harbour, just as we were getting under sail. I observed that, towards the latter end of our stay, they began to ask for hatchets, and large nails; so that it is likely they had found that iron is more serviceable than stone or shells, of which all their tools I have seen are made. Their stone hatchets, at least all those I saw, are not in the shape of adzes, as at the other islands, but more like an axe, in the form conjoined. In the helve, which is pretty thick, is made a hole into which the stone is fixed.



These people, besides the cultivation of ground, have few other arts worth mentioning. They know how to make a coarse kind of matting, and a coarse cloth of the bark of a tree, which is used chiefly for belts. The workmanship of their canoes, I have before observed, is very rude; and their arms, with which they take the most pains in point of neatness, come far short of some others we had seen. Their weapons are clubs, spears, or darts, bows and arrows, and stones. The clubs are of three or four kinds, and from three to five feet long. They seem to place most dependence on the darts, which are pointed with three bearded edges. In throwing them they make use of a becket, that is, a piece of stiff plaited cord about six inches long, with an eye in one end and a knot at the other. The eye is fixed on the fore-finger of the right hand, and the other end is hitched round the dart, where it is nearly on an equipoise. They hold the dart between the thumb and remaining fingers, which serve only to give it direction, the velocity being communicated by the becket and fore-finger. The former flies off from the dart the instant its velocity becomes greater than that of the hand, but it remains on the finger ready to be used again. With darts they kill both birds and fish, and are sure of hitting a mark, within the compass of the crown of a hat, at the distance of eight or ten yards; but, at double that distance, it is chance if they hit a mark the size of a man's body, though they will throw the weapon sixty or seventy yards. They always throw with all their might, let the distance be what it will. Darts, bows and arrows, are to them what muskets are to us. The arrows are made of reeds pointed with hard wood: some are bearded and some not, and those for shooting birds have two, three, and sometimes four points. The stones they use are, in general, the branches of coral rocks from eight to fourteen inches long, and from an inch to an inch and a half in diameter. I know not if they employ them as missive weapons; almost every one of them carries a club, and besides that, either darts, or a bow and arrows, but never both: those who had stones kept them generally in their belts.

I cannot conclude this account of their arms without adding an entire passage out of Mr. Wales's journal. As this gentleman was continually on shore amongst them, he had a better opportunity of seeing what they could perform than any of us. The passage is as follows: "I must confess I have been often led to think the feats which Homer represents his heroes as performing with their spears a little too much of the marvellous to be admitted into an heroic poem; I mean when confined within the strait stays of Aristotle. Nay, even so great an advocate for him as Mr. Pope acknowledges them to be *surprising*. But since I have seen what these people can do with their wooden spears, and those badly pointed, and not of a very hard nature, I have not the least exception to any one passage in that great

* See note p. 499.

poet on this account. But, if I see fewer exceptions, I can find infinitely more beauties in him; as he has, I think, scarce an action, circumstance, or description of any kind whatever, relating to a spear, which I have not seen and recognised among these people; as their whirling motion, and whistling noise, as they fly; their quivering motion, as they stick in the ground when they fall; their meditating their aim, when they are going to throw; and their shaking them in their hand as they go along, &c. &c."

I know no more of their cookery, than that it consists of roasting and baking; for they have no vessel in which water can be boiled. Nor do I know that they have any other liquor but water and the juice of the cocoa-nut. We are utter strangers to their religion, and but little acquainted with their government. They seem to have chiefs among them; at least some were pointed out to us by that title; but, as I before observed, they appeared to have very little authority over the rest of the people. Old Geogy was the only one the people were ever seen to take the least notice of; but whether this was owing to high rank or old age I cannot say. On several occasions I have seen the old men respected and obeyed. Our friend Paowang was so; and yet I never heard him called chief, and have many reasons to believe that he had not a right to any more authority than many of his neighbours, and few, if any, were bound to obey him, or any other person in our neighbourhood; for if there had been such a one, we certainly should, by some means, have known it. I named the harbour Port Resolution, after the ship, she being the first which ever entered it. It is situated on the north side of the most eastern point of the island, and about E.N.E. from the volcano; in the latitude of 19° 32′ 25″ ½ South, and in the longitude of 169° 44′ 35″ East. It is no more than a little creek running in S. by W. ½ W. three quarters of a mile, and is about half that in breadth. A shoal of sand and rocks lying on the east side makes it still narrower. The depth of water in the harbour is from six to three fathoms, and the bottom is sand and mud. No place can be more convenient for taking in wood and water; for both are close to the shore. The water stunk a little after it had been a few days on board, but it afterwards turned sweet; and, even when it was at the worst, the tin machine would, in a few hours, recover a whole cask. This is an excellent contrivance for sweetening water at sea, and is well known in the navy.

Mr. Wales, from whom I had the latitude and longitude, found the variation of the needle to be 7° 14′ 12″ East, and the dip of its south end 45° 2⅓′. He also observed the time of high water, on the full and change days, to be about 5h. 45m., and the tide to rise and fall three feet.

CHAPTER VII.—THE SURVEY OF THE ISLANDS CONTINUED, AND A MORE PARTICULAR DESCRIPTION OF THEM.

As soon as the boats were hoisted in, we made sail, and stretched to the eastward, with a fresh gale at S.E., in order to have a nearer view of Erronan, and to see if there was any land in its neighbourhood. We stood on till midnight, when, having passed the island, we tacked, and spent the remainder of the night making two boards. At sunrise on the 21st, we stood to S.W. in order to get to the south of Tanna, and nearer to Anattom, to observe if any more land lay in that direction; for an extraordinary clear morning had produced no discovery of any to the east. At noon having observed in latitude 20° 33′ 30″, the situation of the lands around us was as follows. Port Resolution bore 86° West, distant six and a half leagues; the island of Tanna extended from S. 88° West, to N. 64° West; Traitor's Head N. 58° West, distant twenty leagues; the island of Erronan N. 86° East, distant five leagues; and Anattom from S. ½ E. to S. ½ W., distant ten leagues. We continued to stretch to the south till two o'clock P.M. when, seeing no more land before us, we bore up round the S.E. end of Tanna; and, with a fine gale at E.S.E., ran along the south coast at one league from shore. It seemed a bold one, without the guard of any rocks; and the country full as fertile as in the neighbourhood of the harbour, and making a fine appearance. At six o'clock the high land of Erromango appeared over the west end of Tanna in the direction of N. 16° West; at eight o'clock we were past the island, and steered N.N.W. for

Sandwich Island, in order to finish the survey * of it, and of the isles to the N.W. On the 22nd, at four o'clock P.M., we drew near the S.E. end, and ranging the south coast, found it to trend in the direction of W. and W.N.W. for about nine leagues. Near the middle of this length, and close to the shore, are three or four small isles, behind which seemed to be a safe anchorage. But not thinking I had any time to spare to visit this fine island, I continued to range the coast to its western extremity, and then steered N.N.W. for the S.E. end of Mallicollo, which, at half past six o'clock next morning, bore N. 14° East, distant seven or eight leagues, and Three-Hills Island S. 82° East. Soon after, we saw the islands Apee, Paoom, and Ambrym. What we had comprehended under the name of Paoom appeared now to be two isles, something like a separation being seen between the hill and the land to the West of it. We approached the S.W. side of Mallicollo to within half a league, and ranged it at that distance. From the S.E. point, the direction of the land is west, a little southerly, for six or seven leagues, and then N.W. by W. three leagues, to a pretty high point or head-land, situated in latitude 16° 29′, and which obtained the name of South-West Cape. The coast, which is low, seemed to be indented into creeks and projecting points; or else, these points were small isles lying under the shore. We were sure of one, which lies between two and three leagues east of the Cape. Close to the west side or point of the Cape lies, connected with it by breakers, a round rock or islet, which helps to shelter a fine bay, formed by an elbow in the coast, from the reigning winds.

The natives appeared in troops on many parts of the shore, and some seemed desirous to come off to us in canoes; but they did not: and, probably, our not shortening sail was the reason. From the South-West Cape, the direction of the coast is N. by W., but the most advanced land bore from it N.W. by N. at which the land seemed to terminate. Continuing to follow the direction of the coast, at noon it was two miles from us; and our latitude, by observation, was 16° 22′ 30″ South. This is nearly the parallel to Port Sandwich, and our never-failing guide, the watch, showed that we were 26′ W. of it; a distance which the breadth of Mallicollo cannot exceed in this parallel. The South-West Cape bore S. 26° East, distant seven miles; and the most advanced point of land, for which we steered, bore N.W. by N. At three o'clock we were the length of it, and found the land continued, and trending more and more to the north. We coasted it to its northern extremity, which we did not reach till after dark, at which time we were near enough the shore to hear the voices of people, who were assembled round a fire they had made on the beach. There we sounded, and found twenty fathoms and a bottom of sand; but, on edging off from the shore, we soon got out of sounding, and then made a trip back to the south till the moon got up. After this we stood again to the north, hauled round the point, and spent the night in Bougainville's passage; being assured of our situation before sunset, by seeing the land, on the north side of the passage, extending as far as N.W. ½ W. The south coast of Mallicollo, from the S.E. end to the S.W. Cape, is luxuriantly clothed with wood, and other productions of nature, from the sea-shore to the very summits of the hills. To the N.W. of the Cape the country is less woody, but more agreeably interspersed with lawns, some of which appeared to be cultivated. The summits of the hills seemed barren; and the highest lies between Port Sandwich and the S.W. Cape. Farther north, the land falls insensibly lower, and is less covered with wood. I believe it is a very fertile island, and well inhabited; for we saw smoke by day, and fire by night, in all parts of it.

Next morning at sunrise, we found ourselves nearly in the middle of the passage, the N.W. end of Mallicollo extending from S. 30° East, to S. 58° West; the land to the north from N. 70° West, to N. 4° East; and the Isle of Lepers bearing N. 30° East, distant eleven or twelve leagues. We now made sail, and steered N. by E., and afterwards north, along the east coast of the northern land, with a fine breeze at S.E. We found that this coast, which at first appeared to be continued, was composed of several low woody isles, the most of them of small extent, except the southernmost, which, on account of the day, I named St. Bartholomew. It is six or seven leagues in circuit, and makes the N.E. point of

* The word Survey is not here to be understood in its literal sense. Surveying a place, according to my idea, is taking a geometrical plan of it, in which every place is to have its true situation, which cannot be done in a work of this nature.

Bougainville's Passage. At noon the breeze began to slacken. We were at this time between two and three miles from the land, and observed, in latitude 15° 23′, the Isle of Lepers bearing from E. by N. to E. by S., distant seven leagues; and a high bluff-head, at which the coast we were upon seemed to terminate, N.N.W. ½ W., distant ten or eleven leagues; but from the mast-head we could see land to the east. This we judged to be an island, and it bore N. by W. ½ W.

As we advanced to N.N.W. along a fine coast covered with woods, we perceived low land that extended off from the bluff-head towards the island above mentioned, but did not seem to join it. It was my intention to have gone through the channel, but the approach of night made me lay it aside, and steer without the island. During the afternoon we passed some small isles lying under the shore, and observed some projecting points of unequal height, but were not able to determine whether or not they were connected with the main land. Behind them was a ridge of hills which terminated at the bluff-head. There were cliffs, in some places of the coast, and white patches, which we judged to be chalk. At ten o'clock, being the length of the isle which lies off the head, we shortened sail, and spent the night making short boards. At daybreak on the 25th, we were on the north side of the island (which is of a moderate height, and three leagues in circuit), and steered west for the bluff-head along the low land under it. At sunrise an elevated coast came in sight beyond the bluff-head, extending to the north as far as N.W. by W. After doubling the head we found the land to trend south, a little easterly, and to form a large, deep bay, bounded on the west by the coast just mentioned.

Everything conspired to make us believe this was the bay of St. Philip and St. Jago, discovered by Quiros in 1606. To determine this point it was necessary to proceed farther up; for at this time we saw no end to it. The wind being at south, we were obliged to ply, and first stretched over for the west shore, from which we were three miles at noon, when our latitude was 14° 55′ 30″ south, longitude 167° 3′ east; the mouth of the bay extending from N. 64° west to S. 86° east, which last direction was the bluff-head, distant three leagues. In the afternoon, the wind veering to the E.S.E., we could look up to the head of the bay; but as the breeze was faint, a N.E. swell hurled us over to the west shore; so that at half-past four o'clock P.M. we were no more than two miles from it, and tacked in one hundred and twenty fathoms water, a soft muddy bottom. The bluff-head, or east point of the bay, bore N. 53° east.

We had no sooner tacked than it fell calm, and we were left to the mercy of the swell, which continued to hurtle us towards the shore, where large troops of people were assembled. Some ventured off in two canoes; but all the signs of friendship we could make did not induce them to come alongside, or near enough to receive any present from us. At last they took sudden fright at something, and returned ashore. They were naked, except having some long grass, like flags, fastened to a belt, and hanging down before and behind, nearly as low as the knee. Their colour was very dark, and their hair woolly; or cut short, which made it seem so. The canoes were small, and had out-riggers. The calm continued till near eight o'clock, in which time we drove into eighty-five fathoms water, and so near the shore that I expected we should be obliged to anchor. A breeze of wind sprung up at E.S.E., and first took us on the wrong side; but, contrary to all our expectations, and when we had hardly room to veer, the ship came about, and having filled on the larboard tack, we stood off N.E. Thus we were relieved from the apprehensions of being forced to anchor in a great depth, on a lee shore, and in a dark and obscure night.

We continued to ply upwards, with variable light breezes between E.S.E. and S., till ten next morning, when it fell calm. We were, at this time, about seven or eight miles from the head of the bay, which is terminated by a low beach; and behind that is an extensive flat covered with wood, and bounded on each side by a ridge of mountains. At noon we found the latitude to be 15° 5′ south, and were detained here by the calm till one o'clock P.M., when we got a breeze at N. by W., with which we steered up to within two miles of the head of the bay; and then I sent Mr. Cooper and Mr. Gilbert to sound and reconnoitre the coast, while we stood to and fro with the ship. This gave time to three sailing canoes which had been following us some time, to come up. There were five or six men in each,

and they approached near enough to receive such things as were thrown to them fastened to a rope, but would not advance alongside. They were the same sort of people as those we had seen the preceding evening; indeed we thought they came from the same place. They seemed to be stouter and better shaped men than those of Mallicollo; and several circumstances concurred to make us think they were of another nation. They named the numerals as far as five or six, in the language of Anamocka, and understood us when we asked the names of the adjacent lands in that language. Some, indeed, had black short frizzled hair, like the natives of Mallicollo; but others had it long, tied up on the crown of the head, and ornamented with feathers, like the New Zealanders. Their other ornaments were bracelets and necklaces; one man had something like a white shell on his forehead; and some were painted with a blackish pigment. I did not see that they had any other weapon but darts and gigs, intended only for striking of fish. Their canoes were much like those of Tanna, and navigated in the same manner, or nearly so. They readily gave us the names of such parts as we pointed to: but we could not obtain from them the name of the island. At length, seeing our boats coming, they paddled in for the shore, notwithstanding all we could say or do to detain them.

When the boats returned, Mr. Cooper informed me, that they had landed on the beach which is at the head of the bay, near a fine river, or stream of fresh water, so large and deep, that they judged boats might enter it at high water. They found three fathoms depth close to the beach, and fifty-five and fifty, two cables' length off. Farther out they did not sound; and where we were with the ship, we had no soundings with a hundred and seventy fathoms line. Before the boats got on board, the wind had shifted to S.S.E. As we were in want of nothing, and had no time to spare, I took the advantage of this shift of wind, and steered down the bay. During the fore-part of the night, the country was illuminated with fires, from the sea-shore to the summits of the mountains; but this was only on the west side of the shore. I cannot pretend to say what was the occasion of these fires, but have no idea of their being on our account. Probably they were burning or clearing the ground for new plantations. At daybreak on the 27th, we found ourselves two-thirds down the bay; and, as we had but little wind, it was noon before we were the length of the N.W. point, which at this time bore N. 82° west, distant five miles. Latitude observed, 14° 39′ 30″.

Some of our gentlemen were doubtful of this being the bay of St. Philip and St. Jago, as there was no place which they thought could mean the port of Vera Cruz. For my part, I found general points to agree so well with Quiros's description, that I had not the least doubt about it. As to what he calls the port of Vera Cruz, I understand that to be the anchorage at the head of the bay, which in some places may extend farther off than where our boats landed. There is nothing in his account of the port which contradicts this supposition*. It was but natural for his people to give a name to the place, independent of so large a bay, where they lay so long at anchor. A port is a vague term, like many others in geography, and has been very often applied to places far less sheltered than this. Our officers observed that grass and other plants grew on the beach close to high-water mark; which is always a sure sign of pacific anchorage, and an undeniable proof that there never is a great surf on the shore. They judged that the tide rose about four or five feet, and that boats and such craft might, at high water, enter the river, which seemed to be pretty deep and broad within; so that this, probably, is one of those mentioned by Quiros; and, if we were not deceived, we saw the other.

The bay hath twenty leagues sea-coast; six on the east side, which lies in the direction of S. ½ west, and N. ½ east; two at the head, and twelve on the west side, the direction of which is S. by E. and N. by W. from the head down to two-thirds of its length, and then N.W. by N. to the N.W. point. The two points which form the entrance lie in the direction of S. 53° east, and N. 53° west, from each other distant ten leagues. The bay is everywhere free from danger, and of unfathomable depth, except near the shores, which are for the most part low. This, however, is only a very narrow strip between the sea-shore and the foot of the hills; for the bay, as well as the flat land at the head of it, is

* See Quiros's Voyage, in Dalrymple's Collection, vol. i. p. 136, 137.

bounded on each side by a ridge of hills, one of which, that to the west, is very high, and double, extending the whole length of the island. An uncommonly luxuriant vegetation was everywhere to be seen; the sides of the hills were checkered with plantations, and every valley watered by a stream. Of all the productions of nature this country was adorned with, the cocoa-nut trees were the most conspicuous. The columns of smoke we saw by day, and the fires by night, all over the country, led us to believe that it is well inhabited and very fertile. The east point of this bay, which I name Cape Quiros, in memory of its first discoverer, is situated in latitude 14° 56′ south, longitude 167° 13′ east. The N.W. point, which I named Cape Cumberland, in honour of his Royal Highness the Duke, lies in the latitude of 14° 38′ 45″ south, longitude 166° 49½′ east, and is the N.W. extremity of this archipelago; for, after doubling it, we found the coast to trend gradually round to the S. and S.S.E.

On the 28th and 29th we had light airs and calms, so that we advanced but little. In this time we took every opportunity, when the horizon was clearer than usual, to look out for more land; but none was seen. By Quiros's track to the north, after leaving the bay above mentioned, it seems probable that there is none nearer than Queen Charlotte's Island, discovered by Captain Carteret, which lies about ninety leagues N.N.W. from Cape Cumberland, and I take to be the same with Quiros's Santa Cruz. On the 30th the calm was succeeded by a fresh breeze at S.S.E., which enabled us to ply up the coast. At noon we observed in 15° 20′; afterwards we stretched in east, to within a mile of the shore, and then tacked, in seventy-five fathoms, before a sandy flat, on which several of the natives made their appearance. We observed, on the sides of the hills, several plantations that were laid out by line, and fenced round. On the 31st, at noon, the S. or S.W. point of the island bore N. 62° east, distant four leagues. This forms the N.W. point of what I call Bougainville's Passage; the N.E. point, at this time, bore N. 85° east, and the N.W. end of Mollicollo from S. 54° east to S. 72° east. Latitude observed, 15° 45′ S. In the afternoon, in stretching to the east, we weathered the S.W. point of the island, from which the coast trends east northerly. It is low, and seemed to form some creeks or coves; and, as we got farther into the passage, we perceived some small low isles lying along it, which seemed to extend behind St. Bartholomew Island.

Having now finished the survey of the whole archipelago, the season of the year made it necessary for me to return to the south, while I had yet some time left to explore any land I might meet with between this and New Zealand; where I intended to touch, that I might refresh my people, and recruit our stock of wood and water for another southern course. With this view, at five P.M. we tacked, and hauled to the southward, with a fresh gale at S.E. At this time the N.W. point of the passage, or the S.W. point of the island Tierra del Espiritu Santo, the only remains of Quiros's continent, bore N. 82° west, distant three leagues. I named it Cape Lisburne, and its situation is in latitude 15° 40′, longitude 165° 59′ east.

The foregoing account of these islands, in the order in which we explored them, not being particular enough either as to situation or description, it may not be improper now to give a more accurate view of them, which, with the chart, will convey to the reader a better idea of the whole group.

The northern islands of this archipelago were first discovered by that great navigator, Quiros, in 1606; and, not without reason, were considered as part of the southern continent, which, at that time, and until very lately, was supposed to exist. They were next visited by M. de Bougainville, in 1768; who, besides landing on the Isle of Lepers, did no more than discover that the land was not connected, but composed of islands, which he called the Great Cyclades. But as, besides ascertaining the extent and situation of these islands, we added to them several new ones which were not known before, and explored the whole, I think we have obtained a right to name them; and shall in future distinguish them by the name of the New Hebrides. They are situated between the latitude of 14° 29′ and 20° 4′ south, and between 166° 41′ and 170° 21′ east longitude, and extend an hundred and twenty-five leagues in the direction of N.N.W. ½ west, and S.S. E. ½ east.

The most northern island is that called by M. de Bougainville Peak of the Etoile. It is

situated, according to his account, in latitude 14° 29′, longitude 168° 9′; and, N. by W., eight leagues from Aurora. The next island, which lies farthest north, is that of Tierra del Espiritu Santo. It is the most western and largest of all the Hebrides, being twenty-two leagues long, in the direction of N.N.W. ½ west, and S.S.E. ½ east, twelve in breadth, and sixty in circuit. We have obtained the true figure of this island very accurately. The land of it, especially the west side, is exceedingly high and mountainous; and, in many places, the hills rise directly from the sea. Except the cliffs and beaches, every other part is covered with wood, or laid out in plantations. Besides the Bay of St. Philip and St. Jago, the isles which lie along the south and east coast cannot, in my opinion, fail of forming some good bays or harbours.

The next considerable island is that of Mallicollo, to the S.E. It extends N.W. and S.E., and is eighteen leagues long in that direction. Its greatest breadth, which is at the S.E. end, is eight leagues. The N.W. end is two-thirds this breadth; and nearer the middle, one-third. This contraction is occasioned by a wide and pretty deep bay on the S.W. side. To judge of this island from what we saw of it, it must be very fertile and well inhabited. The land on the sea-coast is rather low, and lies with a gentle slope from the hills which are in the middle of the island. Two-thirds of the N.E. coast were only seen at a great distance; therefore the delineations of it on the chart can have no pretensions to accuracy; but the other parts, I apprehend, are without any material errors. St. Bartholomew lies between the S.E. end of Tierra del Espiritu Santo, and the north end of Mallicollo; and the distance between it and the latter is eight miles. This is the passage through which M. de Bougainville went: and the middle of it is in latitude 15° 48′. The Isle of Lepers lies between Espiritu Santo and Aurora Island, eight leagues from the former, and three from the latter, in latitude 15° 22′, and nearly under the same meridian as the S.E. end of Mallicollo. It is of an egg-like figure, very high, and eighteen or twenty leagues in circuit. Its limits were determined by several bearings; but the lines of the shore were traced out by guess, except the N.E. part, where is anchorage half a mile from the land.

Aurora, Whitsuntide, Ambrym, Paoom, and its neighbour Apee, Threehills, and Sandwich Islands, lie all nearly under the meridian of 167° 29′ or 30′ east, extending from the latitude of 14° 51′ 30″, to 17° 53′ 30″. The island of Aurora lies N. by W. and S. by E., and is eleven leagues long in that direction; but I believe it hardly anywhere exceeds two or two and a half in breadth. It hath a good height, its surface hilly, and everywhere covered with wood, except where the natives have their dwellings and plantations. Whitsuntide Isle, which is one league and a half to the south of Aurora, is of the same length, and lies in the direction of north and south, but is something broader than Aurora Island. It is considerably high, and clothed with wood, except such parts as seemed to be cultivated, which were pretty numerous.

From the south end of Whitsuntide Island to the north side of Ambrym is two leagues and a half. This is about seventeen leagues in circuit; its shores are rather low, but the land rises with an unequal ascent to a tolerably high mountain in the middle of the island, from which ascended great columns of smoke; but we were not able to determine whether this was occasioned by a volcano or not. That it is fertile and well inhabited seems probable, from the quantities of smoke which we saw rise out of the woods, in such parts of the island as came within the compass of our sight; for it must be observed, that we did not see the whole of it. We saw much less still of Paoom, and its neighbourhood. I can say no more of this island than that it towers up to a great height, in the form of a round haystack; and the extent of it, and of the adjoining isle (if there are two) cannot exceed three or four leagues in any direction; for the distance between Ambrym and Apee is hardly five; and they lie in this space, and east from Port Sandwich, distant about seven or eight leagues. The island of Apee is not less than twenty leagues in circuit; its longest direction is about eight leagues N.W. and S.E.; it is of considerable height, and hath a hilly surface, diversified with woods and lawns, the west and south parts especially; for the others we did not see.

Shepherd's Isles are a group of small ones of unequal size, extending off from the S.E. point of Apee about five leagues, in the direction of S.E. The island Threehills lies south four

leagues from the coast of Apee, and S.E. ½ S., distant seventeen leagues from Port Sandwich: to this, and what has been already said of it, I shall only add, that W. by N., five miles from the west point, is a reef of rocks on which the sea continually breaks.

Nine leagues, in the direction of south, from Threehills, lies Sandwich Island. Twohills, the Monument, and Montagu Islands, lie to the east of this line, and Hinchinbrook to the west, as also two or three small isles which lie between it and Sandwich Island, to which they are connected by breakers. Sandwich Island is twenty-five leagues in circuit; its greatest extent is ten leagues; and it lies in the direction of N.W. by W., and S.E. by E. The N.W. coast of this island we only viewed at a distance; therefore the chart in this part may be faulty, so far as it regards the line of the coast, but no farther. The distance from the south end of Mallicollo to the N.W. end of Sandwich Island is twenty-two leagues in the direction of S.S.E. ½ E.

In the same direction lie Erromango, Tanna, and Annattom. The first is eighteen leagues from Sandwich Island, and is twenty-four or twenty-five leagues in circuit. The middle of it lies in the latitude of 18° 54′, longitude 169° 19′ E., and it is of a good height, as may be gathered from the distance we were off when we first saw it. Tanna lies six leagues from the south side of Erromango, extending S.E. by S. and N.W. by N., about eight leagues long in that direction, and everywhere about three or four leagues broad.

The Isle of Immer lies in the direction of N. by E. ½ E., four leagues from Port Resolution in Tanna; and the island of Erronan or Footoona east, in the same direction, distant eleven leagues. This, which is the most eastern island of all the Hebrides, did not appear to be above five leagues in circuit, but of a considerable height, and flat at top. On the N.E. side is a little peak, seemingly disjoined from the isle, but we thought it was connected by low land. Annattom, which is the southernmost island, is situated in the latitude of 20° 3′, longitude 170° 4′, and S. 30° E., eleven or twelve leagues from Port Resolution. It is of a good height, with a hilly surface; and more I must not say of it.

Here follow the lunar observations by Mr. Wales, for ascertaining the longitude of these islands, reduced by the watch to Port Sandwich in Mallicollo and Port Resolution in Tanna.

Port Sandwich,	Mean of 10 sets of observ. before		167°	56′	33″¾	E. Long.
	. . 2 Ditto	at	168	2	37 ½	
	. . 20 Ditto	after	167	52	57	
	Mean of those means		167	57	22 ¾	
Port Resolution,	Mean of 20 sets of observ. before		169	37	35	E. Long.
	. . 5 Ditto	at	169	48	46	
	. . 20 Ditto	after	169	47	22 ½	
	Mean of those means		169	44	35	

It is necessary to observe, that each set of observations, consisting of between six and ten observed distances of the sun and moon, or moon and stars, the whole number amounts to several hundreds; and these have been reduced, by means of the watch, to all the islands; so that the longitude of each is as well ascertained as that of the two ports above mentioned. As a proof of this, I shall only observe, that the longitude of the two ports, as pointed out by the watch and by the observations, did not differ two miles. This also shows what degree of accuracy these observations are capable of, when multiplied to a considerable number, made with different instruments, and with the sun and stars, on both sides of the moon. By this last method, the errors, which may be either in the instruments or lunar tables, destroy one another, and likewise those which may arise from the observer himself; for some men may observe closer than others. If we consider the number of observations that may be obtained in the course of a month (if the weather is favourable), we shall perhaps find this method of finding the longitude of places as accurate as most others; at least, it is the most easy, and attended with the least expense to the observer. Every ship that goes to foreign parts is, or may be, supplied with a sufficient number of quadrants at a small expense; I mean good ones, proper for making these observations. For the difference of the price between a good and bad one, I apprehend, can never be an

object with an officer. The most expensive article, and what is in some measure necessary in order to arrive at the utmost accuracy, is a good watch; but for common use, and where that strict accuracy is not required, this may be dispensed with. I have observed before, in this journal, that this method of finding the longitude is not so difficult but that any man, with proper application, and a little practice, may soon learn to make these observations as well as the astronomers themselves. I have seldom known any material difference between the observations made by Mr. Wales, and those made by the officers at the same time *.

In observing the variation of the magnetic needle, we found, as usual, our compasses differ among themselves, sometimes near 2°; the same compass, too, would sometimes make nearly this difference in the variation on different days, and even between the morning and evening of the same day, when our change of situation has been but very little. By the mean of the observations which I made about Erromango, and the S.E. part of these islands, the variation of the compass was 10° 5′ 48″ east; and the mean of those made about Tierra del Espiritu Santo gave 10° 5′ 30″ east. This is considerably more than Mr. Wales found it to be at Tanna. I cannot say what might occasion this difference in the variation observed at sea and on shore, unless it be influenced by the land; for I must give the preference to that found at sea, as it is agreeable to what we observed before we made the islands, and after we left them.

CHAPTER VIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF NEW CALEDONIA, AND THE INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED WHILE THE SHIP LAY IN BALADE.

At sunrise on the 1st of September, after having stood to S.W. all night, no more land was to be seen. The wind remaining in the S.E. quarter, we continued to stand to S.W. On the 2nd, at five o'clock P.M., being in the latitude 18° 22′, longitude 165° 26′, the variation was 10° 50′ east; and at the same hour on the 3rd, it was 10° 51′, latitude at that time 19° 14′, longitude 165° east. The next morning, in the latitude of 19° 49′, longitude 164° 53′, the amplitude gave 10° 21′, and the azimuths 10° 7′ east. At eight o'clock, as we were steering to the south, land was discovered bearing S.S.W., and at noon it extended from S.S.E. to W. by S., distant about six leagues. We continued to steer for it with a light breeze at east, till five in the evening, when we were stopped by a calm. At this time we were three leagues from the land, which extended from S.E. by S. to W. by N., round by the S.W. Some openings appeared in the west, so that we could not tell whether it was one connected land or a group of islands. To the S.E. the coast seemed to terminate in a high promontory, which I named Cape Colnett, after one of my midshipmen, who first discovered this land. Breakers were seen about half-way between us and the shore; and, behind them, two or three canoes under sail, standing out to sea, as if their design had been to come off to us; but a little before sunset they struck their sails, and we saw them no more. After a few hours' calm, we got a breeze at S.E., and spent the night standing off and on.

On the 5th, at sunrise, the horizon being clear, we could see the coast extend to the S.E. of Cape Colnett, and round by the S.W. to N.W. by W. Some gaps or openings were yet to be seen to the west; and a reef, or breakers, seemed to lie all along the coast, connected with those we discovered the preceding night. It was a matter of indifference to me whether we plied up the coast to the S.E. or bore down to N.W. I chose the latter; and after running two leagues down the outside of the reef (for such it proved), we came before an opening that had the appearance of a good channel, through which we might go in for the land. I wanted to get at it, not only to visit it, but also to have an opportunity to observe an eclipse of the sun which was soon to happen. With this view we brought to, hoisted out two armed boats, and sent them to sound the channel, ten or twelve large sailing canoes being then near us. We had observed them coming off from the shore, all the morning, from different parts; and some were lying on the reef, fishing as we supposed. As soon as

* See page 443.

they all got together, they came down to us in a body, and were pretty near when we were hoisting out our boats, which probably gave them some alarm; for, without stopping, they hauled in for the reef, and our boats followed them. We now saw that what we had taken for openings in the coast was low land, and that it was all connected, except the western extremity, which was an island, known by the name of Balabea, as we afterwards learnt.

The boats having made a signal for a channel, and one of them being placed on the point of the reef, on the weather side of it, we stood in with the ship, and took up the other boat in our way, when the officer informed me, that where we were to pass, was sixteen and fourteen fathoms water, a fine sandy bottom, and that, having put alongside two canoes, he found the people very obliging and civil. They gave him some fish; and, in return, he presented them with medals, &c. In one was a stout robust young man, whom they understood to be a chief. After getting within the reef, we hauled up S. ½ E. for a small low sandy isle that we observed lying under the shore, being followed by all the canoes. Our sounding, in standing in, was from fifteen to twelve fathoms (a pretty even fine sandy bottom), for about two miles; then we had six, five, and four fathoms. This was on the tail of a shoal which lies a little without the small isle to the N.E. Being over it, we found seven and eight fathoms water, which shallowed gradually, as we approached the shore, to three fathoms, when we tacked, stood off a little, and then anchored in five fathoms, the bottom a find sand mixed with mud. The little sandy isle bore E. by S., three quarters of a mile distant; and we were one mile from the shore of the main, which extended from S.E. by E. round by the south to W.N.W. The island of Balabea bore N.W. by N., and the channel, through which we came, north, four miles distant. In this situation we were extremely well sheltered from the reigning winds, by the sandy isle and its shoals, and by the shoal without them.

We had hardly got to an anchor before we were surrounded by a great number of the natives, in sixteen or eighteen canoes, the most of whom were without any sort of weapons. At first they were shy of coming near the ship; but in a short time we prevailed on the people in one boat to get close enough to receive some presents. These we lowered down to them by a rope; to which, in return, they tied two fish that stunk intolerably, as did those they gave us in the morning. These mutual exchanges bringing on a kind of confidence, two ventured on board the ship; and presently after she was filled with them, and we had the company of several at dinner in the cabin. Our pea-soup, salt beef, and pork, they had no curiosity to taste; but they ate of some yams, which we happened to have yet left, calling them *Oobee*. This name is not unlike *Oofee*, as they are called at most of the islands, except Mallicollo; nevertheless we found these people spoke a language new to us. Like all the nations we had lately seen, the men were almost naked, having hardly any other covering but such a wrapper as is used at Mallicollo*. They were curious in examining every part of the ship, which they viewed with uncommon attention. They had not the least knowledge of goats, hogs, dogs, or cats, and had not even a name for one of them. They seemed fond of large spike-nails, and pieces of red cloth, or indeed of any other colour; but red was their favourite.

After dinner I went on shore with two armed boats, having with us one of the natives who had attached himself to me. We landed on a sandy beach before a vast number of people, who had got together with no other intent than to see us; for many of them had not a stick in their hands; consequently we were received with great courtesy, and with the surprise natural for people to express at seeing men and things so new to them as we must be. I made presents to all those my friend pointed out, who were either old men, or such as seemed to be of some note; but he took not the least notice of some women who stood behind the crowd, holding my hand when I was going to give them some beads and medals. Here we found the same chief who had been seen in one of the canoes in the morning. His name, we now learnt, was Teabooma; and we had not been on shore above ten minutes, before he called for silence. Being instantly obeyed by every individual present, he made a short speech; and soon after another chief having called for silence, made a speech also. It was pleasing to see with what attention they were heard. Their speeches were composed of

* See the note at page 499.

short sentences; to each of which two or three old men answered, by noddding their heads, and giving a kind of grunt, significant, as I thought, of approbation. It was impossible for us to know the purport of these speeches; but we had reason to think they were favourable to us, on whose account they doubtless were made. I kept my eyes fixed on the people all the time, and saw nothing to induce me to think otherwise. While we were with them, having inquired, by signs, for fresh water, some pointed to the east, and others to the west. My friend undertook to conduct us to it, and embarked with us for that purpose. We rowed about two miles up the coast to the east, where the shore was mostly covered with mangrove trees; and entering amongst them, by a narrow creek or river, which brought us to a little straggling village above all the mangroves, there we landed, and were shown fresh water. The ground near this village was finely cultivated, being laid out in plantations of sugar-canes, plantains, yams, and other roots; and watered by little rills, conducted by art from the main stream, whose source was in the hills. Here were some cocoa-nut trees, which did not seem burdened with fruit. We heard the crowing of cocks, but saw none. Some roots were baking on a fire, in an earthen jar, which would have held six or eight gallons; nor did we doubt its being their own manufacture. As we proceeded up the creek, Mr. Forster having shot a duck flying over our heads, which was the first use these people saw made of our fire-arms, my friend begged to have it; and when he landed, told his countrymen in what manner it was killed. The day being far spent, and the tide not permitting us to stay longer in the creek, we took leave of the people, and got on board a little after sunset. From this little excursion, I found that we were to expect nothing from these people but the privilege of visiting their country undisturbed. For it was easy to see they had little else than good-nature to bestow. In this they exceeded all the nations we had yet met with; and, although it did not satisfy the demands of nature, it at once pleased and left our minds at ease.

Next morning we were visited by some hundreds of the natives; some coming in canoes, and others swimming off; so that before ten o'clock, our decks, and all other parts of the ship, were quite full with them. My friend, who was of the number, brought me a few roots, but all the others came empty in respect to eatables. Some few had with them their arms, such as clubs and darts, which they exchanged for nails, pieces of cloth, &c. After breakfast, I sent Lieutenant Pickersgill with two armed boats to look for fresh water; for what we found the day before was by no means convenient for us to get on board. At the same time, Mr. Wales, accompanied by Lieutenant Clerke, went to the little isle to make preparations for observing the eclipse of the sun, which was to be in the afternoon. Mr. Pickersgill soon returning, informed me that he had found a stream of fresh water, pretty convenient to come at. I therefore ordered the launch to be hoisted out to complete our water, and then went to the isle to assist in the observation.

About one P.M. the eclipse came on. Clouds interposed, and we lost the first contact, but were more fortunate in the end, which was observed as follows:—

By Mr. Wales with Dollond's 3½ foot achromatic refractor, at	3h 28′ 49¼″	Apparent time.
By Mr. Clerke with Bird's 2 foot reflector, at . .	3 28 52¼	
And by me with an 18 inch reflector, made by Watkins .	3 28 53¼	

Latitude of the isle or place of observation, 20° 17′ 39″ south.

Longitude per distance of the sun and moon, and moon and stars, 48 sets, 164° 41′ 21″ E.

Ditto per watch 163 58 0

Mr. Wales measured the quantity eclipsed by a Hadley's quadrant, a method never before thought of. I am of opinion it answers the purpose of a micrometer to a great degree of certainty, and is a great addition to the use of this most valuable instrument. After all was over, we returned on board, where I found Teabooma the chief, who soon after slipped out of the ship without my knowledge, and by that means lost the present I had made up for him. In the evening I went ashore to the watering-place, which was at the head of a little creek, at a fine stream that came from the hills. It was necessary to have a small boat in the creek to convey the casks from and to the beach over which they were rolled, and then put into the launch; as only a small boat could enter the creek, and that only at high water.

Excellent wood for fuel was here far more convenient than water, but this was an article we did not want. About seven o'clock the evening, died Simon Monk, our butcher, a man much esteemed in the ship; his death being occasioned by a fall down the fore-hatchway the preceding night.

Early in the morning of the 7th, the watering-party, and a guard, under the command of an officer, were sent ashore; and soon after, a party of us went to take a view of the country. As soon as we landed, we made known our design to the natives, and two of them undertaking to be our guides, conducted us up the hills by a tolerably good path. In our route we met several people, most of whom turned back with us; so that at last our train was numerous. Some we met who wanted us to return; but we paid no regard to their signs, nor did they seem uneasy when we proceeded. At length we reached the summit of one of the hills, from which we saw the sea in two places, between some advanced hills on the opposite or S.W. side of the land. This was a useful discovery, as it enabled us to judge of the breadth of the land, which, in this part, did not exceed ten leagues. Between those advanced hills and the ridge we were upon, was a large valley, through which ran a serpentine river. On the banks of this were several plantations, and some villages, whose inhabitants we had met on the road, and found more on the top of the hill gazing at the ship, as might be supposed. The plain or flat land, which lies along the shore we were upon, appeared from the hills to a great advantage; the winding streams which ran through it, the plantations, the little straggling villages, the variety in the woods, and the shoals on the coast, so variegating the scene, that the whole might afford a picture for romance. Indeed, if it were not for those fertile spots on the plains, and some few on the sides of the mountains, the whole country might be called a dreary waste. The mountains and other high places are, for the most part, incapable of cultivation, consisting chiefly of rocks, many of which are full of mundicks. The little soil that is upon them is scorched and burnt up with the sun; it is, nevertheless, coated with coarse grass and other plants, and here and there trees and shrubs. The country in general bore great resemblance to some parts of New Holland under the same parallel of latitude, several of its natural productions seeming to be the same, and the woods being without underwood, as in that country. The reefs on the coast, and several other similarities, were obvious to every one who had seen both countries. We observed all the N.E. coast to be covered with shoals and breakers, extending to the northward, beyond the isle of Balabea, till they were lost in the horizon. Having made these observations, and our guides not choosing to go farther, we descended the mountains by a road different from that by which we ascended. This brought us down through some of their plantations in the plains, which I observed were laid out with great judgment, and cultivated with much labour. Some of them were lying in fallow; some seemingly lately laid down, and others of longer date, pieces of which they were again beginning to dig up. The first thing I observed they did, was to set fire to the grass, &c. which had over-run the surface. Recruiting the land by letting it lie some years untouched, is observed by all the nations in the sea; but they seem to have no notion of manuring it, at least I have nowhere seen it done. Our excursion was finished by noon, when we returned on board to dinner; and one of our guides having left us, we brought the other with us, whose fidelity was rewarded at a small expense.

In the afternoon, I made a little excursion alongshore to the westward, in company with Mr. Wales. Besides making observations on such things as we met, we got the names of several places, which I then thought were islands; but, upon farther inquiry, I found they were districts upon this same land. This afternoon, a fish being struck by one of the natives near the watering-place, my clerk purchased it, and sent it to me after my return on board. It was of a new species, something like a sun-fish, with a large, long, ugly head. Having no suspicion of its being of a poisonous nature, we ordered it to be dressed for supper; but, very luckily, the operation of drawing and describing took up so much time, that it was too late, so that only the liver and roe were dressed, of which the two Mr. Forsters and myself did but taste. About three o'clock in the morning, we found ourselves seized with an extraordinary weakness and numbness all over our limbs: I had almost lost the sense of feeling, nor could I distinguish between light and heavy bodies, of such as I had strength to move;

a quart pot full of water and a feather being the same in my hand. We each of us took an emetic, and after that a sweat, which gave us much relief. In the morning, one of the pigs which had eaten the entrails was found dead. When the natives came on board, and saw the fish hang up, they immediately gave us to understand it was not wholesome food, and expressed the utmost abhorrence of it; though no one was observed to do this when the fish was to be sold, or even after it was purchased.

On the 8th, the guard and a party of men were on shore as usual. In the afternoon, I received a message from the officer, acquainting me that Teabooma, the chief, was come with a present, consisting of a few yams and sugar-canes. In return I sent him, amongst other articles, a dog and a bitch, both young, but nearly full-grown. The dog was red and white, but the bitch was all red, or the colour of an English fox. I mention this, because they may prove the Adam and Eve of their species in that country. When the officer returned on board in the evening, he informed me that the chief came attended by about twenty men, so that it looked like a visit of ceremony. It was some time before he would believe the dog and bitch were intended for him; but as soon as he was convinced, he seemed lost in an excess of joy, and sent them away immediately. Next morning early, I despatched Lieutenant Pickersgill and Mr. Gilbert, with the launch and cutter, to explore the coast to the west; judging this would be better effected in the boats than in the ship, as the reefs would force the latter several leagues from land. After breakfast, a party of men was sent ashore to make brooms; but myself and the two Mr. Forsters were confined on board, though much better, a good sweat having had a happy effect. In the afternoon, a man was seen, both ashore and alongside the ship, said to be as white as any European. From the account I had of him (for I did not see him), his whiteness did not proceed from hereditary descent, but from chance or some disease; and such have been seen at Otaheite and the Society Isles *. A fresh easterly wind, and the ship lying a mile from the shore, did not hinder these good-natured people from swimming off to us in shoals of twenty or thirty, and returning the same way.

On the 10th, a party was on shore as usual; and Mr. Forster so well recovered as to go out botanizing. In the evening of the 11th the boats returned, when I was informed of the following circumstances. From an elevation which they reached the morning they set out, they had a view of the coast. Mr. Gilbert was of opinion that they saw the termination of it to the west, but Mr. Pickersgill thought not; though both agreed that there was no passage for the ship that way. From this place, accompanied by two of the natives, they went to Balabea, which they did not reach till after sunset, and left again next morning before sunrise; consequently this was a fruitless expedition, and the two following days were spent in getting up to the ship. As they went down to the isle, they saw abundance of turtle, but the violence of the wind and sea made it impossible to strike any. The cutter was near being lost, by suddenly filling with water, which obliged them to throw several things overboard before they could free her and stop the leak she had sprung. From a fishing canoe, which they met coming in from the reefs, they got as much fish as they could eat; and they were received by Teabi, the chief of the isle of Balabea, and the people, who came in numbers to see them, with great courtesy. In order not to be too much crowded, our people drew a line on the ground, and gave the others to understand they were not to come within it. This restriction they observed; and one of them, soon after, turned it to his own advantage: for happening to have a few cocoa-nuts, which one of our people wanted to buy, and he was unwilling to part with, he walked off, and was followed by the man who wanted them. On seeing this, he sat down on the sand, made a circle round him, as he had seen our people do, and signified that the other was not to come within it; which was accordingly observed. As this story was well attested, I thought it not unworthy of a place in this journal.

Early in the morning of the 12th, I ordered the carpenter to work, to repair the cutter, and the water to be replaced which we had expended the three preceding days. As Tea-

* Wafer met with Indians in the Isthmus of Darien of the colour of a white horse. See his *Description of the Isthmus*, p. 134. See also Mr. de Paw's Philosophical Inquiries concerning the Americans, where several other instances of this remarkable whiteness are mentioned, and the causes of it attempted to be explained.

booma, the chief, had not been seen since he got the dogs, and I wanted to lay a foundation for stocking the country with hogs also, I took a young boar and sow with me in the boat, and went up the mangrove creek to look for my friend, in order to give them to him. But when we arrived there, we were told that he lived at some distance, and that they would send for him. Whether they did or not, I cannot say; but, he not coming, I resolved to give them to the first man of note I met with. The guide we had to the hills happening to be there, I made him understand that I intended to leave the two pigs on shore, and ordered them out of the boat for that purpose. I offered them to a grave old man, thinking he was a proper person to entrust them with; but he shook his head, and he, and all present, made signs to take them into the boat again. When they saw I did not comply, they seemed to consult with one another what was to be done; and then our guide told me to carry them to the *Alekee* (chief). Accordingly I ordered them to be taken up, and we were conducted by him to a house wherein were seated, in a circle, eight or ten middle-aged persons. To them I and my pigs being introduced, with great courtesy they desired me to sit down; and then I began to expatiate on the merits of the two pigs, explaining to them how many young ones the female would have at one time, and how soon these would multiply to some hundreds. My only motive was to enhance their value, that they might take the more care of them; and I had reason to think I, in some measure, succeeded. In the mean time, two men having left the company, soon returned with six yams, which were presented to me; and then I took leave and went on board.

I have already observed, that here was a little village; I now found it much larger than I expected, and about it a good deal of cultivated land, regularly laid out, planted and planting with taro or eddy root, yams, sugar-canes, and plantains. The taro plantations were prettily watered by little rills, continually supplied from the main channel at the foot of the mountains, from whence these streams were conducted in artful meanders. They have two methods of planting these roots; some are in square or oblong patches, which lie perfectly horizontal, and sink below the common level of the adjacent land; so that they can let in on them as much water as they think necessary. I have generally seen them covered two or three inches deep; but I do not know that this is always necessary. Others are planted in ridges about three or four feet broad, and two or two and a half high. On the middle or top of the ridge is a narrow gutter, in and along which is conveyed, as above described, a little rill that waters the roots planted in the ridge on each side of it; and these plantations are so judiciously laid out, that the same stream waters several ridges. These ridges are sometimes the divisions to the horizontal plantations; and when this method is used, which is for the most part observed where a pathway or something of that sort is requisite, not an inch of ground is lost. Perhaps there may be some difference in the roots, which may make these two methods of raising them necessary. Some are better tasted than others, and they are not all of a colour; but be this as it may, they are a very wholesome food, and the tops make good greens, and are eaten as such by the natives. On these plantations, men, women, and children were employed.

In the afternoon I went on shore, and, on a large tree, which stood close to the shore, near the watering-place, had an inscription cut, setting forth the ship's name, date, &c., as a testimony of our being the first discoverers of this country, as I had done at all others at which we had touched, where this ceremony was necessary. This being done, we took leave of our friends, and returned on board, when I ordered all the boats to be hoisted in, in order to be ready to put to sea in the morning.

CHAPTER IX.—A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS INHABITANTS; THEIR MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND ARTS.

I shall conclude our transactions at this place with some account of the country and its inhabitants. They are strong, robust, active, well-made people, courteous and friendly, and not in the least addicted to pilfering, which is more than can be said of any other nation in this sea. They are nearly of the same colour as the natives of Tanna, but have better

features, more agreeable countenances, and are a much stouter race; a few being seen who measured six feet four inches. I observed some who had thick lips, flat noses, and full cheeks, and, in some degree, the features and look of a negro. Two things contributed to the forming of such an idea: first, their rough mop heads; and secondly, their besmearing their faces with black pigment. Their hair and beards are in general black. The former is very much frizzled; so that at first sight it appears like that of a negro. It is, nevertheless, very different, though both coarser and stronger than ours. Some, who wear it long, tie it up on the crown of the head; others suffer only a large lock to grow on each side, which they tie up in clubs; many others, as well as all the women, wear it cropped short. These rough heads most probably want frequent scratching, for which purpose they have a most excellent instrument. This is a kind of comb made of sticks of hard wood, from seven to nine inches long, and about the thickness of knitting-needles. A number of these, seldom exceeding twenty, but generally fewer, are fastened together at one end, parallel to, and near 1-10th of an inch from each other. The other ends, which are a little pointed, will spread out or open like the sticks of a fan, by which means they can beat up the quarters of a hundred lice at a time. These combs or scratchers—for I believe they serve both purposes—they always wear in their hair, on one side their head. The people of Tanna have an instrument of this kind, for the same use; but theirs is forked, I think never exceeding three or four prongs; and sometimes only a small pointed stick. Their beards, which are of the same crisp nature as their hair, are, for the most part, worn short. Swelled and ulcerated legs and feet are common among the men.

The wrapper mentioned they use as at Tanna and Mallicollo. This is their only covering, and is made generally of the bark of a tree, but sometimes of leaves. The small pieces of cloth, paper, &c., which they got from us, were commonly applied to this use. We saw coarse garments amongst them, made of a sort of matting; but they seemed never to wear them, except when out in their canoes, and unemployed. Some had a kind of concave, cylindrical, stiff black cap, which appeared to be a great ornament among them, and, we thought, was only worn by men of note, or warriors. A large sheet of strong paper, when they got one from us, was generally applied to this use.

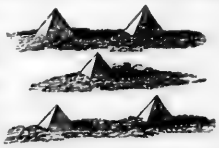
The women's dress is a short petticoat, made of the filaments of the plantain-tree laid over a cord, to which they are fastened, and tied round the waist. The petticoat is made at least six or eight inches thick, but not one inch longer than necessary for the use designed. The outer filaments are dyed black; and, as an additional ornament, the most of them have a few pearl oyster-shells fixed on the right side. The general ornaments of both sexes are ear-rings of tortoise-shell, necklaces or amulets, made both of shells and stones, and bracelets, made of large shells, which they wear above the elbow. They have punctures, or marks on the skin, on several parts of the body; but none, I think, are black as at the eastern islands. I know not if they have any other design than ornament; and the people of Tanna are marked much in the same manner.

Were I to judge of the origin of this nation, I should take them to be a race between the people of Tanna and of the Friendly Isles; or between those of Tanna and the New Zealanders, or all three; their language, in some respects, being a mixture of them all. In their disposition they are like the natives of the Friendly Isles, but in affability and honesty they excel them. Notwithstanding their pacific inclination, they must sometimes have wars, as they are well provided with offensive weapons, such as clubs, spears, darts, and slings for throwing stones. The clubs are about two feet and a half long, and variously formed; some like a scythe, others like a pick-axe; some have a head like a hawk, and others have round heads; but all are neatly made. Many of their darts and spears are no less neat, and ornamented with carvings. The slings are as simple as possible; but they take some pains to form the stones that they use into a proper shape, which is something like an egg, supposing both ends to be like the small one. They use a becket in the same manner as at Tanna, in throwing the dart, which, I believe, is much used in striking fish, &c. In this they seem very dexterous; nor, indeed, do I know that they have any other method of catching large fish; for I neither saw hooks nor lines among them. It is needless

to mention their working tools, as they are made of the same materials, and nearly in the same manner, as at the other islands. Their axes, indeed, are a little different—some, at least—which may be owing to fancy as much as custom.

Their houses, or at least most of them, are circular; something like a beehive, and full as close and warm. The entrance is by a small door, or long square hole, just big enough to admit a man bent double. The side-walls are about four feet and a half high; but the roof is lofty, and peaked to a point at the top, above which is a post or stick of wood, which is generally ornamented either with carving or shells, or both. The framing is of small spars, reeds, &c., and both sides and roof are thick, and close covered with thatch, made of coarse long grass. In the inside of the house are set up posts, to which cross spars are fastened and platforms made, for the conveniency of laying anything on. Some houses have two floors, one above the other. The floor is laid with dry grass, and here and there mats are spread for the principal people to sleep or sit on. In most of them we found two fire-places; and commonly a fire burning; and, as there was no vent for the smoke but by the door, the whole house was both smoky and hot, insomuch that we, who are not used to such an atmosphere, could hardly endure it a moment. This may be the reason why we found these people so chilly when in the open air and without exercise. We frequently saw them make little fires anywhere, and hustle round them, with no other view than to warm themselves. Smoke within doors may be a necessary evil, as it prevents the musquitoes from coming in, which are pretty numerous here. In some respects their habitations are neat; for, besides the ornaments at top, I saw some with carved door-posts. Upon the whole, their houses are better calculated for a cold than a hot climate; and as there are no partitions in them, they can have little privacy.

They have no great variety of household utensils; the earthen jars before mentioned being the only article worth notice. Each family has, at least, one of them, in which they bake their roots, and perhaps their fish, &c. The fire by which they cook their victuals is on the outside of each house, in the open air. There are three or five pointed stones fixed in the ground, their pointed ends being about six inches above the surface, in the form conjoined. Those of three stones are only for one jar, those of five stones for two. The jars do not stand on their bottoms, but lie inclined on their sides. The use of these stones is, obviously, to keep the jars from resting on the fire, in order that it may burn the better. They subsist chiefly on roots and fish, and the bark of a tree, which, I am told, grows also in the West Indies. This they roast, and are almost continually chewing. It has a sweetish, insipid taste, and was liked by some of our people. Water is their only liquor; at least I never saw any other made use of. Plantains and sugar-canes are by no means in plenty. Bread-fruit is very scarce, and the cocoa-nut trees are small, and but thinly planted; and neither one nor the other seems to yield much fruit.



To judge merely by the numbers of the natives we saw every day, one might think the island very populous; but I believe that at this time the inhabitants were collected from all parts on our account. Mr. Pickersgill observed, that down the coast, to the west, there were but few people; and we knew they came daily from the other side of the land, over the mountains, to visit us. But although the inhabitants, upon the whole, may not be numerous, the island is not thinly peopled on the sea-coast, and in the plains and valleys that are capable of cultivation. It seems to be a country unable to support many inhabitants. Nature has been less bountiful to it than to any other tropical island we know in this sea. The greatest part of its surface, or at least what we saw of it, consists of barren, rocky mountains; and the grass, &c., growing on them, is useless to people who have no cattle. The sterility of the country will apologize for the natives not contributing to the wants of the navigator. The sea may, perhaps, in some measure compensate for the deficiency of the land; for a coast surrounded by reefs and shoals as this is, cannot fail of being stored with fish.

I have before observed, that the country bears great resemblance to New South Wales, or New Holland, and that some of its natural productions are the same. In particular, we

found here the tree which is covered with a soft white ragged bark, easily peeled off, and is, as I have been told, the same that in the East Indies is used for caulking of ships. The wood is very hard; the leaves are long and narrow, of a pale dead green and a fine aromatic; so that it may properly be said to belong to that continent. Nevertheless, here are several plants, &c., common to the eastern and northern islands, and even a species of the passion-flower, which, I am told, has never before been known to grow wild anywhere but in America. Our botanists did not complain for want of employment at this place; every day bringing something new in botany or other branches of natural history. Land-birds, indeed, are not numerous, but several are new. One of these is a kind of crow—at least, so we called it, though it is not half so big, and its feathers are tinged with blue. They also have some very beautiful turtle-doves, and other small birds, such as I never saw before.

All our endeavours to get the name of the whole island proved ineffectual. Probably, it is too large for them to know by one name. Whenever we made this inquiry, they always gave us the name of some district or place, which we pointed to; and, as before observed, I got the names of several, with the name of the king or chief of each. Hence, I conclude that the country is divided into several districts, each governed by a chief; but we know nothing of the extent of his power. Balade was the name of the district we were at, and Tea Booma the chief. He lived on the other side of the ridge of hills, so that we had but little of his company, and therefore could not see much of his power. *Tea* seems a title prefixed to the names of all or most of their chiefs or great men. My friend honoured me by calling me *Tea* Cook.

They deposit their dead in the ground. I saw none of their burying-places; but several of the gentlemen did. In one, they were informed, lay the remains of a chief, who was slain in battle; and his grave, which bore some resemblance to a large mole-hill, was decorated with spears, darts, paddles, &c., all stuck upright in the ground round about it. The canoes which these people use are somewhat like those of the Friendly Isles, but the most heavy, clumsy vessels I ever saw. They are what I call double canoes, made out of two large trees hollowed out, having a raised gunnel about two inches high, and closed at each end with a kind of bulk-head of the same height; so that the whole is like a long square trough, about three feet shorter than the body of the canoe; that is, a foot and a half at each end. Two canoes, thus fitted, are secured to each other, about three feet asunder, by means of cross spars, which project about a foot over each side. Over these spars is laid a deck or very heavy platform, made of plank and small round spars, on which they have a fire-hearth, and generally a fire burning; and they carry a pot or jar to dress their victuals in. The space between the two canoes is laid with plank, and the rest with spars. On one side of the deck, and close to the edge, is fixed a row of knees, pretty near to each other, the use of which is to keep the mast, yards, &c. from rolling overboard. They are navigated by one or two latteen sails, extended to a small latteen yard, the end of which fixes in a notch or hole in the deck. The foot of the sail is extended to a small boom. The sail is composed of pieces of matting; the ropes are made of the coarse filaments of the plantain-tree, twisted into cords of the thickness of a finger; and three or four more such cords, marled together, serve them for shrouds, &c. I thought they sailed very well; but they are not at all calculated for rowing or paddling. Their method of proceeding, when they cannot sail, is by sculling; and for this purpose there are holes in the boarded deck or platform. Through these they put the sculls, which are of such a length, that, when the blade is in the water, the loom or handle is four or five feet above the deck. The man who works it stands behind, and with both his hands sculls the vessel forward. This method of proceeding is very slow, and for this reason the canoes are but ill calculated for fishing, especially for striking of turtle, which, I think, can hardly ever be done in them. Their fishing implements, such as I have seen, are turtle-nets, made, I believe, of the filaments of the plantain-tree twisted; and small hand-nets with very minute meshes made of fine twine, and fish-gigs. Their general method of fishing, I guess, is to lie on the reefs in shoal water, and to strike the fish that may come in their way. They may, however, have other methods, which we had no opportunity to see, as no boat went out while we were here, all their time and attention being taken up with us. Their canoes are about thirty feet lon

and the deck or platform about twenty-four in length, and ten in breadth. We had not, at this time, seen any timber in the country so large as that of which their canoes were made, It was observed, that the holes made in the several parts, in order to sew them together. were burnt through, but with what instrument we never learnt; most probably it was of stone; which may be the reason why they were so fond of large spikes, seeing at once they would answer this purpose. I was convinced they were not wholly designed for edge-tools; because every one showed a desire for the iron belaying pins which were fixed in the quarter-deck rail, and seemed to value them far more than a spike-nail, although it might be twice as big. These pins, which are round, perhaps have the very shape of the tool they wanted to make of the nails. I did not find that a hatchet was quite so valuable as a large spike. Small nails were of little or no value; and beads, looking-glasses, &c., they did not admire.

The women of this country, and likewise those of Tanna, are, so far as I could judge, far more chaste than those of the more eastern islands. I never heard that one of our people obtained the least favour from any one of them. I have been told, that the ladies here would frequently divert themselves, by going a little aside with our gentlemen, as if they meant to be kind to them, and then would run away laughing at them. Whether this was chastity or coquetry, I shall not pretend to determine; nor is it material, since the consequences were the same.

CHAPTER X.—PROCEEDINGS ON THE COAST OF NEW CALEDONIA, WITH GEOGRAPHICAL AND NAUTICAL OBSERVATIONS.

EVERYTHING being in readiness to put to sea, at sunrise, on the 13th of September, we weighed, and with a fine gale at E. by S., stood out for the same channel we came in by. At half-past seven we were in the middle of it. Observatory Isle bore S. 5° E., distant four miles, and the Isle of Balabea W.N.W. As soon as we were clear of the reef, we hauled the wind on the starboard tack, with a view of plying in to the S.E.; but as Mr. Gilbert was of opinion that he had seen the end or N.W. extremity of the land, and that it would be easier to get round by the N.W., I gave over plying, and bore up along the outside of the reef, steering N.N.W., N.W., and N.W. by W. as it trended. At noon the island of Balabea bore S. by W., distant thirteen miles; and what we judged to be the west end of the great land, bore S.W. ½ S.; and the direction of the reef was N.W. by W.; latitude observed, 19° 53′ 20″. Longitude from Observatory Isle, 14′ W. We continued to steer N.W. by W. along the outside of the reef till three o'clock, at which time the Isle of Balabea bore S. by E. ½ E. In this direction we observed a partition in the reef, which we judged to be a channel, by the strong tide which set out of it. From this place the reef inclined to the north, for three or four leagues, and then to N.W. We followed its direction, and as we advanced to N.W., raised more land, which seemed to be connected with what we had seen before; so that Mr. Gilbert was mistaken, and did not see the extremity of the coast. At five o'clock this land bore W. by N. ½ N., distant twenty miles; but what we could see of the reef trended in the direction of N.W. by N.

Having hauled the wind on the starboard tack, and spent the night plying, on the 14th, at sunrise, the island of Balabea bore S. 6° E., and the land seen the preceding night west; but the reef still trended N.W., along which we steered with a light breeze at E.S.E. At noon we observed in latitude 19° 28′, longitude from Observatory Isle 27′ W. We had now no sight of Balabea; and the other land, that is, the N.W. part of it, bore W. by S. ½ S.; but we were not sure if this was one continued coast, or separate islands. For though some partitions were seen, from space to space, which made it look like the latter, a multitude of shoals rendered a nearer approach to it exceedingly dangerous, if not impracticable. In the afternoon, with a fine breeze at E.S.E., we ranged the outside of these shoals, which we found to trend in the direction of N.W. by W., N.W. by N., and N.N.E. At three o'clock we passed a low sandy isle, lying on the outer edge of the reef, in latitude 19° 25′, and in the direction of N.E. from the north-westernmost land, six or seven leagues distant. So much as we could see of this space was strewed with shoals, seemingly detached

from each other; and the channel leading in amongst them appeared to be on the S.E. side of the sandy isle; at least there was a space where the sea did not break. At sunset, we could but just see the land, which bore S.W. by S., about ten leagues distant. A clear horizon produced the discovery of no land to the westward of this direction; the reef, too, trended away W. by N. ½ N., and seemed to terminate in a point which was seen from the mast-head. Thus everything conspired to make us believe that we should soon get round these shoals; and with these flattering expectations we hauled the wind, which was at E.N.E., and spent the night making short boards.

Next morning, at sunrise, seeing neither land nor breakers, we bore away N.W. by W., and two hours after saw the reef extending N.W. farther than the eye could reach; but no land was to be seen. It was therefore probable that we had passed its N.W. extremity; and, as we had seen from the hills of Balade its extent to the S.W., it was necessary to know how far it extended to the E. or S.E., while it was in our power to recover the coast. For, by following the direction of the shoals, we might have been carried so far to leeward as not to be able to beat back without considerable loss of time. We were already far out of sight of land; and there was no knowing how much farther we might be carried, before we found an end to them. These considerations, together with the risk we must run in exploring a sea strewed with shoals, and where no anchorage, without them, is to be found, induced me to abandon the design of proceeding round by the N.W., and to ply up to the S.E., in which direction I knew there was a clear sea. With this view, we tacked and stood to the S.E., with the wind at N.E. by E., a gentle breeze. At this time we were in the latitude of 19° 7′ S., longitude 163° 57′ E.

In standing to S.E. we did but just weather the point of the reef we had passed the preceding evening. To make our situation the more dangerous, the wind began to fail us; and at three in the afternoon it fell calm, and left us to the mercy of a great swell, setting directly on the reef, which was hardly a league from us. We sounded, but found no bottom, with a line of 200 fathoms. I ordered the pinnace and cutter to be hoisted out to tow the ship; but they were of little use against so great a swell. We, however, found that the ship did not draw near the reef so fast as might be expected; and at seven o'clock, a light air at N.N.E. kept her head to the sea; but it lasted no longer than midnight, when it was succeeded by a dead calm. At daybreak, on the 16th, we had no sight of the reef; and at eleven, a breeze springing up at S.S.W., we hoisted in the boats, and made sail to S.E. At noon we observed in 19° 35′ south, which was considerably more to the south than we expected, and showed that a current or tide had been in our favour all night, and accounted for our getting so unexpectedly clear of the shoals. At two o'clock P.M. we had again a calm, which lasted till nine, when it was succeeded by a light air from E.N.E. and E., with which we advanced but slowly.

On the 17th, at noon, we observed in latitude 19° 54′, when the Isle of Balabea bore S. 60° W., ten and a half leagues distant. We continued to ply, with variable light winds, between N.E. and S.E., without meeting with anything remarkable till the 20th at noon, when Cape Colnet bore N. 78° W., distant six leagues. From this cape the land extended round by the south to E.S.E. till it was lost in the horizon; and the country appeared with many hills and valleys. Latitude observed 20° 41′, longitude made from Observatory Isle 1° 8′ E. We stood in-shore with a light breeze at east till sunset, when we were between two and three leagues off. The coast extended from S. 42° ½ E. to N. 59° W. Two small islets lay without this last direction, distant from us four or five miles; some others lay between us and the shore, and to the east, where they seemed to be connected by reefs, in which appeared some openings from space to space. The country was mountainous, and had much the same aspect as about Balade. On one of the western small isles was an elevation like a tower; and, over a low neck of land within the isle, were seen many other elevations resembling the masts of a fleet of ships. Next day, at sunrise, after having stood off all night with a light breeze at S.E., we found ourselves about six leagues from the coast; and in this situation we were kept by a calm till ten in the evening, when we got a faint land-breeze at S.W., with which we steered S.E. all night.

On the 22d, at sunrise, the land was clouded; but it was not long before the clouds went

off, and we found, by our land-marks, that we had made a good advance. At ten o'clock, the land-breeze being succeeded by a sea-breeze at E. by S., this enabled us to stand in for the land, which at noon extended from N. 78° W. to S. 31½° E. round by the south. In this last direction the coast seemed to trend more to the south in a lofty promontory, which, on account of the day, received the name of Cape Coronation. Latitude 22° 2′, longitude 167° 7½′ E. Some breakers lay between us and the shore, and probably they were connected with those we had seen before. During the night we had advanced about two leagues to S.E.; and at daybreak, on the 23d, an elevated point appeared in sight beyond Cape Coronation, bearing S. 23° E. It proved to be the S.E. extremity of the coast, and obtained the name of Queen Charlotte's Foreland. Latitude 22° 16′ S., longitude 167° 14′ E. About noon, having got a breeze from the N.E., we stood to S.S.E., and, as we drew towards Cape Coronation, saw, in a valley to the south of it, a vast number of those elevated objects before mentioned; and some low land under the Foreland was wholly covered with them. We could not agree in our opinions of what they were. I supposed them to be a singular sort of trees, being too numerous to resemble anything else; and a great deal of smoke kept rising all the day from amongst those near the Cape. Our philosophers were of opinion that this was the smoke of some internal and perpetual fire. My representing to them that there was no smoke here in the morning, would have been of no avail, had not this eternal fire gone out before night, and no more smoke been seen after. They were still more positive that the elevations were pillars of basaltes, like those which compose the Giant's Causeway in Ireland. At sunset, the wind veering round to the south, we tacked and stood off, it not being safe to approach the shore in the dark. At daybreak we stood in again, with a faint land-breeze between E.S.E. and S.S.E. At noon observed in latitude 21° 59′ 30″, Cape Coronation bearing west southerly, distant seven leagues, and the Foreland S. 38° west. As we advanced to S.S.W. the coast beyond the Foreland began to appear in sight; and, at sunset, we discovered a low island lying S.S.E., about seven miles from the Foreland. It was one of those which are generally surrounded with shoals and breakers. At the same time a round hill was seen bearing S. 24° E., twelve leagues distant. During night, having had variable light winds, we advanced but little either way.

On the 25th, about ten o'clock A.M., having got a fair breeze at E.S.E., we stood to S.S.W., in hopes of getting round the Foreland; but, as we drew near, we perceived more low isles beyond the one already mentioned, which at last appeared to be connected by breakers, extending towards the Foreland, and seeming to join the shore. We stood on till half-past three o'clock, when we saw, from the deck, rocks just peeping above the surface of the sea, on the shoal above mentioned. It was now time to alter the course, as the day was too far spent to look for a passage near the shore, and we could find no bottom to anchor in during the night. We, therefore, stood to the south, to look for a passage without the small isles. We had a fine breeze at E.S.E., but it lasted no longer than five o'clock, when it fell to a dead calm. Having sounded, a line of 170 fathoms did not reach the bottom, though we were but a little way from the shoals, which, instead of following the coast to S.W., took a S.E. direction towards the hill we had seen the preceding evening, and seemed to point out to us that it was necessary to go round that land. At this time the most advanced point on the main bore S. 68° W., distant nine or ten leagues. About seven o'clock we got a light breeze at north, which enabled us to steer out E.S.E., and to spend the night with less anxiety. On some of the low isles were many of those elevations already mentioned. Every one was now satisfied they were trees, except our philosophers, who still maintained that they were basaltes.

About daybreak, on the 26th, the wind having shifted to S.S.W., we stretched to S.E. for the hill before mentioned. It belonged to an island, which at noon extended from S. 16° E. to S. 7° W., distant six leagues. Latitude observed 22° 16′ South. In the P.M. the wind freshened, and, veering to S.S.E., we stretched to the east till two A.M. on the 27th, when we tacked and stood to S.W. with hopes of weathering the island; but we fell about two miles short of our expectations, and had to tack about a mile from the east side of the island, the extremes bearing from N.W. by N. to S.W., the hill W., and some low isles, lying off the S.E. point, S. by W. These seemed to be connected with the large island by breakers.

We sounded when in stays, but had no ground with a line of eighty fathoms. The skirts of this is land were covered with the elevations more than once mentioned. They had much the appearance of tall pines, which occasioned my giving that name to the island. The round hill, which is on the S.W. side, is of such a height as to be seen fourteen or sixteen leagues. The island is about a mile in circuit, and situated in latitude 22° 38′ S., longitude 167° 40′ East. Having made two attempts to weather the Isle of Pines before sunset, with no better success than before, this determined me to stretch off till midnight. This day, at noon, the thermometer was at 68¾°, which is lower than it had been since the 27th of February.

Having tacked at midnight, assisted by the currents, and a fresh gale at E.S.E. and S.E., next morning, at daybreak, we found ourselves several leagues to windward of the Isle of Pines, and bore away large, round the S.E. and south sides. The coast from the S.E., round by the south to the west, was strewed with sandbanks, breakers, and small low isles, most of which were covered with the same lofty trees that ornamented the borders of the greater one. We continued to range the outside of these small isles and breakers, at three-fourths of a league distance, and as we passed, one raised another; so that they seemed to form a chain extending to the isles which lie off the Foreland. At noon we observed, in latitude 22° 41′ 36″ S., the Isle of Pines, extending from N. by E. ½ E. to E. by N., and Cape Coronation N. 32° 30′ W., distant seventeen leagues. In the afternoon, with a fine gale at E., we steered N.W. by W. along the outside of the shoals, with a view of falling in with the land a little to S.W. of the Foreland. At two o'clock P.M., two low islets were seen bearing W. by S.; and as they were connected by breakers, which seemed to join those on our starboard, this discovery made it necessary to haul off S.W. in order to get clear of them all. At three, more breakers appeared, extending from the low isles towards the S.E. We now hauled out close to the wind, and in an hour and a half were almost on board the breakers, and obliged to tack. From the mast-head they were seen to extend as far as E.S.E., and the smoothness of the sea made it probable that they extended to the north of east, and that we were in a manner surrounded by them. At this time the hill on the Isle of Pines bore N 71½° E., the Foreland N. ¼ W., and the most advanced point of land on the S.W. coast bore N.W., distant fifteen or sixteen leagues. This direction of the S.W. coast, which was rather within the parallel of the N.E., assured us that this land extended no farther to the S.W. After making a short trip to N.N.E., we stood again to the south, in expectation of having a better view of the shoals before sunset. We gained nothing by this but the prospect of a sea strewed with shoals, which we could not clear but by returning in the track by which we came. We tacked nearly in the same place where we had tacked before, and on sounding found a bottom of fine sand. But anchoring in a strong gale, with a chain of breakers to leeward, being the last resource, I rather chose to spend the night in making short boards over that space we had, in some measure, made ourselves acquainted with in the day. And thus it was spent; but under the terrible apprehension, every moment, of falling on some of the many dangers which surrounded us.

Daylight showed that our fears were not ill-founded, and that we had been in the most imminent danger, having had breakers continually under our lee, and at a very little distance from us. We owed our safety to the interposition of Providence, a good look-out, and the very brisk manner in which the ship was managed; for, as we were standing to the north, the people on the lee gangway and forecastle saw breakers under the lee-bow, which we escaped by quickly tacking the ship. I was now almost tired of a coast which I could no longer explore but at the risk of losing the ship and ruining the whole voyage. I was, however, determined not to leave it till I knew what trees those were which had been the subject of our speculation; especially as they appeared to be of a sort useful to shipping, and had not been seen anywhere but in the southern part of this land. With this view, after making a trip to the south, to weather the shoals under our lee, we stood to the north, in hopes of finding anchorage under some of the islets on which these trees grew. We were stopped by eight o'clock by the shoals which lie extended between the Isle of Pines and Queen Charlotte's Foreland, and found soundings off them in fifty-five, forty, and thirty-six fathoms, a fine sandy bottom. The nearer we came to these shoals, the more we saw of them, and we were not able to say if there was any passage between the two lands.

Being now but a few miles to windward of the low isles lying off the Foreland, mentioned on the 25th and 26th, I bore down to the one next to us. As we drew near it, I perceived that it was unconnected with the neighbouring shoals, and that it is probable we might get to an anchor under its lee or west side. We therefore stood on, being conducted by an officer at the mast-head; and after hauling round the point of the reef which surrounds the isle, we attempted to ply to windward, in order to get nearer the shore. Another reef to the north confined us to a narrow channel, through which ran a current against us, that rendered this attempt fruitless; so that we were obliged to anchor in thirty-nine fathoms water, the bottom fine coral sand; the isle bearing W. by N., one mile distant. As soon as this was done, we hoisted out a boat, in which I went ashore, accompanied by the botanists. We found the tall trees to be a kind of spruce pine, very proper for spars, of which we were in want. After making this discovery, I hastened on board in order to have more time after dinner, when I landed again with two boats, accompanied by several of the officers and gentlemen, having with us the carpenter and some of his crew, to cut down such trees as were wanting. While this was doing, I took the bearings of several lands round. The hill on the Isle of Pines bore S. 59° 30′ E.; the low point of Queen Charlotte's Foreland, N. 14° 30′ west; the high land over it, seen over two low isles, N. 20° west; and the most advanced point of land to the west, bore west, half a point south, distant six or seven leagues. We had, from several bearings, ascertained the true direction of the coast from the Foreland to this point, which I shall distinguish by the name of Prince of Wales's Foreland. It is situated in the latitude of 22° 29′ S., longitude 166° 57′ E., is of a considerable height, and, when it first appears above the horizon, looks like an island. From this cape the coast trended nearly N.W. This was rather too northerly a direction to join that part which we saw from the hills of Balade. But as it was very high land which opened off the cape in that direction, it is very probable that lower land, which we could not see, opened sooner; or else the coast more to the N.W. takes a more westerly direction, in the same manner as the N.E. coast. Be this as it may, we pretty well know the extent of the land, by having it confined within certain limits. However, I still entertained hopes of seeing more of it; but was disappointed.

The little isle upon which we landed, is a mere sandbank, not exceeding three-fourths of a mile in circuit, and on it, besides these pines, grew the *Etoa* tree of Otaheite, and a variety of other trees, shrubs, and plants. These gave sufficient employment to our botanists, all the time we staid upon it, and occasioned my calling it Botany Isle. On it were several water-snakes, some pigeons and doves, seemingly different from any we had seen. One of the officers shot a hawk, which proved to be of the very same sort as our English fishing-hawks. Several fire-places, branches, and leaves very little decayed, remains of turtle, &c., showed that people had lately been on the isle. The hull of a canoe, precisely of the same shape as those we had seen at Balade, lay wrecked in the sand. We were now no longer at a loss to know of what trees they make their canoes, as they can be no other than these pines. On this little isle were some which measured twenty inches diameter, and between sixty and seventy feet in length, and would have done very well for a foremast to the Resolution, had one been wanting. Since trees of this size are to be found on so small a spot, it is reasonable to expect to find some much larger on the main, and larger isles; and, if appearances did not deceive us, we can assert it.

If I except New Zealand, I, at this time, knew of no island in the South Pacific Ocean, where a ship could supply herself with a mast or a yard, were she ever so much distressed for want of one. Thus far the discovery is or may be valuable. My carpenter, who was a mast-maker as well as a ship-wright, two trades he learnt in Deptford-yard, was of opinion that these trees would make exceedingly good masts. The wood is white, close-grained, tough, and light. Turpentine had exuded out of most of the trees, and the sun had inspissated it into a rosin, which was found sticking to the trunks, and lying about the roots. These trees shoot out their branches like all other pines; with this difference, that the branches of these are much smaller and shorter; so that the knots become nothing when the tree is wrought for use. I took notice, that the largest of them had the smallest and shortest branches, and were crowned, as it were, at the top, by a spreading branch like

a bush. This was what led some on board into the extravagant notion of their being basaltes: indeed, no one could think of finding such trees here. The seeds are produced in cones; but we could find none that had any in them, or that were in a proper state for vegetable or botanical examination. Besides these, there was another tree or shrub of the spruce fir kind; but it was very small. We also found on the isle a sort of scurvy-grass, and a plant, called by us Lamb's Quarters, which, when boiled, eat like spinach. Having got ten or twelve small spars to make studding-sail booms, boats'-masts, &c., and night approaching, we returned with them on board.

The purpose for which I anchored under this isle being answered, I was now to consider what was next to be done. We had, from the topmast head, taken a view of the sea around us, and observed the whole, to the west, to be strewed with small islets, sandbanks, and breakers, to the utmost extent of our horizon. They seemed, indeed, not to be all connected, and to be divided by winding channels. But when I considered, that the extent of this S.W. coast was already pretty well determined; the great risk attending a more accurate survey, and the time it would require to accomplish it, on account of the many dangers we should have to encounter; I determined not to hazard the ship down to leeward, where we might be so hemmed in as to find it difficult to return, and by that means lose the proper season for getting to the south. I now wished to have had the little vessel set up, the frame of which we had on board. I had some thoughts of doing this when we were last at Otaheite, but found it could not be executed, without neglecting the caulking and other necessary repairs of the ship, or staying longer there than the route I had in view would admit. It was now too late to begin setting her up, and then to use her in exploring this coast; and in our voyage to the south, she could be of no service. These reasons induced me to try to get without the shoals; that is, to the southward of them.

Next morning, at daybreak, we got under sail, with a light breeze at E. by N. We had to make some trips to weather the shoals to leeward of Botany Isle; but when this was done, the breeze began to fail; and at three P.M. it fell calm. The swell, assisted by the current, set us fast to S.W. towards the breakers, which were yet in sight in that direction. Thus we continued till ten o'clock, at which time a breeze springing up at N.N.W. we steered E.S.E., the contrary course we had come in; not daring to steer farther south till daylight. At three o'clock next morning, the wind veered to S.W., blew hard, and in squalls, attended with rain, which made it necessary to proceed with our courses up, and topsails on the cap, till daybreak, when the hill on the Isle of Pines bore N., and our distance from the shore in that direction was about four leagues. We had now a very strong wind at S.S.W., attended by a great sea, so that we had reason to rejoice at having got clear of the shoals before this gale overtook us. Though everything conspired to make me think this was the westerly monsoon, it can hardly be comprehended under that name, for several reasons: first, because it was near a month too soon for these winds; secondly, because we know not if they reach this place at all; and lastly, because it is very common for westerly winds to blow within the tropics. However, I never found them to blow so hard before, or so far southerly. Be these things as they may, we had now no other choice but to stretch to S.E., which we accordingly did, with our starboard tacks aboard; and at noon were out of sight of land.

The gale continued with very little alteration till noon next day; at which time we observed in latitude 23° 18′, longitude made from the Isle of Pines 1° 54′ east. In the afternoon we had little wind from the south, and a great swell from the same direction; and many boobies, tropic, and men-of-war birds were seen. At eleven o'clock a fresh breeze sprung up at W. by S., with which we stood to the south. At this time we were in the latitude of 23° 18′, longitude 169° 49′ E., and about forty-two leagues south of the Hebrides. At eight o'clock in the morning, on the 3rd, the wind veered to S.W., and blew a strong gale by squalls, attended with rain. I now gave over all thought of returning to the land we had left. Indeed, when I considered the vast ocean we had to explore to the south; the state and condition of the ship, already in want of some necessary stores; that summer was approaching fast; and that any considerable accident might detain us in this sea another year; I did not think it advisable to attempt to regain the land.

Thus I was obliged, as it were by necessity, for the first time, to leave a coast I had discovered, before it was fully explored. I called it New Caledonia; and, if we except New Zealand, it is perhaps the largest island in the South Pacific Ocean; for it extends from the latitude of 19° 37′ to 22° 30′ S., and from the longitude of 163° 37′ to 167° 14′ E. It lies nearly N.W. ½ W., and S.E. ½ E., and is about eighty-seven leagues long in that direction; but its breadth is not considerable, not anywhere exceeding ten leagues. It is a country full of hills and valleys, of various extent both for height and depth. To judge of the whole by the parts we were on, from these hills spring vast numbers of little rivulets, which greatly contribute to fertilise the plains, and to supply all the wants of the inhabitants. The summits of most of the hills seem to be barren; though some few are clothed with wood; as are all the planes and valleys. By reason of these hills, many parts of the coast, when at a distance from it, appeared indented, or to have great inlets between the hills; but when we came near the shore, we always found such places shut up with low land, and also observed low land to lie aong the coast between the sea-shore and the foot of the hills. As this was the case in all such parts as we came near enough to see, it is reasonable to suppose that the whole coast is so. I am likewise of opinion, that the whole, or greatest part, is surrounded by reefs or shoals, which render the access to it very dangerous, but at the same time guard the coast from the violence of the wind and sea; make it abound with fish; secure an easy and safe navigation along it, for canoes, &c. and most likely form some good harbours for shipping. Most, if not every part of the coast is inhabited, the Isle of Pines not excepted; for we saw either smoke by day, or fires by night, wherever we came. In the extent which I have given to this island is included the broken or unconnected lands to the N.W., as they are delineated in the chart. That they may be connected, I shall not pretend to deny; we were however of opinion that they were isles, and that New Caledonia terminated more to S.E., though this, at most, is but a well-founded conjecture.

But whether these lands be separate isles, or connected with New Caledonia, it is by no means certain that we saw their termination to the west. I think we did not, as the shoals did not end with the land we saw, but kept their N.W. direction farther than Bougainville's track in the latitude of 15° or 15½°. Nay, it seems not improbable, that a chain of isles, sandbanks, and reefs may extend to the west, as far as the coast of New South Wales. The eastern extent of the isles and shoals off that coast, between the latitude of 15° and 23°, were not known. The semblance of the two countries*; Bougainville's meeting with the shoal of Diana above sixty leagues from the coast, and the signs he had of land to the S.E., all tend to increase the probability. I must confess that it is carrying probability and conjecture a little too far, to say what may lie in a space of two hundred leagues; but it is in some measure necessary, were it only to put some future navigator on his guard.

Mr. Wales determined the longitude of that part of New Caledonia we explored, by ninety-six sets of observations, which were reduced to one another by our trusty guide the watch. I found the variation of the compass to be 10° 24′ E. This is the mean variation given by the three azimuth compasses we had on board, which would differ from each other a degree and a half, and sometimes more. I did not observe any difference in the variation between the N.W. and S.E. parts of this land, except when we were at anchor before Balade, where it was less than 10°; but this I did not regard, as I found such a uniformity out at sea; and it is there where navigators want to know the variation. While we were on the N.E. coast, I thought the currents set to S.E. and W. or N.W. on the other side; but they are by no means considerable, and may as probably be channels of tides as regular currents. In the narrow channels which divide the shoals, and those which communicate with the sea, the tides run strong; but their rise and fall are inconsiderable, not exceeding three feet and a half. The time of high-water, at the full and change, at Balade, is about six o'clock; but at Botany Isle we judged it would happen about ten or eleven o'clock.

* See his Voyage, English translation, p. 303.

CHAPTER XI.—SEQUEL OF THE PASSAGE FROM NEW CALEDONIA TO NEW ZEALAND, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF NORFOLK ISLAND, AND THE INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED WHILE THE SHIP LAY IN QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND.

The wind continuing at S.W., W.S.W., and W., blowing a fresh gale, and now and then squalls, with showers of rain, we steered to S.S.E., without meeting with any remarkable occurrence till near noon on the 6th, when it fell calm. At this time we were in the latitude of 27° 50′ S., longitude 171° 43′ E. The calm continued till noon the next day, during which time we observed the variation to be 10° 33½′ E. I now ordered the carpenters to work to caulk the decks. As we had neither pitch, tar, nor rosin left to pay the seams, this was done with varnish of pine, and afterwards covered with coral sand, which made a cement far exceeding my expectation. In the afternoon we had a boat in the water, and shot two albatrosses, which were geese to us. We had seen one of this kind of birds the day before, which was the first we observed since we had been within the tropic. On the 7th, at one P.M., a breeze sprang up at south; soon after it veered to, and fixed at S.E. by S., and blew a gentle gale, attended with pleasant weather.

We stretched to W.S.W., and next day at noon were in the latitude of 28° 25′, longitude 170° 26′ E. In the evening, Mr. Cooper having struck a porpoise with a harpoon, it was necessary to bring to, and have two boats out, before we could kill it, and get it on board. It was six feet long; a female of that kind which naturalists call dolphin of the ancients, and which differs from the other kind of porpoise in the head and jaw, having them long and pointed. This had eighty-eight teeth in each jaw. The haslet* and lean flesh were to us a feast. The latter was a little liverish, but had not the least fishy taste. It was eaten roasted, broiled, and fried, first soaking it in warm water. Indeed, little art was wanting to make anything fresh palatable to those who had been living so long on salt meat.

NORFOLK ISLAND PINE.

We continued to stretch to W.S.W. till the 10th, when, at daybreak, we discovered land bearing S.W., which on a nearer approach we found to be an island of good height, and five leagues in circuit. I named it Norfolk Isle, in honour of the noble family of Howard. It is situated in the latitude of 29° 2′ 30″ S., and longitude 168° 16′ E. The latter was determined by lunar observations made on this, the preceding, and following days; and the former, by a good observation at noon, when we were about three miles from the isle. Soon after we discovered the isle, we sounded in twenty-two fathoms on a bank of coral sand; after this we continued to sound, and found not less than twenty-two, or more than twenty-four fathoms (except near the shore), and the same bottom mixed with broken shells. After dinner, a party of us embarked in two boats, and landed on the island, without any difficulty, behind some large rocks which lined part of the coast

* The internal parts, liver, lungs, &c.

on the N.E. side. We found it uninhabited, and were undoubtedly the first that ever set foot on it. We observed many trees and plants common at New Zealand; and in particular, the flax-plant, which is rather more luxuriant here than in any part of that country: but the chief produce is a sort of spruce pine, which grows in great abundance, and to a large size, many of the trees being as thick, breast-high, as two men could fathom, and exceedingly straight and tall. This pine is of a sort between that which grows in New Zealand and that in New Caledonia; the foliage differing something from both; and the wood not so heavy as the former, nor so light and close-grained as the latter. It is a good deal like the Quebec pine. For about two hundred yards from the shore the ground is covered so thick with shrubs and plants, as hardly to be penetrated farther inland. The woods were perfectly clear and free from underwood, and the soil seemed rich and deep.

We found the same kind of pigeons, parrots, and parroquets as in New Zealand, rails, and some small birds. The sea-fowl are, white boobies, gulls, tern, &c. which breed undisturbed on the shores, and in the cliffs of the rocks. On the isle is fresh water; and cabbage-palm, wood-sorrel, sow-thistle, and samphire abounding in some places on the shores: we brought on board as much of each sort as the time we had to gather them would admit. These cabbage-trees, or palms, were not thicker than a man's leg, and from ten to twenty feet high. They are of the same genus with the cocoa-nut tree; like it, they have large pinnated leaves, and are the same as the second sort found in the northern parts of New South Wales *. The cabbage is, properly speaking, the bud of the tree; each tree producing but one cabbage, which is at the crown, where the leaves spring out, and is inclosed in the stem. The cutting off the cabbage effectually destroys the tree; so that no more than one can be had from the same stem. The cocoa-nut tree, and some others of the palm kind, produce cabbage as well as these. This vegetable is not only wholesome, but exceedingly palatable, and proved the most agreeable repast we had for some time.

The coast does not want fish. While we were on shore, the people in the boats caught some which were excellent. I judged that it was high water at the full and change, about one o'clock, and that the tide rises and falls upon a perpendicular about four or five feet. The approach of night brought us all on board, when we hoisted in the boats; and stretching to E.N.E. (with the wind at S.E.) till midnight, we tacked and spent the remainder of the night making short boards.

Next morning, at sunrise, we made sail, stretching to S.S.W., and weathered the island, on the south side of which lie two isles, that serve as roosting and breeding places for birds. On this, as also on the S.E. side, is a sandy beach; whereas most of the other shores are bounded by rocky cliffs which have twenty and eighteen fathoms water close to them; at least so we found it on the N.E. side, and with good anchorage. A bank of coral sand, mixed with shells, on which we found from nineteen to thirty-five or forty fathoms water, surrounds the isle, and extends, especially to the south, seven leagues off. The morning we discovered the island, the variation was found to be 13° 9′ E., but I think this observation gave too much, as others, which we had, both before and after, gave 2° less. After leaving Norfolk Isle, I steered for New Zealand, my intention being to touch at Queen Charlotte's Sound, to refresh my crew, and put the ship in a condition to encounter the southern latitudes.

On the 17th, at daybreak, we saw Mount Egmont, which was covered with everlasting snow, bearing S.E. ½ E. Our distance from the shore was about eight leagues; and on sounding, we found seventy fathoms water, a muddy bottom. The wind soon fixed in the western board, and blew a fresh gale, with which we steered S.S.E. for Queen Charlotte's Sound, with a view of falling in with Cape Stephens. At noon Cape Egmont bore E.N.E. distant three or four leagues; and though the mount was hid in the clouds, we judged it to be in the same direction as the Cape; latitude observed, 39° 24′. The wind increased in such a manner as to oblige us to close-reef our topsails, and strike top-gallant yards. At last we could bear no more sail than the two courses, and two close-reefed topsails; and under them we stretched for Cape Stephens, which we made at eleven o'clock at night. At midnight we tacked and made a trip to the north till three o'clock next morning, when we bore away for the Sound. At nine we hauled round Point Jackson, through a sea which looked terrible, occasioned by a rapid tide and a high wind; but as we knew the coast, it

* *Vide* Hawkesworth's Voyages, vol. iii.

did not alarm us. At eleven o'clock we anchored before Ship Cove; the strong flurries from off the land not permitting us to get in.

In the afternoon, as we could not move the ship, I went into the cove, with the seine, to try to catch some fish. The first thing I did after landing was to look for the bottle I left hid when last here, in which was the memorandum. It was taken away; but by whom it did not appear. Two hauls with the seine producing only four small fish, we in some measure made up for this deficiency by shooting several birds, which the flowers in the garden had drawn thither, as also some old shags, and by robbing the nests of some young ones. Being little wind next morning, we weighed, and warped the ship into the Cove, and there moored with the two bowers. We unbent the sails to repair them, several having been split, and otherwise damaged in the late gale. The main and fore courses, already worn to the very utmost, were condemned as useless. I ordered the topmasts to be struck and unrigged, in order to fix to them moveable chocks or knees, for want of which the trestle-trees were continually breaking; the forge to be set up to make bolts and repair our iron-work; and tents to be erected on shore for the reception of a guard, coopers, sail-makers, &c. I likewise gave orders that vegetables (of which there were plenty) should be boiled every morning with oatmeal and portable broth for breakfast, and with peas and broth every day for dinner for the whole crew, over and above their usual allowance of salt meat.

In the afternoon, as Mr. Wales was setting up his observatory, he discovered that several trees, which were standing when we last sailed from this place, had been cut down with saws and axes; and a few days after, the place where an observatory, clock, &c., had been set up, was also found in a spot different from that where Mr. Wales had placed his. It was therefore now no longer to be doubted that the Adventure had been in this cove after we had left it.

Next day, winds southerly, hazy cloudy weather. Everybody went to work at their respective employments, one of which was to caulk the ship's sides, a thing much wanted. The seams were payed with putty, made with cook's fat and chalk; the gunner happening to have a quantity of the latter on board. The 21st, wind southerly, with continual rains. The weather being fair in the afternoon of the 22d, accompanied by the botanists, I visited our gardens on Motuara, which we found almost in a state of nature, having been wholly neglected by the inhabitants. Nevertheless, many articles were in a flourishing condition, and showed how well they liked the soil in which they were planted. None of the natives having yet made their appearance, we made a fire on the point of the island, in hopes, if they saw the smoke, they might be induced to come to us.

Nothing remarkable happened till the 24th, when, in the morning, two canoes were seen coming down the Sound; but as soon as they perceived the ship, they retired behind a point on the west side. After breakfast I went in a boat to look for them; and as we proceeded along the shore, we shot several birds. The report of the muskets gave notice of our approach, and the natives discovered themselves in Shag Cove by hallooing to us; but as we drew near to their habitations, they all fled to the woods, except two or three men, who stood on a rising ground near the shore, with their arms in their hands. The moment we landed, they knew us. Joy then took place of fear, and the rest of the natives hurried out of the woods, and embraced us over and over again, leaping and skipping about like madmen; but I observed that they would not suffer some women, whom we saw at a distance, to come near us. After we had made them presents of hatchets, knives, and what else we had with us, they gave us in return a large quantity of fish, which they had just caught. There were only a few amongst them whose faces we could recognise; and on our asking why they were afraid of us, and inquiring for some of our old acquaintances by name, they talked much about killing, which was so variously understood by us, that we could gather nothing from it; so that, after a short stay, we took leave, and went on board. Next morning early, our friends, according to a promise they made us the preceding evening, paying us a visit, brought with them a quantity of fine fish, which they exchanged for Otaheitean cloth, &c., and then returned to their habitations.

On the 26th, we got into the after-hold four boat-load of shingle ballast, and struck down six guns, keeping only six on deck. Our good friends the natives having brought us a

plentiful supply of fish, afterwards went on shore to the tents, and informed our people there that a ship like ours had been lately lost in the Strait; that some of the people got on shore, and that the natives stole their clothes &c., for which several were shot; that afterwards, when they could fire no longer, the natives having got the better, killed them with their *Patapatoos*, and ate them; but that they themselves had no hand in the affair, which, they said, happened at Vanna Aroa, near Teerawhitty on the other side of the Strait. One man said it was two moons ago; but another contradicted him, and counted on his fingers about twenty or thirty days. They described by actions how the ship was beat to pieces, by going up and down against the rocks, till at last it was all scattered abroad.

The next day some others told the same story, or nearly to the same purport, and pointed over the East Bay, which is on the east side of the sound, as to the place where it happened. These stories making me very uneasy about the Adventure, I desired Mr. Wales, and those on shore, to let me know if any of the natives should mention it again, or to send them to me; for I had not heard anything from them myself. When Mr. Wales came on board to dinner, he found the very people who had told him the story on shore, and pointed them out to me. I inquired about the affair, and endeavoured to come at the truth by every method I could think of. All I could get from them was, *Caurey* (no); and they not only denied every syllable of what they had said on shore, but seemed wholly ignorant of the matter; so that I began to think our people had misunderstood them, and that the story referred to some of their own people and boats.

On the 28th, fresh gales westerly, and fair weather. We rigged and fitted the topmasts. Having gone on a shooting-party to West Bay, we went to the place where I left the hogs and fowls; but saw no vestiges of them, nor of anybody having been there since. In our return, having visited the natives, we got some fish in exchange for trifles which we gave them. As we were coming away, Mr. Forster thought he heard the squeaking of a pig in the woods, close by their habitations; probably they may have those I left with them when last here. In the evening we got on board, with about a dozen and a half of wild-fowl, shags, and sea-pies. The sportsmen who had been out in the woods near the ship were more successful among the small birds.

On the 29th and 30th nothing remarkable happened, except that in the evening of the latter all the natives left us. The 31st being a fine pleasant day, our botanists went over to Long Island, where one of the party saw a large black boar. As it was described to me, I thought it to be one of those which Captain Furneaux left behind, and had been brought over to this isle by those who had it in keeping. Since they did not destroy those hogs when first in their possession, we cannot suppose they will do it now; so that there is little fear but that this country will, in time, be stocked with these animals, both in a wild and domestic state. Next day we were visited by a number of strangers, who came from up the sound, and brought with them but little fish. Their chief commodity was green stone or talc, an article which never came to a bad market; and some of the largest pieces of it I had ever seen were got this day.

On the 2d I went over to the east side of the sound, and, without meeting anything remarkable, returned on board in the evening, when I learnt that the same people who visited us the preceding day had been on board most of this, with their usual article of trade. On the 3d, Mr. Pickersgill met with some of the natives, who related to him the story of a ship being lost, and the people being killed; but added, with great earnestness, it was not done by them. On the 4th, fine pleasant weather. Most of the natives now retired up the sound. Indeed, I had taken every gentle method to oblige them to be gone; for since these new-comers had been with us, our old friends had disappeared, and we had been without fish. Having gone over to Long Island to look for the hog which had been seen there, I found it to be one of the sows left by Captain Furneaux; the same that was in possession of the natives when we were last here. From a supposition of its being a boar, I had carried over a sow to leave with him; but on seeing my mistake, brought her back, as the leaving her there would answer no end.

Early in the morning of the 5th, our old friends made us a visit, and brought a seasonable supply of fish. At the same time, I embarked in the pinnace with Messrs. Forsters and

Sparrman, in order to proceed up the sound. I was desirous of finding the termination of it, or rather of seeing if I could find any passage out to sea by the S.E., as I suspected from some discoveries I had made when first here. In our way up we met with some fishers, of whom we made the necessary inquiry; and they all agreed that there was no passage to sea by the head of the sound. As we proceeded, we some time after met a canoe, conducted by four men, coming down the sound. These confirmed what the others had said, in regard to there being no passage to sea the way we were going; but gave us to understand that there was one to the east, in the very place where I expected to find it. I now laid aside the scheme of going to the head of the sound, and proceeded to this arm, which is on the S.E. side, about four or five leagues above the Isle of Motuara.

A little within the entrance on the S.E. side, at a place called Kotieghenooee, we found a large settlement of the natives. The chief, whose name was Tringo-boohee, and his people, whom we found to be some of those who had lately been on board the ship, received us with great courtesy. They seemed to be pretty numerous, both here and in the neighbourhood. Our stay with them was short, as the information they gave us encouraged us to pursue the object we had in view. Accordingly, we proceeded down the arm E.N.E. and E. by N., leaving several fine coves on both sides, and at last found it to open into the strait by a channel about a mile wide, in which ran out a strong tide; having also observed one setting down the arm, all the time we had been in it. It was now about four o'clock in the afternoon; and in less than an hour after, this tide ceased, and was succeeded by the flood, which came in with equal strength.

The outlet lies S.E. by E., and N.W. by W., and nearly in the direction of E.S.E., and W.N.W. from Cape Teerawhitte. We found thirteen fathoms water a little within the entrance, clear round. It seemed to me that a leading wind was necessary to go in and out of this passage, on account of the rapidity of the tides. I, however, had but little time to make observations of this nature, as night was at hand, and I had resolved to return on board. On that account, I omitted visiting a large *hippa*, or stronghold, built on an elevation on the north side, and about a mile or two within the entrance. The inhabitants of it, by signs, invited us to go to them; but, without paying any regard to them, we proceeded directly for the ship, which we reached by ten o'clock, bringing with us some fish we had got from the natives, and a few birds we had shot. Amongst the latter, were some of the same kind of ducks we found in Dusky Bay; and we have reason to believe that they are all to be met with here; for the natives knew them all by the drawings, and had a particular name for each.

On the 6th, wind at N.E., gloomy weather with rain. Our old friends having taken up their abode near us, one of them, whose name was Pedero, (a man of some note,) made me a present of a staff of honour, such as the chiefs generally carry. In return, I dressed him in a suit of old clothes, of which he was not a little proud. He had a fine person and a good presence; and nothing but his colour distinguished him from a European. Having got him and another into a communicative mood, we began to inquire of them if the Adventure had been there during my absence, and they gave us to understand, in a manner that admitted of no doubt, that soon after we were gone she arrived, that she staid between ten and twenty days, and had been gone ten months. They likewise asserted, that neither she nor any other ship had been stranded on the coast, as had been reported. This assertion, and the manner in which they related the coming and going of the Adventure, made me easy about her; but did not wholly set aside our suspicions of a disaster having happened to some other strangers. Besides what has been already related, we had been told that a ship had lately been here, and was gone to a place called Terato, which is on the north side of the Strait. Whether this story related to the former or not, I cannot say. Whenever I questioned the natives about it, they always denied all knowledge of it; and for some time past had avoided mentioning it. It was but a few days before, that one man received a box on the ear for naming it to some of our people. After breakfast, I took a number of hands over to Long-Island, in order to catch the sow, to put her to the boar, and remove her to some other place; but we returned without seeing her. Some of the natives had been there not long before us, as their fires were yet burning; and they had undoubtedly taken her

away. Pedero dined with us, ate of everything at table, and drank more wine than any one of us, without being in the least affected by it.

The 7th, fresh gales at N.E. with continual rain. The 8th, fore-part rain, remainder fair weather. We put two pigs, a boar and a sow, on shore, in the cove next without Cannibal Cove; so that it is hardly possible all the methods I have taken to stock this country with these animals should fail. We had also reason to believe that some of the cocks and hens which I left here still existed, although we had not seen any of them; for a hen's egg was, some days before, found in the woods almost new laid.

On the 9th, wind westerly or N.W. squally, with rain. In the morning we unmoored, and shifted our berth farther out of the cove, for the more ready getting to sea the next morning; for, at present, the caulkers had not finished the sides, and till this work was done we could not sail. Our friends having brought us a very large and seasonable supply of fish, I bestowed on Pedero a present of an empty oil-jar, which made him as happy as a prince. Soon after, he and his party left the cove, and retired to their proper place of abode, with all the treasure they had received from us. I believe that they gave away many of the things they, at different times, got from us, to their friends, and neighbours, or else parted with them to purchase peace of their more powerful enemies; for we never saw any of our presents after they were once in their possession; and every time we visited them they were as much in want of hatchets, nails, &c. to all appearance, as if they never had had any among them.

I am satisfied that the people in this Sound, who are upon the whole pretty numerous, are under no regular form of government, or so united as to form one body politic. The head of each tribe, or family, seems to be respected; and that respect may, on some occasions, command obedience; but I doubt if any amongst them have either a right or power to enforce it. The day we were with Tringo-boohee, the people came from all parts to see us, which he endeavoured to prevent. But though he went so far as to throw stones at some, I observed that very few paid any regard either to his words or actions; and yet this man was spoken of as a chief of some note. I have, before, made some remarks on the evils attending these people for want of union among themselves; and the more I was acquainted with them, the more I found it to be so. Notwithstanding they are cannibals, they are naturally of a good disposition, and have not a little humanity.

In the afternoon a party of us went ashore into one of the coves, where were two families of the natives variously employed; some sleeping, some making mats, others roasting fish and fir roots, and one girl, I observed, was heating of stones. Curious to know what they were for, I remained near her. As soon as the stones were made hot, she took them out of the fire, and gave them to an old woman, who was sitting in the hut. *She* placed them in a heap, laid over them a handful of green celery, and over that a coarse mat, and then squatted herself down, on her heels, on the top of all; thus making a kind of Dutch warming-pan, on which she sat as close as a hare on her seat. I should hardly have mentioned this operation, if I had thought it had no other view than to warm the old woman's back. I rather suppose it was intended to cure some disorder she might have on her, which the steams arising from the green celery might be a specific for. I was led to think so by there being hardly any celery in the place, we having gathered it long before; and grass, of which there was great plenty, would have kept the stones from burning the mat full as well, if that had been all that was meant. Besides, the woman looked to me sickly, and not in a good state of health.

Mr. Wales from time to time communicated to me the observations he had made in this sound for determining the longitude, the mean results of which give 174° 25′ 7″ ½ E. for the bottom of Ship Cove, where the observations were made; and the latitude of it is 41° 5′ 56″ ½ S. In my chart, constituted in my former voyage, this place is laid down in 184° 54′ 30″ West, equal to 175° 5′ 30″ E. The error of the chart is therefore 0° 40′ 0″, and nearly equal to what was found at Dusky Bay; by which it appears that the whole of Tavaipoenammoo is laid down 40′ too far east in the said chart, as well as in the journal of the voyage. But the error in Eaheino-mauwe is not more than half a degree, or thirty minutes; because the distance between Queen Charlotte's Sound and Cape Palliser has been found to

be greater by 10′ of longitude than it is laid down in the chart. I mention these errors, not from a fear that they will affect either navigation or geography, but because I have no doubt of their existence; for, from the multitude of observations which Mr. Wales took, the situation of few parts of the world is better ascertained than Queen Charlotte's Sound. Indeed, I might, with equal truth, say the same of all the other places where we made any stay; for Mr. Wales, whose abilities are equal to his assiduity, lost no one observation that could possibly be obtained. Even the situation of those islands which we passed without touching at them, is, by means of Kendal's watch, determined with almost equal accuracy. The error of the watch from Otaheite to this place was only 43′ 39″ $\frac{1}{4}$ in longitude, reckoning at the rate it was found to go at, at that island and at Tanna; but by reckoning at the rate it was going when last at Queen Charlotte's Sound, and from the time of our leaving it, to our return to it again, which was near a year, the error was 19′ 31″, 25 in time, or 4° 52′ 48″ $\frac{3}{4}$ in longitude. This error cannot be thought great, if we consider the length of time, and that we had gone over a space equal to upwards of three-fourths of the equatorial circumference of the earth, and through all the climates and latitudes from 9° to 71°. Mr. Wales found its rate of going here to be that of gaining 12″, 576, on mean time, per day.

The mean result of all the observations he made for ascertaining the variation of the compass and the dip of the south end of the needle, the three several times we had been here, gave 14° 9′ $\frac{1}{3}$ E. for the former, and 64° 36″ $\frac{2}{3}$ for the latter. He also found, from very accurate observations, that the time of high-water preceded the moon's southing, on the full and change days, by three hours; and that the greatest rise and fall of the water was five feet ten inches and a half; but there were evident tokens on the beach of its having risen two feet higher than it ever did in the course of his experiments.

BOOK IV.

FROM LEAVING NEW ZEALAND TO OUR RETURN TO ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.—THE RUN FROM NEW ZEALAND TO TERRA DEL FUEGO, WITH THE RANGE FROM CAPE DESEADA TO CHRISTMAS SOUND, AND DESCRIPTION OF THAT PART OF THE COAST.

At daybreak on the 10th, with a fine breeze at W.N.W., we weighed and stood out of the Sound; and, after getting round the Two Brothers, steered for Cape Campbell, which is at the S.W. entrance of the strait, all sails set, with a fine breeze at north. At four in the afternoon, we passed the Cape, at the distance of four or five leagues, and then steered S.S.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E., with the wind at N.W., a gentle gale, and cloudy weather. Next morning, the wind veered round by the west to south, and forced us more to the east than I intended. At seven o'clock in the evening, the snowy mountains bore W. by S., and Cape Palliser N. $\frac{1}{4}$ W., distant sixteen or seventeen leagues; from which cape, I, for the third time, took my departure. After a few hours' calm, a breeze springing up at north, we steered S. by E. all sails set, with a view of getting into the latitude of 54° or 55°; my intention being to cross this vast ocean nearly in these parallels, and so as to pass over those parts which were left unexplored the preceding summer.

In the morning of the 12th, the wind increased to a fine gale: at noon we observed in latitude 43° 13′ 30″ S., longitude 176° 41′ E. An extraordinary fish of the whale kind was seen, which some called a sea-monster: I did not see it myself. In the afternoon, our old companions the pintado peterels began to appear. On the 13th, in the morning, the wind veered to W.S.W. At seven, seeing the appearance of land to the S.W., we hauled up towards it, and soon found it to be a fog-bank. Afterwards we steered S.E. by S., and soon after saw a seal. At noon, latitude, by account, 44° 25′, longitude 177° 31′ E. Foggy weather, which continued all the afternoon. At six in the evening, the wind veered to N.E. by N., and increased to a fresh gale, attended with thick hazy weather; course steered E., E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.

On the 14th A.M. saw another seal. At noon, latitude 45° 54′, longitude 179° 29′ E. On the 15th A.M. the wind veered to the westward; the fog cleared away, but the weather continued cloudy. At noon, latitude 47° 30′, longitude 178° 19′ W.; for, having passed the meridian of 180 E., I now reckon my longitude west of the first meridian, viz., Greenwich. In the evening heard penguins, and, the next morning, saw some sea or rock weed. At noon a fresh gale from the west, and fine weather. Latitude observed 49° 33′, longitude 175° 31′ W.

Next morning fresh gales and hazy weather; saw a seal and several pieces of weed. At noon, latitude 51° 12′, longitude 173° 17′ W. The wind veered to the north and N.E. by N., blew a strong gale by squalls, which split an old topgallant sail, and obliged us to double-reef the topsails; but in the evening the wind moderated, and veered to W.N.W., when we loosed a reef out of each topsail, and found the variation of the compass to be 9° 52′ E., being then in the latitude 51° 47′, longitude 172° 21′ W.; and the next morning, the 18th, in the latitude of 52° 25′, longitude 170° 45′ W, it was 10° 26′ E. Towards noon, had moderate but cloudy weather, and a great swell from the west: some penguins and pieces of sea-weed seen. On the 19th, steered E.S.E. with a very fresh gale at N., hazy, dirty weather At noon, latitude 53° 43′, longitude 166° 15′ W. On the 20th, steered E. by S. with a moderate breeze at N., attended with thick, hazy weather. At noon, latitude 54° 8′, longitude 162° 18′ W.

On the 21st, winds mostly from the N.E., a fresh gale, attended with thick, hazy, dirty weather. Course S.E. by S.; latitude, at noon, 55° 31′; longitude 160° 29′ W.; abundance of blue peterels and some penguins seen. Fresh gales at N.W. by N. and N. by W., and hazy till towards noon of the 22nd, when the weather cleared up, and we observed in latitude 55° 48′ S., longitude 156° 56′ W. In the afternoon had a few hours' calm; after that, the wind came at S.S.E. and S.E. by S., a light breeze, with which we steered east-northerly. In the night the aurora australis was visible, but very faint, and noways remarkable.

On the 23rd, in the latitude of 55° 46′ S., longitude 156° 13′ W. The variation was 9° 42′ E. We had a calm from ten in the morning till six in the evening, when a breeze sprung up at west; at first it blew a gentle gale, but afterwards freshened. Our course was now E. ½ N. On the 24th, a fresh breeze at N.W. by W., and N. by W. At noon, in latitude 55° 38′ S., longitude 153° 37′ W., foggy in the night, but next day had a fine gale at N.W., attended with clear pleasant weather; course steered E. by N. In the evening, being in the latitude of 55° 8′ S.. longitude 148° 10′ W. the variation, by the mean of two compasses, was 6° 35′ ½ E. Having a steady fresh gale at N.N.W. on the 26th and 27th, we steered east, and at noon, on the latter, were in latitude 55° 6′ S., longitude 138° 56′ W.

I now gave up all hopes of finding any more land in this ocean, and came to a resolution to steer directly for the west entrance of the Straits of Magalhaens, with a view of coasting the out or south side of Terra del Fuego, round Cape Horn, to the Strait Le Maire. As the world has but a very imperfect knowledge of this shore, I thought the coasting of it would be of more advantage, both to navigation and to geography, than anything I could expect to find in a higher latitude. In the afternoon of this day, the wind blew in squalls, and carried away the main-topgallant-mast.

A very strong gale northerly, with hazy rainy weather, on the 28th, obliged us to double-reef the fore and main-topsail, to hand the mizen-topsail, and get down the fore-topgallant-yard. In the morning, the bolt-rope of the main-topsail broke, and occasioned the sail to be split. I have observed that the ropes to all our sails, the square-sails especially, are not of a size and strength sufficient to wear out the canvas. At noon, latitude 55° 20′ S., longitude 134° 16′ W., a great swell from N.W.; albatrosses and blue peterels seen. Next day towards noon, the wind abating, we loosed all the reefs out of the topsails, rigged another topgallant-mast, and got the yards across. P.M., little wind, and hazy weather; at midnight calm, that continued till noon the next day, when a breeze sprung up at E., with which we stretched to the northward. At this time we were in the latitude 55° 32′ S., longitude 128° 45′ W.; some albatrosses and peterels seen. At eight P.M. the wind veering to N.E., we tacked and stood to E.S.E.

On the 1st of December, thick, hazy weather, with drizzling rain, and a moderate breeze of wind, which at three o'clock P.M. fell to a calm; at this time in latitude 55° 41′ S., longitude 127° 5′ W. After four hours' calm, the fog cleared away, and we got a wind at S.E., with which we stood N.E. Next day, a fresh breeze at S.E. and hazy, foggy weather, except a few hours in the morning, when we found the variation to be 1° 28′ E., latitude 55° 17′, longitude 125° 41′ W. The variation after this was supposed to increase; for on the 4th, in the morning, being in latitude 53° 21′, longitude 121° 31′ W., it was 3° 16′ E.; in the evening, in latitude 53° 13′, longitude 119° 46′ W., it was 3° 28′ E.; and on the 5th, at six o'clock in the evening, in latitude 53° 8′, longitude 115° 58′ W., it was 4° 1′ E. For more than twenty-four hours having had a fine gale at S., this enabled us to steer E., with very little deviation to the N.; and the wind now altering to S.W. and blowing a steady fresh breeze, we continued to steer E., inclining a little to S. On the 6th, had some snow showers. In the evening, being in latitude 53° 13′, longitude 111° 12′, the variation was 4° 58′ E.; and the next morning being in latitude 58° 16′, longitude 109° 33′, it was 5° 1′ E.

The wind was now at W., a fine pleasant gale, sometimes with showers of rain. Nothing remarkable happened, till the 9th, at noon, when being in the latitude of 53° 37′, longitude 103° 44′ W., the wind veered to N.E., and afterwards came insensibly round to the S., by the E. and S.E., attended with cloudy, hazy weather, and some showers of rain. On the 10th, a little before noon, latitude 54°, longitude 102° 7′ W., passed a small bed of sea-weed. In the afternoon the wind veered to S.W., blew a fresh gale, attended with dark cloudy weather. We steered E. half a point N.; and the next day, at six in the evening, being in latitude 53° 35′, longitude 95° 52′ W., the variation was 9° 58′ E. Many and various sorts of albatrosses about the ship.

On the 12th, the wind veered to the W.N.W., and in the evening to N.; and, at last, left us to a calm. That continued till midnight, when we got a breeze at S.; which, soon after, veering to and fixing at W., we steered E.; and on the 14th, in the morning, found the variation to be 13° 25′ E., latitude 53° 25′, longitude 87° 53′ W.; and in the afternoon, being in the same latitude, and the longitude of 86° 2′ W., it was 15° 3′ E., and increased in such a manner, that on the 15th, in the latitude of 53° 30′, longitude 82° 23′ W., it was 17° E.; and the next evening, in the latitude of 53° 25′, longitude 78° 40′, it was 17° 38′ E. About this time, we saw a penguin and a piece of weed; and the next morning, a seal and some diving peterels. For the three last days, the wind had been at W., a steady fresh gale, attended now and then with showers of rain or hail.

At six in the morning of the 17th, being nearly in the same latitude as above, and in the longitude of 77° 10′ W., the variation was 18° 33′ E.; and in the afternoon it was 21° 38′, being at that time in latitude 53° 16′ S., longitude 75° 9′ W. In the morning, as well as in the afternoon, I took some observations to determine the longitude by the watch; and the results, reduced to noon, gave 76° 18′ 30″ W. At the same time the longitude, by my reckoning, was 76° 17′ W. But I have reason to think, that we were about half a degree more to the west than either the one or the other; our latitude, at the same time, was 53° 21′ S. We steered E. by N. and E ½ N. all this day, under all the sail we could carry, with a fine fresh gale at N.W. by W. in expectation of seeing the land before night; but not making it till ten o'clock, we took in the studding-sails, topgallant-sails, and a reef in each topsail, and steered E.N.E., in order to make sure of falling in with Cape Deseada. Two hours after, we made the land, extending from N.E. by N. to E. by S., about six leagues distant. On this discovery, we wore and brought-to, with the ship's head to the S., and having sounded, found seventy-five fathoms water, the bottom stone and shells. The land now before us could be no other than the west coast of Terra del Fuego, and near the west entrance to the Straits of Magalhaens.

As this was the first run that had been made directly across this ocean, in a high southern latitude*, I have been a little particular in noting every circumstance that appeared in the least material; and after all, I must observe that I never made a passage anywhere of such length, or even much shorter, where so few interesting circumstances occurred. For, if

* It is not to be supposed that I could know at this time that the Adventure had made the passage before me.

I except the variation of the compass, I know of nothing else worth notice. The weather had been neither unusually stormy nor cold. Before we arrived in the latitude of 50°, the mercury in the thermometer fell gradually from sixty to fifty; and after we arrived in the latitude of 55°, it was generally between forty-seven and forty-five; once or twice it fell to forty-three. These observations were made at noon.

I have now done with the Southern Pacific Ocean; and flatter myself that no one will think that I have left it unexplored; or that more could have been done, in one voyage, towards obtaining that end, than has been done in this.

Soon after we left New Zealand, Mr. Wales contrived and fixed up an instrument, which very accurately measured the angle the ship rolled when sailing large and in a great sea; and that in which she lay down when sailing upon a wind. The greatest angle he observed her to roll was 38°. This was on the 6th of this month, when the sea was not unusually high; so that it cannot be reckoned the greatest roll she had made. The most he observed her to heel or lie down, when sailing upon a wind, was 18°; and this was under double-reefed topsails and courses.

On the 18th, at three in the morning, we sounded again, and found one hundred and ten fathoms, the same bottom as before. We now made sail with a fresh gale at N.W. and steered S.E. by E. along the coast. It extended from Cape Deseada, which bore N. 7° E., to E.S.E., a pretty high ragged isle, which lies near a league from the main, and S. 18° E. six leagues from Cape Deseada, bore N. 49° E. distant four leagues; and it obtained the name of Landfall. At four o'clock, we were north and south of the high land of Cape Deseada, distant about nine leagues; so that we saw none of the low rocks said to lie off it. The latitude of this Cape is about 53° S., longitude 74° 40′ W. Continuing to range the coast, at about two leagues' distance, at eleven o'clock we passed a projecting point, which I called Cape Gloucester. It shows a round surface of considerable height, and has much the appearance of being an island. It lies S.S.E. ½ E., distant seventeen leagues from the Isle of Landfall. The coast between them forms two bays, strewed with rocky islets, rocks, and breakers. The coast appeared very broken with many inlets; or rather it seemed to be composed of a number of islands. The land is very mountainous, rocky, and barren, spotted here and there with tufts of wood and patches of snow. At noon Cape Gloucester bore N. distant eight miles, and the most advanced point of land to the S.E., which we judged to be Cape Noir, bore S.E. by S. distant seven or eight leagues. Latitude observed 54° 13′ S. Longitude made from Cape Deseada, 54′ E. From Cape Gloucester, off which lies a small rocky island, the direction of the coast is nearly S.E.; but to Cape Noir, for which we steered, the course is S.S.E., distant about ten leagues.

At three o'clock we passed Cape Noir, which is a steep rock of considerable height, and the S.W. point of a large island that seemed to lie detached a league or a league and a half from the main land. The land of the Cape, when at a distance from it, appeared to be an island disjoined from the other; but, on a nearer approach, we found it connected by a low neck of land. At the point of the Cape are two rocks; the one peaked like a sugarloaf, the other not so high, and showing a rounder surface; and S. by E. two leagues from the Cape are two other rocky islets. This cape is situated in the latitude of 54° 30′ S., longitude 73° 33′ W.

After passing the two islets, we steered E.S.E. crossing the great bay of St. Barbara. We but just saw the land in the bottom of it; which could not be less than seven or eight leagues from us. There was a space, lying in the direction of E.N.E. from Cape Noir, where no land was to be seen: this may be the Channel of St. Barbara which opens into the Straits of Magalhaens, as mentioned by Frezier. We found the Cape to agree very well with his description; which shows that he laid down the channel from good memoirs. At ten o'clock, drawing near the S.E. point of the bay, which lies nearly in the direction of S. 60° E. from Cape Noir, eighteen leagues distant, we shortened sail, and spent the night standing off and on. At two o'clock in the morning of the 19th, having made sail, we steered S.E. by E. along the coast, and soon passed the S.E. point of the Bay of St. Barbara, which I called Cape Desolation; because near it commenced the most desolate and barren country I ever saw. It is situated in the latitude of 54° 55′ S., longitude 72° 12′ W. About four

leagues to the east of this cape is a deep inlet, at the entrance of which lies a pretty large island, and some others of less note. Nearly in this situation some charts place a channel leading into the Straits of Magalhaens, under the name of Straits of Jelouzel. At ten o'clock, being about a league and half from the land, we sounded, and found sixty fathoms water, a bottom of small stones and shells.

The wind, which had been fresh at N. by W., began to abate, and at noon it fell calm, when we observed in latitude 55° 20′ S., longitude made from Cape Deseada 3° 24′ E. In this situation we were about three leagues from the nearest shore, which was that of an island. This I named Gilbert Isle, after my master. It is nearly of the same height with the rest of the coast, and shows a surface composed of several peaked rocks unequally high. A little to the S.E. of it are some smaller islands, and, without them, breakers. I have before observed that this is the most desolate coast I ever saw. It seems entirely composed of rocky mountains without the least appearance of vegetation. These mountains terminate in horrible precipices, whose craggy summits spire up to a vast height; so that hardly anything in nature can appear with a more barren and savage aspect than the whole of this country. The inland mountains were covered with snow, but those on the sea-coast were not. We judged the former to belong to the main of Terra del Fuego, and the latter to be islands, so ranged as apparently to form a coast.

After three hours' calm, we got a breeze at S.E. by E. and having made a short trip to south, stood in for the land; the most advanced point of which, that we had in sight, bore E., distant ten leagues. This is a lofty promontory, lying E.S.E. nineteen leagues from Gilbert Isle, and situated in latitude 55° 26′ S., longitude 70° 25′ W. Viewed from the situation we now were in, it terminated in two high towers; and within them a hill shaped like a sugarloaf. This wild rock therefore obtained the name of York Minster. Two leagues to the westward of this head appeared a large inlet, the west point of which we fetched in with by nine o'clock, when we tacked in forty-one fathoms water, half a league from the shore: to the westward of this inlet was another, with several islands lying in the entrance. During the night between the 19th and 20th, we had little wind easterly, which in the morning veered to N.E. and N.N.E., but it was too faint to be of use; and at ten we had a calm, when we observed the ship to drive from off the shore out to sea. We had made the same observation the day before. This must have been occasioned by a current; and the melting of the snow increasing, the inland waters will cause a stream to run out of most of these inlets. At noon, we observed in latitude 55° 39′ 30″ S., York Minster, then bearing N. 15° E., distant five leagues; and Round-hill, just peeping above the horizon, which we judged to belong to the isles of Saint Ildefonso, E. 25° S., ten or eleven leagues distant. At ten o'clock, a breeze springing up at E. by S., I took this opportunity to stand in for the land, being desirous of going into one of the many ports which seemed open to receive us, in order to take a view of the country, and to recruit our stock of wood and water.

In standing in for an opening, which appeared on the east side of York Minster, we had forty, thirty-seven, fifty, and sixty fathoms water, a bottom of small stones and shells. When we had the last soundings we were nearly in the middle between the two points that form the entrance to the inlet, which we observed to branch into two arms, both of them lying in nearly N., and disjoined by a high rocky point. We stood for the eastern branch as being clear of islets; and after passing a black rocky one, lying without the point just mentioned, we sounded and found no bottom with a line of a hundred and seventy fathoms. This was altogether unexpected, and a circumstance that would not have been regarded, if the breeze had continued; but at this time it fell calm, so that it was not possible to extricate ourselves from this disagreeable situation. Two boats were hoisted out, and sent ahead to tow; but they would have availed little, had not a breeze sprung up about eight o'clock, at S.W. which put it in my power either to stand out to sea, or up the inlet. Prudence seemed to point out the former; but the desire of finding a good port, and of learning something of the country, getting the better of every other consideration, I resolved to stand in; and as night was approaching, our safety depended on getting to an anchor. With this view we continued to sound, but always had an unfathomable depth.

Hauling up under the east side of the land which divided the two arms, and seeing a small cove ahead, I sent a boat to sound; and we kept as near the shore as the flurries from the land would permit, in order to be able to get into this place, if there should be anchorage. The boat soon returned, and informed us that there was thirty and twenty-five fathoms water, a full cable's length from the shore. Here we anchored in thirty fathoms, the bottom sand and broken shells; and carried out a kedge and hawser, to steady the ship for the night.

CHAPTER II.—TRANSACTIONS IN CHRISTMAS SOUND, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS INHABITANTS.

The morning of the 21st was calm and pleasant. After breakfast, I set out with two boats to look for a more secure station. We no sooner got round, or above the point, under which the ship lay, than we found a cove in which was anchorage in thirty, twenty, and fifteen fathoms, the bottom stones and sand. At the head of the cove was a stony beach, a valley covered with wood, and a stream of fresh water; so that there was everything we could expect to find in such a place, or rather more; for we shot three geese out of four that we saw, and caught some young ones, which we afterwards let go.

After discovering and sounding this cove, I sent Lieutenant Clerke, who commanded the other boat, on board, with orders to remove the ship into this place, while I proceeded farther up the inlet. I presently saw that the land we were under, which disjoined the two arms, as mentioned before, was an island, at the north end of which the two channels united. After this I hastened on board, and found everything in readiness to weigh; which was accordingly done, and all the boats sent ahead to tow the ship round the point. But, at that moment, a light breeze came in from the sea too scant to fill our sails; so that we were obliged to drop the anchor again, for fear of falling upon the point, and to carry out a kedge to windward. That being done, we hove up the anchor, warped up to and weighed the kedge, and proceeding round the point under our stay-sails, there anchored with the best bower, in twenty fathoms; and moored with the other bower, which lay to the north, in thirteen fathoms. In this position we were shut in from the sea by the point above mentioned, which was in one with the extremity of the inlet to the east. Some islets, off the next point above us, covered us from the N.W., from which quarter the wind had the greatest fetch; and our distance from the shore was about one-third of a mile. Thus situated, we went to work, to clear a place to fill water, to cut wood, and to set up a tent for the reception of a guard, which was thought necessary; as we had already discovered, that, barren as this country is, it was not without people, though we had not yet seen any. Mr. Wales also got his observatory and instruments on shore; but it was with the greatest difficulty he could find a place of sufficient stability, and clear of the mountains, which everywhere surrounded us, to set them up in; and at last he was obliged to content himself with the top of a rock, not more than nine feet over.

Next day I sent Lieutenants Clerke and Pickersgill, accompanied by some of the other officers, to examine and draw a sketch of the channel on the other side of the island; and I went myself in another boat, accompanied by the botanists, to survey the northern parts of the sound. In my way, I landed on the point of a low isle covered with herbage, part of which had been lately burnt; we likewise saw a hut; signs sufficient that people were in the neighbourhood. After I had taken the necessary bearings, we proceeded round the east end of Burnt Island, and over to what we judged to be the main of Terra del Fuego, where we found a very fine harbour encompassed by steep rocks of vast height, down which ran many limpid streams of water; and at the foot of the rocks, some tufts of trees, fit for little else but fuel. This harbour, which I shall distinguish by the name of the Devil's Basin, is divided, as it were, into two, an inner and an outer one; and the communication between them is by a narrow channel five fathoms deep. In the outer basin, I found thirteen and seventeen fathoms water, and in the inner, seventeen and twenty-three. This last is as secure a place as can be, but nothing can be more gloomy. The vast height of the savage

rocks which encompass it, deprived great part of it, even on this day, of the meridian sun. The outer harbour is not quite free from this inconvenience, but far more so than the other; it is also rather more commodious, and equally safe. It lies in the direction of north, a mile and a half distant from the east end of Burnt Island. I likewise found a good anchoring-place a little to the west of this harbour, before a stream of water that comes out of a lake or large reservoir, which is continually supplied by a cascade falling into it.

Leaving this place, we proceeded along the shore to the westward, and found other harbours, which I had not time to look into. In all of them is fresh water, and wood for fuel; but except these little tufts of bushes, the whole country is a barren rock, doomed by nature to everlasting sterility. The low islands, and even some of the higher, which lie scattered up and down the sound, are indeed mostly covered with shrubs and herbage, the soil a black rotten turf, evidently composed, by length of time, of decayed vegetables. I had an opportunity to verify what we had observed at sea; that the sea-coast is composed of a number of large and small islands, and that the numerous inlets are formed by the junction of several channels,—at least so it is here. On one of these low islands we found several huts which had lately been inhabited; and near them was a good deal of celery, with which we loaded our boat, and returned on board at seven o'clock in the evening. In this expedition we met with little game; one duck, three or four shags, and about that number of rails or sea-pies, being all we got. The other boat returned on board some hours before; having found two harbours on the west side of the other channel, the one large and the other small, but both of them safe and commodious; though, by the sketch Mr. Pickersgill had taken of them, the access to both appeared rather intricate. I was now told of a melancholy accident which had befallen one of our marines. He had not been seen since eleven or twelve o'clock the preceding night. It was supposed that he had fallen overboard out of the head, where he had been last seen, and was drowned.

Having fine pleasant weather on the 23d, I sent Lieutenant Pickersgill in the cutter to explore the east side of the sound, and went myself in the pinnace to the west side, with an intent to go round the island, under which we were at anchor (and which I shall distinguish by the name of Shag Island), in order to view the passage leading to the harbours Mr. Pickersgill had discovered the day before, on which I made the following observations. In coming from sea, leave all the rocks and islands, lying off and within York Minster, on your larboard side; and the black rock, which lies off the south end of Shag Island, on your starboard; and when abreast of the south end of that island, haul over for the west shore, taking care to avoid the beds of weeds you will see before you, as they always grow on rocks; some of which I have found twelve fathoms under water, but it is always best to keep clear of them. The entrance to the large harbour, or Port Clerke, is just to the north of some low rocks lying off a point on Shag Island. This harbour lies W. by S., a mile and a half, and hath in it from twelve to twenty-four fathoms depth, wood, and fresh water. About a mile without, or to the southward of Port Clerke, is, or seemed to be, another which I did not examine. It is formed by a large island, which covers it from the south and east winds. Without this island, that is, between it and York Minster, the sea seemed strewed with islets, rocks, and breakers. In proceeding round the south end of Shag Island, we observed the shags to breed in vast numbers in the cliffs of the rocks. Some of the old ones we shot, but could not come at the young ones, which are by far the best eating. On the east side of the island we saw some geese; and having with difficulty landed, we killed three, which at this time was a valuable acquisition.

About seven in the evening we got on board, where Mr. Pickersgill had arrived but just before. He informed me that the land opposite to our station was an island, which he had been round; that, on another, more to the north, he found many *terns'* eggs, and that without the great island, between it and the east head, lay a cove in which were many geese; one only of which he got, besides some young goslins. This information of Mr. Pickersgill induced me to make up two shooting parties next day; Mr. Pickersgill and his associates going in the cutter, and myself and the botanists in the pinnace. Mr. Pickersgill went by the N.E. side of the large island above mentioned, which obtained the name of Goose Island; and I went by the S.W. side. As soon as we got under the island, we found plenty of shags

in the cliffs, but, without staying to spend our time and shot upon these, we proceeded on, and presently found sport enough; for in the south of the island were abundance of geese. It happened to be the moulting season, and most of them were on shore for that purpose, and could not fly. There being a great surf, we found great difficulty in landing, and very bad climbing over the rocks when we were landed; so that hundreds of the geese escaped us, some into the sea, and others up into the island. We, however, by one means or other, got sixty-two; with which we returned on board, all heartily tired; but the acquisition we had made overbalanced every other consideration, and we sat down with a good appetite to supper, on part of what the preceding day had produced. Mr Pickersgill and his associates had got on board some time before us, with fourteen geese; so that I was able to make distribution to the whole crew, which was the more acceptable, on account of the approaching festival; for, had not Providence thus singularly provided for us, our Christmas cheer must have been salt beef and pork.

I now learnt that a number of the natives, in nine canoes, had been alongside the ship, and some on board. Little address was required to persuade them to either; for they seemed to be well enough acquainted with Europeans, and had amongst them some of their knives. The next morning, the 25th, they made us another visit. I found them to be of the same nation I had formerly seen in Success Bay; and the same which M. de Bougainville distinguishes by the name of Pecheras, a word which these had on every occasion in their mouths. They are a little, ugly, half-starved, beardless race: I saw not a tall person amongst them. They were almost naked; their clothing was a seal-skin; some had two or three sewed together, so as to make a cloak which reached to the knees; but the most of them had only one skin, hardly large enough to cover their shoulders, and all their lower parts were quite naked. The women, I was told, cover their nakedness with a flap of a seal-skin, but in other respects are clothed like the men. They, as well as the children, remained in the canoes. I saw two young children at the breast entirely naked; thus they are inured from their infancy to cold and hardships. They had with them bows and arrows, and darts, or rather harpoons, made of bone, and fitted to a staff. I suppose they were intended to kill seals and fish; they may also kill whales with them, as the Esquimaux do. I know not if they resemble them in their love of train-oil; but they, and everything they had, smelt most intolerably of it. I ordered them some biscuit, but did not observe them so fond of it as I had been told. They were much better pleased when I gave them some medals, knives, &c.

The women and children, as before observed, remained in the canoes. These were made of bark; and in each was a fire, over which the poor creatures huddled themselves. I cannot suppose that they carry a fire in their canoes for this purpose only; but rather that it may be always ready to remove ashore wherever they land; for let their method of obtaining fire be what it may, they cannot be always sure of finding dry fuel that will kindle from a spark. They likewise carry in their canoes large seal hides, which I judged were to shelter them when at sea, and to serve as covering to their huts on shore; and occasionally to be used for sails. They all retired before dinner, and did not wait to partake of our Christmas cheer. Indeed I believe no one invited them, and for good reasons; for their dirty persons, and the stench they carried about them, were enough to spoil the appetite of any European; and that would have been a real disappointment, as we had not experienced such fare for some time. Roast and boiled geese, goose-pie, &c. was a treat little known to us; and we had yet some Madeira wine left, which was the only article of our provision that was mended by keeping. So that our friends in England did not, perhaps, celebrate Christmas more cheerfully than we did.

On the 26th, little wind, next to a calm, and fair weather, except in the morning, when we had some showers of rain. In the evening, when it was cold, the natives made us another visit; and it being distressing to see them stand trembling and naked on the deck, I could do no less than to give them some baize and old canvas to cover themselves. Having already completed our water, on the 27th I ordered the wood, tent, and observatory to be got on board; and, as this was work for the day, a party of us went in two boats to shoot geese, the weather being fine and pleasant. We proceeded round by the south side of Goose Island, and picked up in all thirty-one. On the east side of the island, to the north

of the east point, is good anchorage, in seventeen fathoms water, where it is entirely land-locked. This is a good place for ships to lie in that are bound to the west. On the north side of this isle I observed three fine coves, in which were both wood and water; but it being near night, I had no time to sound them; though I doubt not there is anchorage. The way to come at them is by the west end of the island.

When I returned on board, I found everything got off the shore, and the launch in; so that we now only waited for a wind to put to sea. The festival, which we celebrated at this place, occasioned my giving it the name of Christmas Sound. The entrance, which is three leagues wide, is situated in the latitude of 55° 27′ S., longitude 70° 16′ W.; and in the direction of N. 37° W. from St. Ildefonso Isles, distant ten leagues. These isles are the best land-mark for finding the sound. York Minster, which is the only remarkable land about it, will hardly be known by a stranger from any description that can be given of it, because it alters its appearance according to the different situations it is viewed from. Besides the black rock, which lies off the end of Shag Island, there is another about midway between this and the east shore. A copious description of this sound is unnecessary, as few would be benefited by it. The sketch which accompanies this journal will be a sufficient guide for such ships as chance may bring hither. Anchorage, tufts of wood, and fresh water, will be found in all the coves and harbours. I would advise no one to anchor very near the shore for the sake of having a moderate depth of water; because there I generally found a rocky bottom.

CHRISTMAS SOUND.

The refreshments to be got here are precarious, as they consist chiefly of wild-fowl, and may probably never be found in such plenty as to supply the crew of a ship; and fish, so far as we can judge, are scarce. Indeed the plenty of wild-fowl made us pay less attention to fishing. Here are however plenty of muscles, not very large, but well tasted; and very good celery is to be met with on several of the low islets, and where the natives have their habitations. The wild-fowl are geese, ducks, sea-pies, shags, and that kind of gull so often mentioned in this journal under the name of Port Egmont hen. Here is a kind of duck,

called by our people race-horses, on account of the great swiftness with which they run on the water; for they cannot fly, the wings being too short to support the body in the air. This bird is at the Falkland Islands, as appears by Pernety's journal*. The geese too are there, and seem to be very well described under the name of bustards. They are much smaller than our English tame geese, but eat as well as any I ever tasted. They have short black bills and yellow feet. The gander is all white; the female is spotted black and white, or grey with a large white spot on each wing. Besides the bird above mentioned, here are several other aquatic, and some land ones; but of the latter not many.

From the knowledge which the inhabitants seem to have of Europeans, we may suppose that they do not live here continually, but retire to the north during the winter. I have often wondered that these people do not clothe themselves better, since nature has certainly provided materials. They might line their seal-skin cloaks with the skins and feathers of aquatic birds; they might make their cloaks larger, and employ the same skins for other parts of clothing; for I cannot suppose they are scarce with them. They were ready enough to part with those they had to our people; which they hardly would have done, had they not known where to have got more. In short, of all the nations I have seen, the Pecheras are the most wretched. They are doomed to live in one of the most inhospitable climates in the world, without having sagacity enough to provide themselves with such conveniences as may render life in some measure more comfortable.

Barren as this country is, it abounds with a variety of unknown plants, and gave sufficient employment to Mr. Forster and his party. The tree which produceth the Winter's bark is found here in the woods, as is the holly-leaved berberry, and some other sorts which I know not, but I believe are common in the Straits of Magalhaens. We found plenty of a berry which we called the cranberry, because they are nearly of the same colour, size, and shape. It grows on a bushy plant, has a bitterish taste, rather insipid; but may be eaten either raw or in tarts, and is used as food by the natives.

CHAPTER III.—RANGE FROM CHRISTMAS SOUND, ROUND CAPE HORN, THROUGH STRAIT LE MAIRE, AND ROUND STATEN LAND; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF A HARBOUR IN THAT ISLAND, AND A DESCRIPTION OF THE COASTS.

At four o'clock in the morning on the 28th we began to unmoor; and at eight weighed and stood out to sea, with a light breeze at N.W. which afterwards freshened, and was attended with rain. At noon the east point of the sound (Point Nativity) bore N. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. distant one and a half leagues, and St. Ildefonso Isles S.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S., distant seven leagues. The coast seemed to trend in the direction of E. by S.; but the weather being very hazy, nothing appeared distinct.

We continued to steer S.E. by E. and E.S.E., with a fresh breeze at W.N.W., till four o'clock P.M., when we hauled to the South, in order to have a nearer view of St. Ildefonso Isles. At this time we were abreast of an inlet, which lies E.S.E. about seven leagues from the sound; but it must be observed that there are some isles without this distinction. At the west point of the inlet are two high peaked hills; and below them to the E. two round hills, or isles, which lie in the direction of N.E. and S.W. of each other. An island, or what appeared to be an island, lay in the entrance; and another but smaller inlet appeared to the west of this; indeed, the coast appeared indented and broken as usual. At half past five o'clock, the weather clearing up, gave us a good sight of Ildefonso Isles. They are a group of islands and rocks above water, situated above six leagues from the main, and in the latitude of 55° 53″ S., longitude 69° 41″ W.

We now resumed our course to the east; and, at sunset, the most advanced land bore S.E. by E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.; and a point, which I judged to be the west point of Nassau Bay, discovered by the Dutch fleet under the command of Admiral Hermite in 1624, bore N. 80° E., six leagues distant. In some charts, this point is called false Cape Horn, as being the southern point of Terra del Fuego. It is situated in latitude 55° 39′ S. From the inlet above men-

* See Pernety's Journal, p. 244 and p. 213.

tioned to this false cape, the direction of the coast is nearly E., half a point S., distant fourteen or fifteen leagues. At ten o'clock, having shortened sail, we spent the night in making short boards under the topsails, and, at three next morning, made sail and steered S.E. by S. with a fresh breeze at W.S.W., the weather somewhat hazy. At this time, the west entrance to Nassau Bay extended from N. by E. to N. ½ E.; and the south side of Hermite's Isles, E. by S. At four, *Cape Horn*, for which we now steered, bore E. by S. It is known at a distance, by a high round hill over it. A point to the W.N.W. shows a surface not unlike this; but their situations alone will always distinguish the one from the other.

At half-past seven, we passed this famous cape, and entered the Southern Atlantic Ocean. It is the very same point of land I took for the cape when I passed it in 1769, which at that time I was doubtful of. It is the most southern extremity on a group of islands of unequal extent, lying before Nassau Bay, known by the name of Hermite Islands, and is situated in the latitude of 55° 58′, and in the longitude of 68° 13′ west, according to the observations made of it in 1769. But the observations which we had in Christmas Sound, and reduced to the cape by the watch, and others which we had afterwards, and reduced back to it by the same means, place it in 67° 19′. It is most probable that a mean between the two, viz. 67° 46′, will be nearest the truth. On the N.W. side of the cape are two peaked rocks like sugarloaves. They lie N.W. by N. and S.E. by S., by compass, of each other. Some other straggling low rocks lie west of the cape, and one south of it; but they are all near the shore. From Christmas Sound to Cape Horn, the course is E.S.E. ¼ E., distant thirty-one leagues. In the direction of E.N.E., three leagues from Cape Horn, is a rocky point, which I called Mistaken Cape, and is the southern point of the easternmost of Hermite Isles. Between these two capes there seemed to be a passage directly into Nassau Bay; some small isles were seen in the passage; and the coast, on the west side, had the appearance of forming good bays or harbours. In some charts, Cape Horn is laid down as belonging to a small island. This was neither confirmed nor can it be contradicted by us; for several breakers appeared in the coast, both to the east and west of it; and the hazy weather rendered every object indistinct. The summits of some of the hills were rocky, but the sides and valleys seemed covered with a green turf, and wooded in tufts.

From Cape Horn we steered E. by N. ½ N. which direction carried us without the rocks that lie off Mistaken Cape. These rocks are white with the dung of fowls; and vast numbers were seen about them. After passing them, we steered N.E. ½ E. and N.E. for Strait Le Maire, with a view of looking into Success Bay, to see if there were any traces of the Adventure having been there. At eight o'clock in the evening, drawing near the strait, we shortened sail, and hauled the wind. At this time the Sugarloaf on Terra del Fuego bore N. 33° W.; the point of Success Bay, just open of the cape of the same name, bearing N. 20° E.; and Staten Land, extending from N. 53° E. to 67° E. Soon after, the wind died away, and we had light airs and calms by turns till near noon the next day; during which time we were driven by the current over to Staten Land.

The calm being succeeded by a light breeze at N.N.W. we stood over for Success Bay, assisted by the currents, which set to the north. Before this, we had hoisted our colours, and fired two guns; and soon after, saw a smoke rise out of the woods, above the south point of the bay; which I judged was made by the natives, as it was at the place where they resided when I was here in 1769. As soon as we got off the bay, I sent Lieutenant Pickersgill to see if any traces remained of the Adventure having been there lately; and in the mean time we stood on and off with the ship. At two o'clock, the current turned and set to the south; and Mr. Pickersgill informed me when he returned, that it was falling water on shore; which was contrary to what I had observed when I was here before; for I thought then that the flood came from the north. Mr. Pickersgill saw not the least signs of any ship having been there lately. I had inscribed our ship's name on a card, which he nailed to a tree at the place where the Endeavour watered. This was done with a view of giving Captain Furneaux some information, in case he should be behind us and put in here. On Mr. Pickersgill's landing, he was courteously received by several of the natives, who were clothed in guanicoe and seal-skins, and had on their arms bracelets, made of silver wire, and wrought not unlike the hilt of a sword, being no doubt the manufacture of some

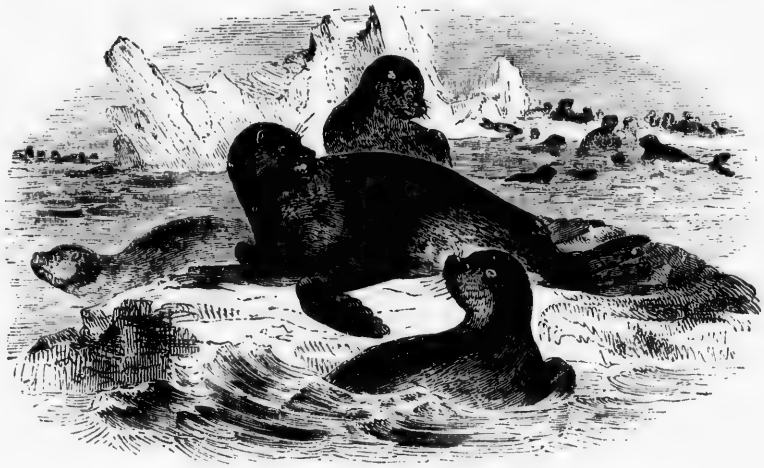
Europeans. They were the same kind of people we had seen in Christmas Sound; and, like them, repeated the word Pechera on every occasion. One man spoke much to Mr. Pickersgill, pointing first to the ship and then to the bay, as if he wanted her to come in. Mr. Pickersgill said the bay was full of whales and seals; and we had observed the same in the strait, especially on the Terra del Fuego side, where the whales, in particular, are exceedingly numerous.

As soon as the boat was hoisted in, which was not till near six o'clock, we made sail to the east, with a fine breeze at north. For since we had explored the south coast of Terra del Fuego, I resolved to do the same by Staten Land; which I believed to have been as little known as the former. At nine o'clock the wind freshening, and veering to N.W. we tacked, and stood to S.W. in order to spend the night, which proved none of the best, being stormy and hazy, with rain. Next morning, at three o'clock, we bore up for the east end of Staten Land, which, at half-past four, bore S. 60° E. the west end S. 2° E. and the land of Terra del Fuego S. 40° W. Soon after I had taken these bearings, the land was again obscured in a thick haze, and we were obliged to make way, as it were, in the dark; for it was but now and then we got a sight of the coast. As we advanced to the east, we perceived several islands, of unequal extent, lying off the land. There seemed to be a clear passage between the easternmost and the one next to it, to the west. I would gladly have gone through this passage, and anchored under one of the islands, to have waited for better weather; for on sounding we found only twenty-nine fathoms water; but when I considered that this was running to leeward in the dark, I chose to keep without the islands, and accordingly hauled off to the north. At eight o'clock we were abreast of the most eastern isle, distant from it about two miles, and had the same depth of water as before. I now shortened sail to the three topsails, to wait for clear weather; for the fog was so thick that we could see no other land than this island. After waiting an hour, and the weather not clearing up, we bore, and hauled round the east end of the island, for the sake of smooth water and anchorage, if it should be necessary. In hauling round, we found a strong race of a current, like unto broken water; but we had no less than nineteen fathoms. We also saw on the island abundance of seals and birds. This was a temptation too great for people in our situation to withstand, to whom fresh provisions of any kind were acceptable; and determined me to anchor, in order that we might taste of what we now only saw at a distance. At length, after making a few boards, fishing, as it were, for the best ground, we anchored in twenty-one fathoms water, a stony bottom, about a mile from the island, which extended from N. 18° E. to N. 55° ½ W.; and soon after, the weather clearing up, we saw Cape St. John, or the east end of Staten Land, bearing S. 75° E., distant four leagues. We were sheltered from the south wind by Staten Land, and from the north wind by the island; the other isles lay to the west, and secured us from that wind; but beside being open to the N.E. and E., we also lay exposed to the N.N.W. winds. This might have been avoided by anchoring more to the west; but I made choice of my situation for two reasons: first, to be near the island we intended to land upon; and secondly, to be able to get to sea with any wind.

After dinner we hoisted out three boats, and landed with a large party of men; some to kill seals, others to catch or kill birds, fish, or what came in our way. To find of the former, it mattered not where we landed, for the whole shore was covered with them; and, by the noise they made, one would have thought the island was stocked with cows and calves. On landing, we found they were a different animal from seals, but in shape and motion exactly resembling them. We called them lions, on account of the great resemblance the male has to that beast. Here were also the same kind of seals which we found in New Zealand generally known by the name of sea-bears,—at least, we gave them that name. They were, in general, so tame, or rather stupid, as to suffer us to come near enough to knock them down with sticks; but the large ones we shot, not thinking it safe to approach them. We also found on the island abundance of penguins and shags; and the latter had young ones almost fledged, and just to our taste. Here were geese and ducks, but not many; birds of prey, and a few small birds. In the evening we returned on board, our boats well laden with one thing or other.

Next day, being January the 1st, 1775, finding that nothing was wanting but a good harbour to make this a tolerable place for ships to refresh at, whom chance or design might

bring hither, I sent Mr. Gilbert over to Staten Land in the cutter to look for one. Appearances promised success in a place opposite the ship. I sent also two other boats for the lions &c. we had killed the preceding day; and soon after I went myself, and observed the sun's meridian altitude at the N.E. end of the island, which gave the latitude 54° 40′ 5″ south. After shooting a few geese, some other birds, and plentifully supplying ourselves with young shags, we returned on board, laden with sea-lions, sea-bears, &c. The old lions and bears



SEA BEAR. (*Arctocephalus ursinus.*)

were killed chiefly for the sake of their blubber, or fat, to make oil of; for, except their harslets, which were tolerable, the flesh was too rank to be eaten with any degree of relish. But the young cubs were very palatable, and even the flesh of some of the old lionesses was not much amiss; but that of the old males was abominable. In the afternoon, I sent some people on shore to skin and cut off the fat of those which yet remained dead on shore, for we had already more carcasses on board than necessary; and I went myself, in another boat, to collect birds. About ten o'clock Mr. Gilbert returned from Staten Land, where he found a good port, situated three leagues to the westward of Cape St. John, and in the direction of north, a little easterly, from the N.E. end of the eastern island. It may be known by some small islands lying in the entrance. The channel, which is on the east side of these islands, is half a mile broad. The course in is S.W. by S., turning gradually to W. by S. and W. The harbour lies nearly in this last direction; is almost two miles in length; in some places near a mile broad; and hath in it from fifty to ten fathoms water, a bottom of mud and sand. Its shores are covered with wood fit for fuel; and in it are several streams of fresh water. On the islands were sea-lions, &c., and such an innumerable quantity of gulls as to darken the air when disturbed, and almost to suffocate our people with their dung. This they seemed to void in a way of defence, and it stunk worse than asafœtida, or, as it is commonly called, devil's dung. Our people also saw several geese, ducks, and race-horses, which is also a kind of duck. The day on which this port was discovered, occasioned my calling it New Year's Harbour. It would be more convenient for ships bound to the west, or round Cape Horn, if its situation would permit them, to put to sea with an easterly and northerly wind. This inconvenience, however, is of little consequence, since these winds are never known to be of long duration. The southerly and westerly are the prevailing winds; so that a ship can never be detained long in this port.

As we could not sail in the morning of the 2d for want of wind, I sent a party of men on shore to the island, on the same duty as before. Towards noon we got a fresh breeze at west; but it came too late, and I resolved to wait till the next morning, when, at four

o'clock, we weighed with a fresh gale at N.W. by W., and stood for Cape St. John, which, at half-past six, bore N. by E., distant four or five miles. This cape, being the eastern point of Staten Land, a description of it is unnecessary. It may, however, not be amiss to say, that it is a rock of considerable height, situated in the latitude of 54° 46′ south, longitude 64° 7′ west, with a rocky islet lying close under the north part of it. To the westward of the cape, about five or six miles, is an inlet, which seemed to divide the land; that is, to communicate with the sea to the south; and between this inlet and the cape is a bay, but I cannot say of what depth. In sailing round the cape we met with a very strong current from the south: it made a race which looked like breakers; and it was as much as we could do, with a strong gale, to make head against it.

After getting round the cape I hauled up along the south coast; and as soon as we had brought the wind to blow off the land, it came upon us in such heavy squalls as obliged us to double reef our topsails. It afterwards fell, by little and little, and at noon ended in a calm. At this time Cape St. John bore N. 20° east, distant three and a half leagues; Cape St. Bartholomew, or the S.W. point of Staten Land, S. 80° west; two high detached rocks N. 80° west; and the place where the land seemed to be divided, which had the same appearance on this side, bore N. 15° west, three leagues distant. Latitude observed 54° 56′. In this situation we sounded, but had no bottom, with a line of one hundred and twenty fathoms. The calm was of very short duration, a breeze presently springing up at N W., but it was too faint to make head against the current, and we drove with it back to the N.N.E. At four o'clock the wind veered at once to S. by E., and blew in squalls attended with rain. Two hours after, the squalls and rain subsided, and the wind, returning back to the west, blew a gentle gale. All this time the current set us to the north; so that at eight o'clock, Cape St. John bore W.N.W., distant about seven leagues. I now gave over plying, and steered S.E. with a resolution to leave the land; judging it to be sufficiently explored to answer the most general purposes of navigation and geography.

CHAPTER IV. — OBSERVATIONS, GEOGRAPHICAL AND NAUTICAL, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE ISLANDS NEAR STATEN LAND, AND THE ANIMALS FOUND IN THEM.

THE annexed chart will very accurately show the direction, extent, and position of the coast along which I have sailed, either in this or my former voyage; and no more is to be expected from it *. The latitudes have been determined by the sun's meridian altitude, which we were so fortunate as to obtain every day, except the one we sailed from Christmas Sound; which was of no consequence, as its latitude was known before. The longitudes have been settled by lunar observations, as is already mentioned. I have taken 67° 46′ for the longitude of Cape Horn. From this meridian the longitudes of all the other parts are deduced by the watch; by which the extent of the whole must be determined to a few miles; and whatever errors there may be in longitude, must be general. But I think it highly probable that the longitude is determined to within a quarter of a degree. Thus the extent of Terra del Fuego from east to west, and consequently that of the Straits of Magalhaens, will be found less than most navigators have made it. In order to illustrate this, and to show the situations of the neighbouring lands, and, by this means, make the annexed chart of more general use, I have extended it down to 47° of latitude. But I am only answerable for the inaccuracy of such parts as I have explored myself. In laying down the rest, I had recourse to the following authorities.

The longitude of Cape Virgin Mary, which is the most essential point, as it determines the length of the Straits of Magalhaens, is deduced from Lord Anson, who made 2° 3′ difference of longitude between it and the Strait Le Maire. Now, as the latter lies in 65° 22′, Cape Virgin Mary must lie in 67° 52′, which is the longitude I have assigned to it, and which I have reason to think cannot be far from the truth. The Strait of Magalhaens,

* This chart, being now entirely superseded by the recent surveys of Captains King and Fitzroy, is omitted in this edition.—ED.

and the east coast of Patagonia, are laid down from the observations made by the late English and French navigators.

The position of the west coast of America, from Cape Victory northward, I have taken from the discoveries of *Sarmiento*, a Spanish navigator, communicated to me by Mr. Stuart, F.R.S. Falkland Islands are copied from a sketch taken from Captain M'Bride, who circumnavigated them some years ago in his Majesty's ship Jason; and their distance from the main is agreeable to the run of the Dolphin, under the command of Commodore Byron, from Cape Virgin Mary to Port Egmont, and from Port Egmont to Port Desire; both of which runs were made in a few days; consequently no material errors could happen.

The S.W. coast of Terra del Fuego, with respect to inlets, islands, &c., may be compared to the coast of Norway; for I doubt, if there be an extent of three leagues where there is not an inlet or harbour which will receive and shelter the largest shipping. The worst is, that till these inlets are better known, one has, as it were, to fish for anchorage. There are several lurking rocks on the coast; but happily none of them lie far from land, the approach to which may be known by sounding, supposing the weather so obscure that you cannot see it. For to judge of the whole by the parts we have sounded, it is more than probable that there are soundings all along the coast, and for several leagues out to sea. Upon the whole, this is by no means the dangerous coast it has been represented.

Staten Land lies nearly E. by N. and W. by S., and is ten leagues long in that direction; and nowhere above three or four leagues broad. The coast is rocky, much indented, and seemed to form several bays or inlets. It shows a surface of craggy hills which spire up to a vast height, especially near the west end. Except the craggy summits of the hills, the greatest part was covered with trees and shrubs, or some sort of herbage, and there was little or no snow on it. The currents between Cape Deseada and Cape Horn set from west to east, that is, in the same direction as the coast; but they are by no means considerable. To the east of the cape their strength is much increased, and their direction is N.E. towards Staten Land. They are rapid in Strait Le Maire, and along the south coast of Staten Land, and set like a torrent round Cape St. John; where they take a N.W. direction, and continue to run very strong both within and without New Year's Isles. While we lay at anchor within this island, I observed that the current was strongest during the flood; and that on the ebb, its strength was so much impaired, that the ship would sometimes ride head to wind when it was at west and W.N.W. This is only to be understood of the place where the ship lay at anchor; for at the very time we had a strong current setting to the westward, Mr. Gilbert found one of equal strength near the coast of Staten Land, setting to the eastward; though probably this was an eddy current or tide.

If the tides are regulated by the moon, it is high-water by the shore at this place, on the days of the new and full moon, about four o'clock. The perpendicular rise and fall is very inconsiderable, not exceeding four feet at most. In Christmas Sound it is high water at half-past two o'clock on the days of the full and change, and Mr. Wales observed it to rise and fall, on a perpendicular, three feet six inches; but this was during the neap-tides: consequently the spring-tides must rise higher. To give such an account of the tides and currents on these coasts as navigators might depend on, would require a multitude of observations, and in different places, the making of which would be a work of time. I confess myself unprovided with materials for such a task, and believe, that the less I say on this subject the fewer mistakes I shall make. But I think I have been able to observe, that in Strait Le Maire, the southerly tide or current, be it flood or ebb, begins to act, on the days of new and full moon, about four o'clock, which remark may be of use to ships who pass the strait. Were I bound round Cape Horn to the west, and not in want of wood of water, or anything that might make it necessary to put into port, I would not come near the land at all. For by keeping out at sea, you avoid the currents, which, I am satisfied, lose their force at ten or twelve leagues from land; and at a greater distance there is none.

During the time we were upon the coast, we had more calms than storms, and the winds so variable, that I question if a passage might not have been made from east to west in as short a time as from west to east; nor did we experience any cold weather. The mercury

in the thermometer at noon was never below 46°; and while we lay in Christmas Sound, it was generally above temperate. At this place, the variation was 23° 30′ east; a few leagues to the S.W. of Strait Le Maire, it was 24°; and at anchor, within New Year's Isles, it was 24° 20′ east. These isles are, in general, so unlike Staten Land, especially the one on which we landed, that it deserves a particular description. It shows a surface of equal height, and elevated about thirty or forty feet above the sea, from which it is defended by a rocky coast. The inner part of the isle is covered with a sort of sword-grass, very green, and of a great length. It grows on little hillocks, of two or three feet in diameter, and as many or more in height, in large tufts, which seemed to be composed of the roots of the plant matted together. Among these hillocks are a vast number of paths made by sea-bears and penguins, by which they retire into the centre of the isle. It is, nevertheless, exceedingly bad travelling; for these paths are so dirty that one is sometimes up to the knees in mire. Besides this plant, there are a few other grasses, a kind of heath, and some celery. The whole surface is moist and wet, and on the coast are several small streams of water. The sword-grass, as I call it, seems to be the same that grows in Falkland Isles, described by Bougainville as a kind of *gladiolus*, or rather a species of *gramen* *, and named by Pernety, corn-flags.

The animals found on this little spot are sea-lions, sea-bears, a variety of oc anic and some land-birds. The sea-lion is pretty well described by Pernety; though those we saw here have not such fore-feet or fins as that he has given a plate of, but such fins as that which he calls the sea-wolf. Nor did we see any of the size he speaks of; the largest not being more than twelve or fourteen feet in length, and perhaps eight or ten in circumference. They are not of that kind described, under the same name, by Lord Anson; but for aught I know, these would more properly deserve that appellation; the long hair with which the back of the head, the neck, and shoulders are covered, giving them greatly the air and appearance of a lion. The other part of the body is covered with a short hair, little longer than that of a cow or a horse, and the whole is a dark brown. The female is not half so big as the male, and is covered with a short hair of an ash, or light dun colour. They live, as it were, in herds on the rocks and near the sea-shore. As this was the time for engendering as well as bringing forth their young, we have seen a male with twenty or thirty females about him, and always very attentive to keep them all to himself, and beating off every other male who attempted to come into his flock. Others again had a less number; some

SEA LION. (*Platyrhynchus leoninus.*)

* See English translation of Bougainville, p. 51.

no more than one or two; and here and there we have seen one lying growling in a retired place alone, and suffering neither males nor females to approach him: we judged these were old and superannuated.

The sea-bears are not so large by far as the lions, but rather larger than a common seal. They have none of that long hair which distinguishes the lion. Theirs is all of an equal length, and finer than that of the lion, something like an otter's; and the general colour is that of iron-grey. This is the kind which the French call sea-wolfs, and the English seals; they are, however, different from the seals we have in Europe and in North America. The lions may, too, without any great impropriety, be called overgrown seals; for they are all of the same species. It was not at all dangerous to go among them; for they either fled or lay still. The only danger was in going between them and the sea; for if they took fright at anything, they would come down in such numbers, that, if you could not get out of their way, you would be run over. Sometimes, when we came suddenly upon them, or waked them out of their sleep (for they are a sluggish sleepy animal), they would raise up their heads, snort and snarl, and look as fierce as if they meant to devour us; but as we advanced upon them, they always ran away; so that they are downright bullies.

The penguin is an amphibious bird, so well known to most people, that I shall only observe, they are here in prodigious numbers; so that we could knock down as many as we pleased with a stick. I cannot say they are good eating. I have, indeed, made several good meals of them; but it was for want of better victuals. They either do not breed here, or else this was not the season; for we saw neither eggs nor young ones. Shags breed here in vast numbers; and we carried on board not a few, as they are very good eating. They take certain spots to themselves, and build their nests near the edge of the cliffs on little hillocks, which are either those of the sword-grass, or else they are made by the shags building on them from year to year. There is another sort rather smaller than these, which breed on the cliffs of rocks.

The geese are of the same sort we found in Christmas Sound; we saw but few, and some had young ones. Mr. Forster shot one which was different from these, being larger, with a grey plumage and black feet. The others make a noise exactly like a duck. Here were ducks, but not many; and several of that sort which we called race-horses. We shot some, and found them to weigh twenty-nine or thirty pounds; those who ate of them said they were very good. The oceanic birds were gulls, terns, Port Egmont hens, and a large brown bird of the size of an albatross, which Pernety calls quebrantahuessas. We called them Mother Cary's geese, and found them pretty good eating. The land-birds were eagles, or hawks, bald-headed vultures, or what our seamen called turkey-buzzards, thrushes, and a few other small birds.

Our naturalists found two new species of birds. The one is about the size of a pigeon, the plumage as white as milk. They feed alongshore, probably on shell-fish and carrion; for they have a very disagreeable smell. When we first saw these birds, we thought they were the snow-peterel, but the moment they were in our possession the mistake was discovered; for they resemble them in nothing but size and colour. These are not web-footed. The other sort is a species of curlews nearly as big as a heron. It has a variegated plumage, the principal colours whereof are light grey, and a long crooked bill. I had almost forgot to mention that there are sea-pies, or what we called, when in New Zealand, curlews; but we only saw a few straggling pairs. It may not be amiss to observe, that the shags are the same bird which Bougainville calls saw-bills; but he is mistaken in saying that the quebrantahuessas are their enemies; for this bird is of the peterel tribe, feeds wholly on fish, and is to be found in all the high southern latitudes.

It is amazing to see how the different animals which inhabit this little spot are mutually reconciled. They seem to have entered into a league not to disturb each other's tranquillity. The sea-lions occupy most of the sea-coast; the sea-bears take up their abode in the isle; the shags have post in the highest cliffs; the penguins fix their quarters where there is the most easy communication to and from the sea; and the other birds choose more retired places. We have seen all these animals mix together, like domestic cattle and poultry in a farm-yard, without one attempting to molest the other. Nay, I have often observed the

eagles and vultures sitting on the hillocks among the shags, without the latter, either young or old, being disturbed at their presence. It may be asked how these birds of prey live? I suppose, on the carcasses of seals and birds which die by various causes; and probably not few, as they are so numerous.

This very imperfect account is written more with a view to assist my own memory, than to give information to others. I am neither a botanist nor a naturalist; and have not words to describe the productions of nature, either in the one branch of knowledge or the other.

CHAPTER V.—PROCEEDINGS AFTER LEAVING STATEN ISLAND, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE ISLE OF GEORGIA, AND A DESCRIPTION OF IT.

HAVING left the land in the evening of the 3rd, as before-mentioned, we saw it again next morning at three o'clock, bearing W. Wind continued to blow a steady fresh breeze till six P.M., when it shifted in a heavy squall to S.W., which came so suddenly upon us that we had not time to take in the sails, and was the occasion of carrying away a top-gallant-mast, a studding-sail-boom, and a fore studding-sail. The squall ended in a heavy shower of rain, but the wind remained at S.W. Our course was S.E., with a view of discovering that extensive coast, laid down by Mr. Dalrymple in his chart, in which is the Gulf of St. Sebastian. I designed to make the western point of that gulf, in order to have all the other parts before me. Indeed, I had some doubt of the existence of such a coast; and this appeared to me the best route for clearing it up, and for exploring the southern part of this ocean.

On the 5th, fresh gales, and wet and cloudy weather. At noon observed in 57° 9′, longitude made from Cape Saint John, 5° 2′ E. At six o'clock, P.M., being in the latitude 57° 21′, and in longitude 57° 45′ W., the variation was 21° 28′ E. At eight o'clock in the evening of the 6th, being then in the latitude of 58° 9′ S., longitude 53° 14′ W., we close-reefed our topsails, and hauled to the north, with a very strong gale at W., attended with a thick haze and sleet. The situation just mentioned is nearly the same that Mr. Dalrymple assigns for the S.W. point of the Gulf of St. Sebastian. But as we saw neither land, nor signs of land, I was the more doubtful of its existence, and was fearful that by keeping to the south I might miss the land said to be discovered by La Roche in 1675, and by the ship Lion in 1756, which Mr. Dalrymple places in 54° 30′ latitude, and 45° of longitude, but on looking over Danville's chart, I found it laid down 9° or 10° more to the west; this difference of situation being to me a sign of the uncertainty of both accounts, determined me to get into the parallel as soon as [illegible]ie, and was the reason of my hauling to the north at this time.

Towards the morning of the 7th the gale abated, the weather cleared up, and the wind veered to the W.S.W., where it continued till midnight; after which it veered to N.W. Being at this time in the latitude of 56° 4′ S., longitude 53° 36′ W., we sounded, but found no bottom with a line of one hundred and thirty fathoms. I still kept the wind on the larboard-tack, having a gentle breeze and pleasant weather. On the 8th, at noon, a bed of sea-weed passed the ship. In the afternoon, in the latitude of 55° 4′, longitude 51° 45′ W., the variation was 20° 4′ E. On the 9th, wind at N.E., attended with thick hazy weather; saw a seal, and a piece of sea-weed. At noon, latitude 55° 12′ S., longitude 50° 15′ W., the wind and weather continuing the same till towards midnight, when the latter cleared up, and the former veered to west, and blew a gentle gale. We continued to ply till two o'clock the next morning, when we bore away E., and at eight, E.N.E.; at noon we observed, in latitude 54° 35′ S., longitude 47° 56′ W., a great many albatrosses and blue peterels about the ship. I now steered E., and the next morning, in the latitude of 54° 38′, longitude 45° 10′ W., the variation was 19° 25′ E. In the afternoon saw several penguins, and some pieces of weed.

Having spent the night lying-to, on the 12th, at daybreak, we bore away, and steered east northerly, with a fine fresh breeze at W.S.W.; at noon observed in latitude 54° 28′ S

longitude in 42° 8′ W.; that is, near 3° E. of the situation in which Mr. Dalrymple places the N.E. point of the Gulf of St. Sebastian; but we had no other signs of land than seeing a seal and a few penguins; on the contrary, we had a swell from E.S.E. which would hardly have been, if any extensive tract of land lay in that direction. In the evening the gale abated, and at midnight it fell calm. The calm, attended by a thick fog, continued till six next morning, when we got a wind at E., but the fog still prevailed. We stood to the S. till noon, when being in the latitude of 55° 7′, we tacked and stretched to the N. with a fresh breeze at E. by S. and E.S.E., cloudy weather; saw several penguins and a snow-peterel, which we looked on to be signs of the vicinity of ice. The air too was much colder than we had felt it since we left New Zealand. In the afternoon the wind veered to S.E., and in the night to S.S.E., and blew fresh; with which we stood to the N.E.

At nine o'clock the next morning we saw an island of ice as we then thought; but at noon were doubtful whether it was ice or land. At this time it bore E. $\frac{3}{4}$ S., distant thirteen leagues; our latitude was 53° 56½′, longitude 39° 24′ W.; several penguins, small divers, a snow-peterel, and a vast number of blue peterels about the ship. We had but little wind all the morning; and at two P.M. it fell calm. It was now no longer doubted that it was land, and not ice, which we had in sight. It was, however, in a manner wholly covered with snow. We were farther confirmed in our judgment of its being land, by finding soundings at one hundred and seventy-five fathoms, a muddy bottom. The land at this time bore E. by S., about twelve leagues distant. At six o'clock the calm was succeeded by a breeze at N.E., with which we stood to S.E. At first it blew a gentle gale, but afterwards increased so as to bring us under double-reefed topsails, and was attended with snow and sleet. We continued to stand to the S.E. till seven in the morning on the 15th, when the wind veering to the S.E. we tacked and stood to the N. A little before we tacked, we saw the land bearing E. by N. At noon the mercury in the thermometer was at 35¼°. The wind blew in squalls, attended with snow and sleet, and we had a great sea to encounter. At a lee-lurch which the ship took, Mr. Wales observed her to lie down 42°. At half-past four P.M. we took in the topsails, got down top-gallant-yards, wore the ship, and stood to the S.W. under two courses. At midnight the storm abated, so that we could carry the topsails double reefed.

At four in the morning of the 16th we wore and stood to the E., with the wind at S.S E., a moderate breeze and fair; at eight o'clock saw the land extending from E. by N. to N.E. by N.; loosed a reef out of each top-sail, got top-gallant yards across, and set the sails. At noon observed in latitude 54° 25½′; longitude 38° 18′ W. In this situation we had one hundred and ten fathoms water; and the land extended from N. ½ W. to E., eight leagues distant. The northern extreme was the same that we first discovered, and it proved to be an island; which obtained the name of Willis's Island, after the person who first saw it. At this time we had a great swell from the S., an indication that no land was near us in that direction; nevertheless, the vast quantity of snow on that in sight induced us to think it was extensive, and I chose to begin with exploring the northern coast. With this view we bore up for Willis's Island, all sails set, having a fine gale at S.S.W. As we advanced to the N., we perceived another isle lying east of Willis's, and between it and the main. Seeing there was a clear passage between the two isles, we steered for it, and at five o'clock, being in the middle of it, we found it about two miles broad.

Willis's Isle is a high rock of no great extent, near to which are some rocky islets. It is situated in the latitude of 54° S., longitude 38° 23′ W. The other isle, which obtained the name of Bird Isle, on account of the vast number that were upon it, is not so high, but of greater extent, and is close to the N.E. point of the main land, which I called Cape North.

The S.E. coast of this land, as far as we saw it, lies in the direction of S. 50° E., and N. 50° W. It seemed to form several bays or inlets; and we observed huge masses of snow, or ice, in the bottoms of them, especially in one which lies ten miles to the S.S.E. of Bird Isle. After getting through the passage, we found the north coast trended E. by N. for about nine miles; and then E. and E. southerly to Cape Buller, which is eleven miles more. We ranged the coast, at one league distance, till near ten o'clock, when we brought to for the night, and, on sounding, found fifty fathoms, a muddy bottom.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 17th we made sail in for the land, with a fine breeze at S.W.; at four, Willis's Isle bore W. by S. [illegible] at thirty-two miles; Cape Buller, to the west of which lie some rocky islets, bore S. [illegible]; and the most advanced point of land to the E., S. 63° E. We now steered along the shore, at the distance of four or five miles, till seven o'clock, when, seeing the appearance of an inlet, we hauled in for it. As soon as we drew near the shore, having hoisted out a boat, I embarked in it, accompanied by Mr. Forster and his party, with a view of reconnoitring the bay before we ventured in with the ship. When we put off from her, which was about four miles from the shore, we had forty fathoms water. I continued to sound as I went farther in, but found no bottom with a line of thirty-four fathoms, which was the length of that I had in the boat, and which also proved too short to sound the bay, so far as I went up it. I observed it to lie in S.W. by S. about two leagues, about two miles broad, well sheltered from all winds; and I judged there might be good anchorage before some sandy beaches which are on each side, and likewise near a low flat isle, towards the head of the bay. As I had come to a resolution not to bring the ship in, I did not think it worth my while to go and examine these places; for it did not seem probable that any one would ever be benefited by the discovery. I landed in three different places, displayed our colours, and took possession of the country in his Majesty's name, under a discharge of small arms. I judged that the tide rises about four or five feet, and that it is high water on the full and change days about eleven o'clock.

The head of the bay, as well as two places on each side, was terminated by perpendicular ice-cliffs of considerable height. Pieces were continually breaking off, and floating out to sea; and a great fall happened while we were in the bay, which made a noise like cannon. The inner parts of the country were not less savage and horrible. The wild rocks raised their lofty summits till they were lost in the clouds, and the valleys lay covered with everlasting snow. Not a tree was to be seen, nor a shrub even big enough to make a toothpick. The only vegetation we met with was a coarse strong-bladed grass, growing in tufts, wild burnet, and a plant like moss, which sprung from the rocks.

Seals, or sea-bears, were pretty numerous. They were smaller than those at Staten Land; perhaps the most of those we saw were females; for the shore swarmed with young cubs. We saw none of that sort which we call lions; but there were some of those which the writer of Lord Anson's Voyage describes under that name; at least they appeared to us to be of the same sort; and are, in my opinion, very improperly called lions; for I could not see any grounds for the comparison. Here were several flocks of penguins, the largest I ever saw; some which we brought on board weighed from twenty-nine to thirty-eight pounds. It appears by Bougainville's account of the animals of Falkland Islands, that this penguin is there; and I think it is very well described by him under the name of First Class of Penguins*. The oceanic birds were albatrosses, common gulls, and that sort which I call Port Egmont hens, terns, shags, divers, the new white bird, and a small bird like those of the Cape of Good Hope, called yellow birds; which, having shot two, we found most delicious food. All the land birds we saw consisted of a few small larks; nor did we meet with any quadrupeds. Mr. Forster, indeed, observed some dung, which he judged to come from a fox, or some such animal. The lands, or rather rocks, bordering on the sea-coast, were not covered with snow like the inland parts; but all the vegetation we could see on the clear places was the grass above-mentioned. The rocks seemed to contain iron. Having made the above observations, we set out for the ship, and got on board a little after twelve o'clock, with a quantity of seals and penguins, an acceptable present to the crew.

It must not, however, be understood that we were in want of provisions: we had yet plenty of every kind; and since we had been on this coast, I had ordered, in addition to the common allowance, wheat to be boiled every morning for breakfast; but any kind of fresh meat was preferred by most on board to salt. For my own part, I was now, for the first time, heartily tired of salt meat of every kind; and though the flesh of the penguins could scarcely vie with bullock's liver, its being fresh was sufficient to make it go down. I called the bay we had been in, Possession Bay. It is situated in the latitude of 54° 5′ S., longitude 37° 18′ W., and eleven leagues to the east of Cape North. A few miles to the

* See Bougainville, p. 64.

west of Possession Bay between it and Cape Buller, lies the Bay of Isles; so named on account of several small isles lying in and before it.

As soon as the boat was hoisted in, we made sail along the coast to the E. with a fine breeze at W.S.W. From Cape Buller, the direction of the coast is S. 72° 30′ E., for the space of eleven or twelve leagues, to a projecting point, which obtained the name of Cape Saunders. Beyond this Cape, is a pretty large bay, which I named Cumberland Bay. In several parts in the bottom of it, as also in some others of less extent, lying between Cape Saunders and Possession Bay, were vast tracts of frozen snow, or ice not yet broken loose. At eight o'clock, being just past Cumberland Bay, and falling little wind, we hauled off the coast, from which we were distant about four miles, and found one hundred and ten fathoms water. We had variable light airs and calms till six o'clock the next morning, when the wind fixed at N. and blew a gentle breeze; but it lasted no longer than ten o'clock, when it fell almost to a calm. At noon, observed in latitude 54° 30′ S., being then about two or three leagues from the coast, which extended from N. 59° W. to S. 13° W. The land in this last direction was an isle, which seemed to be the extremity of the coast to the east. The nearest land to us being a projecting point which terminated in a round hillock, was, on account of the day, named Cape Charlotte. On the west side of Cape Charlotte lies a bay, which obtained the name of Royal Bay, and the west point of it was named Cape George. It is the east point of Cumberland Bay, and lies in the direction of S.E. by E. from Cape Saunders, distant seven leagues. Cape George and Cape Charlotte lie in the direction of S. 37° E., and N. 37° W., distant six leagues from each other. The isle above mentioned, which was called Cooper's Isle, after my first-lieutenant, lies in the direction of S. by E., distant eight leagues from Cape Charlotte. The coast between them forms a large bay, to which I gave the name of Sandwich. The wind being variable all the afternoon, we advanced but little; in the night it fixed at S. and S.S.W., and blew a gentle gale attended with showers of snow.

The 19th was wholly spent in plying, the wind continuing at S. and S.W., clear pleasant weather, but cold. At sunrise, a new land was seen bearing S E. ½ E. It first appeared in a single hill, like a sugar-loaf; some time after, other detached pieces appeared above the horizon near the hill. At noon observed in the latitude 54° 42′ 30″ S., Cape Charlotte bearing N. 38° W., distant four leagues; and Cooper's Isle S. 31° W. In this situation, a lurking rock, which lies off Sandwich Bay, five miles from the land, bore W. ½ N., distant one mile, and near this rock were several breakers. In the afternoon we had a prospect of a ridge of mountains behind Sandwich Bay, whose lofty and icy summits were elevated high above the clouds. The wind continued at S.S.W. till six o'clock, when it fell to a calm. At this time Cape Charlotte bore N. 31° W., and Cooper's Island W.S.W. In this situation we found the variation, by the azimuths, to be 11° 39′, and by the amplitude, 11° 12′ E. At ten o'clock, a light breeze springing up at N., we steered to the S. till twelve, and then brought to for the night.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 20th, we made sail to S.W., round Cooper's Island. It is a rock of considerable height, about five miles in circuit, and one mile from the main. At this isle the main coast takes a S.W. direction for the space of four or five leagues to a point, which I called Cape Disappointment. Off that, are three small isles, the southernmost of which is green, low, and flat, and lies one league from the Cape. As we advanced to S.W., land opened off this point, in the direction of N. 60° West, and nine leagues beyond it. It proved an island quite detached from the main, and obtained the name of Pickersgill Island, after my third officer. Soon after, a point of the main, beyond this island, came in sight, in the direction of N. 55° W.; which exactly united the coast at the very point we had seen, and taken the bearing of, the day we first came in with it, and proved to a demonstration that this land, which we had taken for part of a great continent, was no more than an island of seventy leagues in circuit.

Who would have thought that an island of no greater extent than this, situated between the latitude of 54° and 55°, should, in the very height of summer, be in a manner wholly covered many fathoms deep with frozen snow, but more especially the S. W. coast? The very sides and craggy summits of the lofty mountains were cased with snow and ice; but

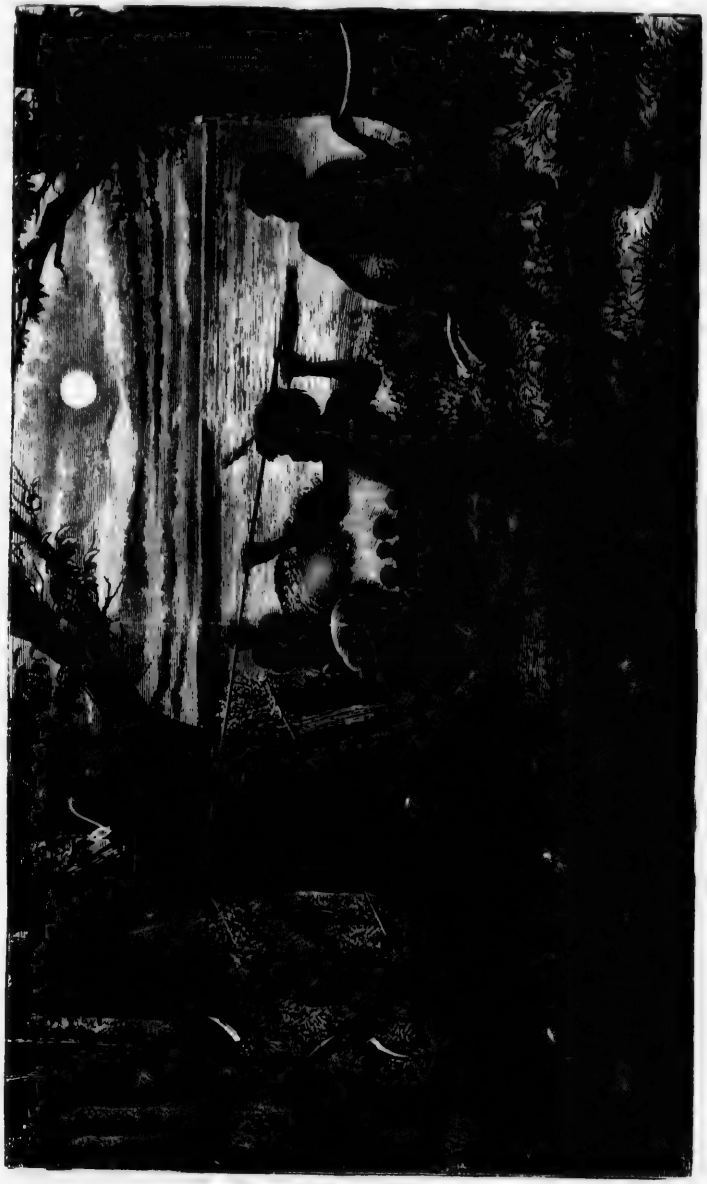
; so named on

E. with a fine
30′ E., for the
name of Cape
land Bay. In
between Cape
t broken loose.
hauled off the
nd ten fathoms
ning, when the
o'clock, when
n about two or
. The land in
ast to the east.
d hillock, was,
Charlotte lies a
s named Cape
of S.E. by E.
lotte lie in the
The isle above
the direction of
m forms a large
l the afternoon,
v a gentle gale

., clear pleasant
irst appeared in
eared above the
Cape Charlotte
his situation, a
. ½ N., distant
d a prospect of
e elevated high
fell to a calm.
In this situa-
ude, 11° 12′ E.
elve, and then

ooper's Island.
rom the main.
e leagues to a
the southern-
s we advanced
eagues beyond
of Pickersgill
sland, came in
very point we
d to a demon-
no more than

ated between
anner wholly
coast? The
and ice; but



AUSTRALIAN NATIVES.

the quantity which lay in the valleys is incredible; and at the bottom of the bays, the coast was terminated by a wall of ice of considerable height. It can hardly be doubted that a great deal of ice is formed here in the winter, which in the spring is broken off and dispersed over the sea; but this island cannot produce the ten thousandth part of what we saw; so that either there must be more land, or the ice is formed without it. These reflections led me to think that the land we had seen the preceding day might belong to an extensive tract; and I still had hopes of discovering a continent. I must confess the disappointment I now met with did not affect me much, for to judge of the bulk by the sample, it would not be worth the discovery.

I called this land the Isle of Georgia, in honour of his Majesty. It is situated between the latitude of 53° 57′ and 54° 57′ S.; and between 38° 13′ and 35° 34′ W. longitude. It extends S.E. by E., and N.W. by W. and is thirty-one leagues long in that direction; and its greatest breadth is about ten leagues. It seems to abound with bays and harbours, the N.E. coast especially; but the vast quantity of ice must render them inaccessible the greatest part of the year; or, at least, it must be dangerous lying in them, on account of the breaking up of the ice-cliffs.

It is remarkable that we did not see a river or stream of fresh water, on the whole coast. I think it highly probable that there are no perennial springs in the country; and that the interior parts, as being much elevated, never enjoy heat enough to melt the snow in such quantities as to produce a river or stream of water. The coast alone receives warmth sufficient to melt the snow, and this only on the N.E. side; for the other, besides being exposed to the cold south winds, is in a great degree deprived of the sun's rays by the uncommon height of the mountains. It was from a persuasion that the sea-coast of a land situated in the latitude of 54° could not, in the very height of summer, be wholly covered with snow, that I supposed Bouvet's discovery to be large islands of ice. But after I had seen this land, I no longer hesitated about the existence of Cape Circumcision; nor did I doubt that I should find more land than I should have time to explore. With these ideas I quitted this coast, and directed my course to the E.S.E. for the land we had seen the preceding day.

The wind was very variable till noon, when it fixed at N.N.E., and blew a gentle gale; but it increased in such a manner, that, before three o'clock, we were reduced to our two courses, and obliged to strike top-gallant yards. We were very fortunate in getting clear of the land before this gale overtook us, it being hard to say what might have been the consequence had it come on while we were on the north coast. This storm was of short duration, for at eight o'clock it began to abate, and at midnight it was little wind. We then took the opportunity to sound, but found no bottom with a line of a hundred and eighty fathoms. Next day the storm was succeeded by a thick fog, attended with rain; the wind veered to N.W., and at five in the morning it fell calm, which continued till eight, and then we got a breeze southerly, with which we stood to the east till three in the afternoon. The weather then coming somewhat clear, we made sail and steered north in search of the land; but at half-past six we were again involved in a thick mist, which made it necessary to haul the wind, and spend the night in making short boards.

We had variable light airs, next to a calm, and thick foggy weather, till half-past seven o'clock in the evening of the 22nd, when we got a fine breeze at N., and the weather was so clear that we could see two or three leagues round us. We seized the opportunity, and steered to west; judging we were to the east of the land. After running ten miles to the west, the weather became again foggy, and we hauled the wind, and spent the night under top-sails. Next morning, at six o'clock, the fog clearing away, so that we could see three or four miles, I took the opportunity to steer again to the W., with the wind at E., a fresh breeze; but two hours after, a thick fog once more obliged us to haul the wind to the south. At eleven o'clock, a short interval of clear weather gave us a view of three or four rocky islets, extending from S.E. to E.N.E., two or three miles distant; but we did not see the Sugar-loaf Peak before mentioned. Indeed, two or three miles was the extent of our horizon. We were well assured that this was the land we had seen before, which we had now been quite round: and therefore it could be no more than a few detached rocks.

receptacles for birds, of which we now saw vast numbers, especially shags, who gave us no notice of the vicinity of land before we saw it. These rocks lie in the latitude of 55° S. and S. 75° E., distant twelve leagues from Cooper's Isle.

The interval of clear weather was of very short duration, before we had as thick a fog as ever, attended with rain; on which we tacked in sixty fathoms water, and stood to the north. Thus we spent our time involved in a continual thick mist; and for aught we knew, surrounded by dangerous rocks. The shags and soundings were our best pilots; for after we had stood a few miles to the north, we got out of soundings, and saw no more shags. The succeeding day and night were spent in making short boards; and at eight o'clock on the 24th, judging ourselves not far from the rocks by some straggling shags which came about us, we sounded in sixty fathoms water, the bottom stones and broken shells. Soon after we saw the rocks bearing S.S.W. ½ W., four miles distant, but still we did not see the Peak. It was, no doubt, beyond our horizon, which was limited to a short distance; and, indeed, we had but a transient sight of the other rocks, before they were again lost in the fog. With a light air of wind at N., and a great swell from N.E., we were able to clear the rocks to the W.; and at four in the P.M., judging ourselves to be three or four leagues E. and W. of them, I steered S., being quite tired with cruising about them in a thick fog; nor was it worth my while to spend any more time in waiting for clear weather, only for the sake of having a good sight of a few straggling rocks. At seven o'clock, we had at intervals a clear sky to the W., which gave us a sight of the mountains of the Isle of Georgia, bearing W.N.W., about eight leagues distant. At eight o'clock we steered S.E. by S. and at ten S.E. by E., with a fresh breeze at N., attended with a very thick fog; but we were, in some measure, acquainted with the sea over which we were running. The rocks above mentioned obtained the name of Clerke's Rocks, after my second officer, he being the first who saw them.

CHAPTER VI.—PROCEEDINGS AFTER LEAVING THE ISLE OF GEORGIA, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF SANDWICH LAND; WITH SOME REASONS FOR THERE BEING LAND ABOUT THE SOUTH POLE.

ON the 25th we steered E.S.E., with a fresh gale at N.N.E., attended with foggy weather, till towards the evening, when the sky becoming clear, we found the variation to be 9° 26′ E., being at this time in the latitude of 56° 16′ S., longitude 32° 9′ W. Having continued to steer E.S.E., with a fine gale at N.N.W., till daylight next morning, on seeing no land to the E., I gave orders to steer S., being at this time in the latitude of 56° 33′ S., longitude 31° 10′ W. The weather continued clear, and gave us an opportunity to observe several distances of the sun and moon for the correcting our longitude, which at noon was 31° 4′ W., the latitude observed 57° 38′ S. We continued to steer to the S. till the 27th at noon, at which time we were in the latitude of 59° 46′ S., and had so thick a fog that we could not see a ship's-length. It being no longer safe to sail before the wind, as we were to expect soon to fall in with ice, I therefore hauled to the E., having a gentle breeze at N.N.E. Soon after, the fog clearing away, we resumed our course to the S. till four o'clock, when it returned again as thick as ever, and made it necessary for us to haul upon a wind.

I now reckoned we were in latitude 60° S., and farther I did not intend to go, unless I observed some certain signs of soon meeting with land; for it would not have been prudent in me to have spent my time in penetrating to the south, when it was at least as probable that a large tract of land might be found near Cape Circumcision. Besides, I was tired of these high southern latitudes, where nothing was to be found but ice and thick fogs. We had now a long hollow swell from the W., a strong indication that there was no land in that direction; so that I think I may venture to assert that the extensive coast, laid down in Mr. Dalrymple's chart of the ocean between Africa and America, and the Gulf of Saint Sebastian, does not exist.

At seven o'clock in the evening, the fog receding from us a little, gave us a sight of an ice-

island, several penguins and some snow peterels; we sounded, but found no ground at one hundred and forty fathoms. The fog soon returning, we spent the night in making boards over that space which we had, in some degree, made ourselves acquainted with in the day. At eight in the morning of the 28th, we stood to the E., with a gentle gale at N.; the weather began to clear up, and we found the sea strewed with large and small ice; several penguins, snow peterels, and other birds were seen, and some whales. Soon after we had sunshine, but the air was cold; the mercury in the thermometer stood generally at thirty-five, but at noon it was at 37°; the latitude by observation was 60° 4′ S., longitude 29° 23′ W.

We continued to stand to the E. till half-past two o'clock P. M., when we fell in, all at once, with a vast number of large ice-islands, and a sea strewed with loose ice. The weather too was become thick and hazy, attended with drizzling rain and sleet, which made it the more dangerous to stand in among the ice. For this reason we tacked and stood back to the W., with the wind at N. The ice-islands, which at this time surrounded us, were nearly all of equal height, and showed a flat even surface; but they were of various extent, some being two or three miles in circuit. The loose ice was what had broken from these isles. Next morning, the wind falling and veering to S.W., we steered N.E., but this course was soon intercepted by numerous ice-islands; and, having but very little wind, we were obliged to steer such courses as carried us the clearest of them; so that we hardly made any advance, one way or other, during the whole day. Abundance of whales and penguins were about us all the time; and the weather fair, but dark and gloomy.

At midnight the wind began to freshen at N.N.E., with which we stood to N.W. till six in the morning of the 30th, when the wind veering to N.N.W., we tacked and stood to N.E., and soon after sailed through a good deal of loose ice, and passed two large islands. Except a short interval of clear weather about nine o'clock, it was continually foggy, with either sleet or snow. At noon we were, by our reckoning, in the latitude of 59° 30′ S., longitude 29° 24′ W. Continuing to stand to N.E., with a fresh breeze at N.N.W., at two o'clock, we passed one of the largest ice-islands we had seen in the voyage, and some time after passed two others, which were much smaller. Weather still foggy, with sleet; and the wind continued at N. by W., with which we stood to N.E. over a sea strewed with ice.

At half an hour past six in the morning, as we were standing N.N.E. with the wind at W., the fog very fortunately clearing away a little, we discovered land a-head, three or four miles distant. On this we hauled the wind to the N., but finding we could not weather the land on this tack, we soon after tacked in one hundred and seventy-five fathoms water, three miles from the shore, and about half a league from some breakers. The weather then cleared up a little more, and gave us a tolerably good sight of the land. That which we had fallen in with proved three rocky islets of considerable height. The outermost terminated in a lofty peak like a sugar-loaf, and obtained the name of Freezeland Peak, after the man who first discovered it. Latitude 59° S., longitude 27° W. Behind this peak, that is, to the east of it, appeared an elevated coast, whose lofty snow-clad summits were seen above the clouds. It extended from N. by E. to E.S.E. and I called it Cape Bristol, in honour of the noble family of Hervey. At the same time another elevated coast appeared in sight, bearing S.W. by S., and at noon it extended from S.E. to S.S.W., from four to eight leagues distant; at this time the observed latitude was 59° 13′ 30″ S., longitude 27° 45′ W. I called this land Southern Thule, because it is the most southern land that has ever yet been discovered. It shows a surface of vast height, and is everywhere covered with snow. Some thought they saw land in the space between Thule and Cape Bristol. It is more than probable that these two lands are connected, and that this space is a deep bay, which I called Forster's Bay.

At one o'clock, finding that we could not weather Thule, we tacked and stood to the north, and at four, Freezeland Peak bore E., distant three or four leagues. Soon after it fell little wind, and we were left to the mercy of a great westerly swell, which set right upon the shore. We sounded, but a line of two hundred fathoms found no bottom. At eight o'clock, the weather, which had been very hazy, clearing up, we saw Cape Bristol bearing E.S.E., and terminating in a point to the north, beyond which we could see no land. This

discovery relieved us from the fear of being carried by the swell on the most horrible coast in the world, and we continued to stand to the north all night, with a light breeze at W.

On the 1st of February, at four o'clock in the morning, we got sight of a new coast, which at six o'clock bore N. 60° E. It proved a high promontory, which I named Cape Montagu, situated in latitude 58° 27′ S., longitude 26° 44′ W., and seven or eight leagues to the north of Cape Bristol. We saw land from space to space between them, which made me conclude that the whole was connected. I was sorry I could not determine this with greater certainty; but prudence would not permit me to venture near a coast, subject to thick fogs, on which there was no anchorage; where every port was blocked or filled up with ice; and the whole country, from the summits of the mountains, down to the very brink of the cliffs which terminate the coast, covered, many fathoms thick, with everlasting snow. The cliffs alone was all which was to be seen like land. Several large islands lay upon the coast; one of which attracted my notice. It had a flat surface, was of considerable extent both in height and circuit, and had perpendicular sides, on which the waves of the sea had made no impression; by which I judged that it had not been long from land, and that it might have lately come out of some bay on the coast, where it had been formed.

At noon we were east and west of the northern part of Cape Montagu, distant about five leagues, and Frozeland Peak bore S. 16° E., distant twelve leagues; latitude observed 58° 25′ S. In the morning the variation was 10° 11′ E. At two in the afternoon, as we were standing to the north, with a light breeze at S.W. we saw land bearing N. 25′ E., distant fourteen leagues. Cape Montagu bore at this time, S. 66° E.; at eight it bore S. 40° E.; Cape Bristol, S. by E.; the new land extending from N. 40° to 52° E.; and we thought we saw land still more to the E., and beyond it. Continuing to steer to the north all night, at six o'clock the next morning a new land was seen, bearing N. 12° E., about ten leagues distant. It appeared in two hummocks just peeping above the horizon; but we soon after lost sight of them; and having got the wind at N.N.E., a fresh breeze, we stood for the northernmost land we had seen the day before, which at this time bore E.S.E. We fetched in with it by ten o'clock, but could not weather it, and were obliged to tack three miles from the coast, which extended from E. by S. to S.E., and had much the appearance of being an island of about eight or ten leagues' circuit. It shows a surface of considerable height, whose summit was lost in the clouds, and, like all the neighbouring lands, covered with a sheet of snow and ice, except on a projecting point on the north side, and two hills seen over this point, which probably might be two islands. These only were clear of snow, and seemed covered with a green turf. Some large ice-islands lay to the N.E., and some others to the S. We stood off till noon, and then tacked for the land again, in order to see whether it was an island or no. The weather was now become very hazy, which soon turning to a thick fog, put a stop to discovery, and made it unsafe to stand for the shore; so that after having run the same distance in, as we had run off, we tacked and stood to N.W. for the land we had seen in the morning, which was yet at a considerable distance. Thus we were obliged to leave the other, under the supposition of its being an island, which I named Saunders, after my honourable friend Sir Charles. It is situated in the latitude of 57° 49′ S., longitude 26° 44′ W.; and N., distant thirteen leagues from Cape Montagu.

At six o'clock in the evening, the wind shifting to the W., we tacked, and stood to the N., and at eight, the fog clearing away, gave us a sight of Saunders's Isle, extending from S.E. by S. to E.S.E. We were still in doubt if it were an island; for, at this time, land was seen bearing E. by S., which might, or might not, be connected with it; it might also be the same that we had seen the preceding evening. But, be this as it may, it was now necessary to take a view of the land to the north, before we proceeded any farther to the east. With this intention we stood to the north, having a light breeze at W. by S., which, at two o'clock in the morning of the 3rd, was succeeded by a calm that continued till eight, when we got the wind at E. by S., attended with hazy weather. At this time we saw the land we were looking for, and which proved to be two isles. The day on which they were discovered, was the occasion of calling them Candlemas Isles; latitude 57° 11′ S., longitude 27° 6′ W. They are of no great extent, but of considerable height, and were covered with snow. A small rock was seen between them, and perhaps there may be more; for the

weather was so hazy that we soon lost sight of the islands, and did not see them again till noon, at which time they bore W., distant three or four leagues.

As the wind kept veering to the S., we were obliged to stand to the N.E., in which route we met with several large ice-islands, loose ice, and many penguins; and, at midnight, came at once into water uncommonly white, which alarmed the officer of the watch so much that he tacked the ship instantly. Some thought it was a float of ice, others that it was shallow water; but as it proved neither, probably it was a shoal of fish. We stood to the south till two o'clock next morning, when we resumed our course to the E., with a faint breeze at S.S.E., which having ended in a calm, at six, I took the opportunity of putting a boat in the water to try if there were any current; and the trial proved there was none. Some whales were playing about us, and abundance of penguins; a few of the latter were shot, and they proved to be of the same sort that we had seen among the ice before, and different both from those on Staten Land, and from those at the Isle of Georgia. It is remarkable, that we had not seen a seal since we left that coast. At noon we were in the latitude of 56° 44′ S., longitude 25° 33′ W. At this time we got a breeze at E., with which we stood to the S., with a view of gaining the coast we had left; but at eight o'clock the wind shifted to the S., and made it necessary to tack and stand to the E.; in which course we met with several ice-islands and some loose ice, the weather continuing hazy with snow and rain.

No penguins were seen on the 5th, which made me conjecture that we were leaving the land behind us, and that we had already seen its northern extremity. At noon we were in the latitude of 57° 8′ S., longitude 23° 34′ W., which was 3° of longitude to the east of Saunders's Isle. In the afternoon the wind shifted to the W., this enabled us to stretch to the S., and to get into the latitude of the land, that, if it took an east direction, we might again fall in with it. We continued to steer to the S. and S.E. till next day at noon, at which time we were in the latitude of 58° 15′ S., longitude 21° 34′ W., and seeing neither land nor signs of any, I concluded that what we had seen, which I named Sandwich Land, was either a group of islands, or else a point of the continent; for I firmly believe that there is a tract of land near the pole which isthe source of most of the ice that is spread over this vast Southern Ocean. I also think it probable that it extends farthest to the north opposite the southern Atlantic and Indian Oceans, because ice was always found by us farther to the north in these oceans than anywhere else, which I judge could not be, if there were not land to the S.; I mean a land of considerable extent. For if we suppose that no such land exists, and that ice may be formed without it, it will follow of course that the cold ought to be everywhere nearly equal round the pole, as far as 70° or 60° of latitude, or so far as to be beyond the influence of any of the known continents; consequently we ought to see ice everywhere under the same parallel, or near it; and yet the contrary has been found. Very few ships have met with ice going round Cape Horn; and we saw but little below the sixtieth degree of latitude, in the Southern Pacific Ocean. Whereas in this ocean, between the meridian of 40° W. and 50° or 60° E., we found ice as far N. as 51°. Bouvet met with some in 48°; and others have seen it in a much lower latitude. It is true, however, that the greatest part of this southern continent (supposing there is one) must lie within the polar circle, where the sea is so pestered with ice that the land is thereby inaccessible *. The risk one runs in exploring a coast, in these unknown and icy seas, is so very great, that I can be bold enough to say that no man will ever venture farther than I have done; and that the lands which may lie to the south will never be explored. Thick fogs, snow-storms, intense cold, and every other thing that can render navigation dangerous, must be encountered; and these difficulties are greatly heightened by the inexpressibly

* The reader will find a short sketch of the progress of antarctic discovery, since the time of Cook, in the Appendix. This, as far as it has yet proceeded, for we know not yet what may be the ultimate result of the expedition now at sea under the command of Capt. J. C. Ross, is very far from confirming Capt. Cook's opinion that the absence of ice indicated an absence of land. "Very few ships," he remarks, "have met with ice going round Cape Horn," and yet the presence of the group known as the South Shetlands, discovered by Captain Smith, would, if the theory were true, have occasioned the presence of fields of ice. This question will be necessarily discussed more at large in the Appendix, and to pursue it further in this place would be superfluous.—ED.

horrid aspect of the country; a country doomed by nature never once to feel the warmth of the sun's rays, but to lie buried in everlasting snow and ice. The ports which may be on the coast, are, in a manner, wholly filled up with frozen snow of vast thickness; but if any should be so far open as to invite a ship into it, she would run a risk of being fixed there for ever, or of coming out in an ice-island. The islands and floats on the coast, the great falls from the ice-cliffs in the port, or a heavy snow-storm attended with a sharp frost, would be equally fatal.

After such an explanation as this, the reader must not expect to find me much farther to the south. It was, however, not for want of inclination, but for other reasons. It would have been rashness in me to have risked all that had been done during the voyage, in discovering and exploring a coast, which, when discovered and explored, would have answered no end whatever, or have been of the least use, either to navigation or geography, or, indeed, to any other science. Bouvet's discovery was yet before us, the existence of which was to be cleared up; and besides all this, we were not now in a condition to undertake great things; nor indeed was there time, had we been ever so well provided. These reasons induced me to alter the course to E., with a very strong gale at N., attended with an exceedingly heavy fall of snow. The quantity which lodged in our sails was so great, that we were frequently obliged to throw the ship up in the wind to shake it out of them, otherwise neither they nor the ship could have supported the weight. In the evening it ceased to snow; the weather cleared up; the wind backed to the W.; and we spent the night in making two short boards, under close-reefed topsails and foresail.

At daybreak on the 7th, we resumed our course to the E., with a very fresh gale at S.W. by W., attended by a high sea from the same direction. In the afternoon, being in the latitude of 58° 24′ S., longitude 16° 19′ W., the variation was 1° 52′ E. Only three ice-islands seen this day. At eight o'clock, shortened sail, and hauled the wind to the S.E. for the night, in which we had several showers of snow and sleet.

On the 8th, at daylight, we resumed our east course with a gentle breeze and fair weather. After sunrise, being then in the latitude of 58° 30′ S., longitude 15° 14′ W., the variation, by the mean results of two compasses, was 2° 43′ E. These observations were more to be depended on than those made the night before, there being much less sea now than then. In the afternoon we passed three ice-islands. This night was spent as the preceding. At six next morning, being in the latitude of 58° 27 S., longitude 13° 4′ W., the variation was 26′ E., and in the afternoon, being in the same latitude, and about a quarter of a degree more to the E., it was 2′ W. Therefore this last situation must be in or near the line in which the compass has no variation. We had a calm the most part of the day. The weather fair and clear, excepting now and then a snow shower. The mercury in the thermometer at noon rose to 40; whereas for several days before, it had been no higher than 36 or 38. We had several ice-islands in sight, but no one thing that could induce us to think that any land was in our neighbourhood. At eight in the evening, a breeze sprung up at S.E., with which we stood to N.E.

During the night the wind freshened and veered to south, which enabled us to steer east. The wind was attended with showers of sleet and snow till daylight, when the weather became fair, but piercing cold, so that the water on deck was frozen, and at noon the mercury in the thermometer was no higher than 34½. At six o'clock in the morning, the variation was 23′ west, being then in the latitude of 58° 15′ S., longitude 11° 41′ W., and at six in the evening, being in the same latitude, and in the longitude of 9° 24′ W., it was 1° 51′ W. In the evening the wind abated; and during the night it was variable between south and west. Ice-islands continually in sight.

On the 11th, wind westerly, light airs attended with heavy showers of snow in the morning; but, as the day advanced, the weather became fair, clear, and serene. Still continuing to steer east, at noon we observed in latitude 58° 11′, longitude at the same time 7° 55′ west. Thermometer 34⅔. In the afternoon we had two hours' calm, after which we had faint breezes between the N.E. and S.E. At six o'clock in the morning of the 12th, being in the latitude of 58° 23′ S., longitude 6° 54′ W., the variation was 3° 23′ W. We had variable light airs next to a calm all this day, and the weather was fair and clear till

towards the evening, when it became cloudy, with snow showers, and the air very cold. Ice-islands continually in sight; most of them small and breaking to pieces.

In the afternoon of the 13th the wind increased, the sky became clouded, and soon after we had a very heavy fall of snow, which continued till eight or nine o'clock in the evening, when the wind abating and veering to the S.E., the sky cleared up, and we had a fair night, attended with so sharp a frost, that the water in all our vessels on deck was next morning covered with a sheet of ice. The mercury in the thermometer was as low as 29°, which is 3° below freezing, or rather 4; for we generally found the water freeze when the mercury stood at 33°. Towards noon on the 14th, the wind veering to the south, increased to a very strong gale, and blew in heavy squalls, attended with snow. At intervals, between the squalls, the weather was fair and clear, but exceedingly cold. We continued to steer east, inclining a little to the north, and in the afternoon crossed the first meridian, or that of Greenwich, in the latitude of 57° 50′ S. At eight in the evening we close-reefed the topsails, took in the mainsail, and steered east, with a very hard gale at S.S.W., with a high sea from the same direction.

At daybreak on the 15th we set the mainsail, loosed a reef out of each topsail, and with a very strong gale at S.W. and fair weather, steered E.N.E. till noon, at which time we were in the latitude of 56° 37′ S., longitude 4° 11′ east, when we pointed to the N.E., in order to get into the latitude of Cape Circumcision. Some large ice-islands were in sight, and the air was nearly as cold as on the preceding day. At eight o'clock in the evening, shortened sail, and at eleven hauled the wind to the N.W., not daring to stand on in the night, which was foggy, with snow-showers, and a smart frost. At daybreak on the 16th we bore away N.E. with a light breeze at west, which, at noon, was succeeded by a calm and fair weather. Our latitude at this time was 55° 26′ S., longitude 5° 52′ east, in which situation we had a great swell from the southward, but no ice in sight. At one o'clock in the P.M., a breeze springing up at E.N.E., we stood to S.E. till six, then tacked and stood to the north, under double-reefed topsails and courses, having a very fresh gale, attended with snow and sleet, which fixed to the masts and rigging as it fell, and coated the whole with ice. On the 17th the wind continued veering by little and little to the south till midnight, when it fixed at S.W. Being at this time in the latitude of 54° 20′ S., longitude 6° 33′ east, I steered east, having a prodigious high sea from the south, which assured us no land was near in that direction.

In the morning of the 18th it ceased to snow; the weather became fair and clear; and we found the variation to be 13° 44′ west. At noon we were in the latitude 54° 25′, longitude 8° 46′ east. I thought this a good latitude to keep in, to look for Cape Circumcision; because, if the land had ever so little extent in the direction of north and south, we could not miss seeing it, as the northern point is said to lie in 54°. We had yet a great swell from the south, so that I was now well assured it could only be an island; and it was of no consequence which side we fell in with. In the evening Mr. Wales made several observations of the moon, and stars Regulus and Spica; the mean results, at four o'clock, when the observations were made, for finding the time by the watch, gave 9° 15′ 20″ east longitude. The watch at the same time gave 9° 36′ 45″. Soon after the variation was found to be 13° 10′ west. It is nearly in this situation that Mr. Bouvet had 1° east. I cannot suppose that the variation has altered so much since that time; but rather think he had made some mistake in his observations. That there could be none in ours was certain, from the uniformity for some time past. Besides, we found 12° 8′ west, variation, nearly under this meridian, in January, 1773. During the night the wind veered round by the N.W. to N.N.E., and blew a fresh gale.

At eight in the morning of the 19th, we saw the appearance of land in the direction of E. by S., or that of our course; but it proved a mere fog-bank, and soon after dispersed. We continued to steer E. by S. and S.E. till seven o'clock in the evening, when, being in the latitude of 54° 42′ S., longitude 13° 3′ E., and the wind having veered to N.E., we tacked and stood to N.W. under close-reefed topsails and courses; having a very strong gale, attended with snow-showers. At four o'clock next morning, being in the latitude of 54° 30′ S., longitude 12° 33′ E., we tacked and stretched to N.E. with a fresh gale at S.W., attended with snow-showers and sleet. At noon, being in the latitude of 54° 8′ S., longitude

12° 59′ E., with a fresh gale at W. by N., and tolerably clear weather, we steered E. till ten o'clock in the evening, when we brought-to, lest we might pass any land in the night, of which we, however, had not the least signs. At daybreak, having made sail, we bore away east, and at noon observed in latitude 54° 16′ S., longitude 16° 13′ E., which is 5° to the east of the longitude in which Cape Circumcision is said to lie; so that we began to think there was no such land in existence. I, however, continued to steer east, inclining a little to the south, till four o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, when we were in latitude of 54° 24′ S., longitude 19° 18′ E.

We had now run down thirteen degrees of longitude, in the very latitude assigned for Bouvet's Land; I was therefore well assured that what he had seen could be nothing but an island of ice; for, if it had been land, it is hardly possible we could have missed it, though it were ever so small. Besides, from the time of leaving the southern lands, we had not met with the least signs of any other. But even suppose we had, it would have been no proof of the existence of Cape Circumcision; for I am well assured that neither seals, nor penguins, nor any of the oceanic birds, are indubitable signs of the vicinity of land. I will allow that they are found on the coasts of all these southern lands; but are they not also to be found in all parts of the southern ocean? There are, however, some oceanic or aquatic birds which point out the vicinity of land; especially shags, which seldom go out of sight of it; and gannets, boobies, and men-of-war birds, I believe, seldom go very far out to sea.

As we were now no more than two degrees of longitude from our route to the south, when we left the Cape of Good Hope, it was to no purpose to proceed any further to the east under this parallel, knowing that no land could be there. But an opportunity now offering of clearing up some doubts of our having seen land farther to the south, I steered S.E. to get into the situation in which it was supposed to lie. We continued this course till four o'clock the next morning, and then S.E. by E. and E.S.E. till eight in the evening, at which time we were in the latitude of 55° 25′ S., longitude 23° 22′ E., both deduced from observations made the same day; for, in the morning, the sky was clear at intervals, and afforded an opportunity to observe several distances of the sun and moon, which we had not been able to do for some time past, having had a constant succession of bad weather. Having now run over the place where the land was supposed to lie, without seeing the least signs of any, it was no longer to be doubted but that the ice islands had deceived us as well as Mr. Bouvet. The wind by this time having veered to the north, and increased to a perfect storm, attended as usual with snow and sleet, we handed the top-sails, and hauled up E.N.E. under the courses. During the night the wind abated, and veered to N.W., which enabled us to steer more to the north, having no business farther south.

CHAPTER VII.—HEADS OF WHAT HAS BEEN DONE IN THE VOYAGE; WITH SOME CONJECTURES CONCERNING THE FORMATION OF ICE ISLANDS; AND AN ACCOUNT OF OUR PROCEEDINGS TILL OUR ARRIVAL AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

I HAD now made the circuit of the Southern Ocean in a high latitude, and traversed it in such a manner as to leave not the least room for the possibility of there being a continent, unless near the pole, and out of the reach of navigation. By twice visiting the tropical sea, I had not only settled the situation of some old discoveries, but made there many new ones, and left, I conceive, very little more to be done even in that part. Thus I flatter myself that the intention of the voyage has, in every respect, been fully answered; the southern hemisphere sufficiently explored; and a final end put to the searching after a southern continent, which has, at times, engrossed the attention of some of the maritime powers for near two centuries past, and been a favourite theory amongst the geographers of all ages. That there may be a continent, or large tract of land, near the pole, I will not deny; on the contrary, I am of opinion there is; and it is probable that we have seen a part of it. The excessive cold, the many islands and vast floats of ice, all tend to prove that there must be land to the south; and for my persuasion that this southern land must lie, or extend, farthest to the north, opposite to the Southern Atlantic and Indian Oceans, I have already

assigned some reasons; to which I may add the greater degree of cold experienced by us in these seas, than in the Southern Pacific Ocean under the same parallels of latitude.

In this last ocean, the mercury in the thermometer seldom fell so low as the freezing-point, till we were in 60° and upwards; whereas in the others it fell as low in the latitude of 54°. This was certainly owing to there being a greater quantity of ice, and to its extending farther to the north, in these two seas than in the South Pacific; and if ice be first formed at, or near land, of which I have no doubt, it will follow that the land also extends farther north.

The formation or coagulation of ice islands has not, to my knowledge, been thoroughly investigated. Some have supposed them to be formed by the freezing of the water at the mouths of large rivers, or great cataracts, where they accumulate till they are broken off by their own weight. My observations will not allow me to acquiesce in this opinion; because we never found any of the ice which we took up incorporated with earth, or any of its produce, as I think it must have been, had it been coagulated in land waters. It is a doubt with me, whether there be any rivers in these countries. It is certain, that we saw not a river, or stream of water, on all the coast of Georgia, nor on any of the southern lands. Nor did we ever see a stream of water run from any of the ice islands. How are we then to suppose that there are large rivers? The valleys are covered, many fathoms deep, with everlasting snow; and, at the sea, they terminate in icy cliffs of vast height. It is here where the ice islands are formed; not from streams of water but from consolidated snow and sleet, which is almost continually falling or drifting down from the mountains, especially in the winter, when the frost must be intense. During that season, the ice-cliffs must so accumulate as to fill up all the bays, be they ever so large. This is a fact which cannot be doubted, as we have seen it so in summer. These cliffs accumulate by continual falls of snow, and what drifts from the mountains, till they are no longer able to support their own weight; and then large pieces break off, which we call ice-islands. Such as have a flat, even surface, must be of the ice formed in the bays, and before the flat valleys; the others, which have a tapering, unequal surface, must be formed on, or under, the side of a coast composed of pointed rocks and precipices, or some such uneven surface. For we cannot suppose that snow alone, as it falls, can form, on a plain surface, such as the sea, such a variety of high peaks and hills as we saw on many of the ice-isles. It is certainly more reasonable to believe that they are formed on a coast whose surface is something similar to theirs. I have observed that all the ice-islands of any extent, and before they begin to break to pieces, are terminated by perpendicular cliffs of clear ice or frozen snow, always on one or more sides, but most generally all round. Many, and those of the largest size, which had a hilly and spiral surface, showed a perpendicular cliff or side from the summit of the highest peak down to its base. This to me was a convincing proof, that these, as well as the flat isles, must have broken off from substances like themselves, that is, from some large tract of ice *.

When I consider the vast quantity of ice we saw, and the vicinity of the places to the pole where it is formed, and where the degrees of longitude are very small, I am led to believe that these ice-cliffs extend a good way into the sea, in some parts, especially in such as are sheltered from the violence of the winds. It may even be doubted if ever the wind is violent in the very high latitudes. And that the sea will freeze over, or the snow that falls upon it, which amounts to the same thing, we have instances in the northern hemi-

* That the vast fields of ice surrounding the southern pole, and the floating icebergs which in that hemisphere nearly approach even tropical regions, owe their origin to such masses of ice or glaciers descending to the sea, as are described above as occupying the valleys of Georgia, appears to be a well settled fact. With modern geologists it has been a favourite theory to refer the existence of these boulders, or erratic water-worn blocks, which are found scattered in various parts of the earth's surface, at vast distances from any rocks of a similar nature, to the action of similar glaciers, which carrying with them masses of rock from the mountain's side, and afterwards bearing them away from the land on icebergs, deposit them at length in the sea, which, in course of time, the land as the bottom of it being elevated into a continent, a process the effects of which are distinctly visible in many parts of the world, and particularly so in South America, has carried with it boulders scattered abroad on its surface, even as they may be supposed to lie at the bottom of the ocean. This opinion is confirmed by the fact that icebergs bearing rocks upon their surface have occasionally been met with, and that icebergs have been met at sea at no greater distance than 35° 50′ from the equator. This remarkable variation of climate between the northern and southern extremities of the globe appears more forcibly, when we consider that the latitude of Georgia corresponds to the southern part of Scotland.—Ed.

sphere. The Baltic, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the Straits of Belle-Isle, and many other equally large seas, are frequently frozen over in winter. Nor is this at all extraordinary, for we have found the degree of cold at the surface of the sea, even in summer, to be two degrees below the freezing-point; consequently nothing kept it from freezing but the salts it contains, and the agitation of its surface. Whenever this last ceaseth in winter, when the frost is set in, and there comes a fall of snow, it will freeze on the surface as it falls, and in a few days, or perhaps in one night, form such a sheet of ice as will not be easily broken up. Thus a foundation will be laid for it to accumulate to any thickness by falls of snow, without its being at all necessary for the sea-water to freeze. It may be by this means these vast floats of low ice we find in the spring of the year are formed, and which, after they break up, are carried by the currents to the north. For, from all the observations I have been able to make, the currents everywhere, in the high latitudes, set to the N., or to the N.E. or N.W.; but we have very seldom found them considerable.

If this imperfect account of the formation of these extraordinary floating islands of ice which is written wholly from my own observations, does not convey some useful hints to an abler pen, it will, however, convey some idea of the lands where they are formed. Lands doomed by nature to perpetual frigidness; never to feel the warmth of the sun's rays; whose horrible and savage aspect I have not words to describe;—such are the lands we have discovered; what then may we expect those to be which lie still farther to the south? For we may reasonably suppose that we have seen the best, as lying most to the north. If any one should have resolution and perseverance to clear up this point by proceeding farther than I have done, I shall not envy him the honour of the discovery; but I will be bold to say, that the world will not be benefited by it.

I had, at this time, some thoughts of revisiting the place where the French discovery is said to lie. But then I considered that, if they had really made this discovery, the end would be as fully answered as if I had done it myself. We know it can only be an island; and if we may judge from the degree of cold we found in that latitude, it cannot be a fertile one. Besides, this would have kept me two months longer at sea, and in a tempestuous latitude, which we were not in a condition to struggle with. Our sails and rigging were so much worn, that something was giving way every hour; and we had nothing left, either to repair or replace them. Our provisions were in a state of decay, and consequently afforded little nourishment, and we had been a long time without refreshments. My people, indeed, were yet healthy, and would have cheerfully gone wherever I had thought proper to lead them; but I dreaded the scurvy laying hold of them, at a time when we had nothing left to remove it. I must say farther, that it would have been cruel in me to have continued the fatigues and hardships they were continually exposed to, longer than was absolutely necessary. Their behaviour, throughout the whole voyage, merited every indulgence which it was in my power to give them. Animated by the conduct of the officers, they showed themselves capable of surmounting every difficulty and danger which came in their way, and never once looked either upon the one or the other as being at all heightened by our separation from our consort the Adventure.

All these considerations induced me to lay aside looking for the French discoveries, and to steer for the Cape of Good Hope; with a resolution, however, of looking for the isles of Denia and Marseveen, which are laid down in Dr. Halley's variation chart in the latitude of 41½° S., and about 4° of longitude to the east of the meridian of the Cape of Good Hope. With this view I steered N.E., with a hard gale at N.W. and thick weather; and on the 26th at noon, we saw the last ice-island, being at this time in the latitude of 52° 52′ S., longitude 26° 31′ E. The wind abating and veering to the S., on the 1st of March, we steered W., in order to get farther from Mr Bouvet's track, which was but a few degrees to the east of us, being at this time in the latitude of 46° 44′ S., longitude 33° 20′ E., in which situation we found the variation to be 23° 36′ west. It is somewhat remarkable, that all the time we had northerly winds, which were regular and constant for several days, the weather was always thick and cloudy; but as soon as they came S. of W. it cleared up, and was fine and pleasant. The barometer began to rise several days before this change happened; but whether on account of it, or our coming northward, cannot be determined.

The wind remained not long at south before it veered round by the N.E. to N.W., blowing fresh and by squalls, attended, as before, with rain and thick misty weather. We had some intervals of clear weather on the afternoon of the 3d, when we found the variation to be 22° 26′ W.; latitude at this time 45° 8′ S., longitude 30° 50′ E. The following night was very stormy; the wind blew from S.W. and in excessively heavy squalls. At short intervals between the squalls, the wind would fall almost to a calm, and then come on again with such fury, that neither our sails nor rigging could withstand it, several of the sails being split, and a middle staysail being wholly lost. The next morning the gale abated, and we repaired the damage we had sustained in the best manner we could.

On the 8th, being in the latitude of 41° 30′ S., longitude 26° 51′ E., the mercury in the thermometer rose to 61, and we found it necessary to put on lighter clothes. As the wind continued invariably fixed between N.W. and W., we took every advantage to get to the west, by tacking whenever it shifted anything in our favour; but as we had a great swell against us, our tacks were rather disadvantageous. We daily saw albatrosses, peterels, and other oceanic birds; but not the least sign of land. On the 11th, in the latitude of 40° 40′ S., longitude 23° 47′ E., the variation was 20° 48′ W. About noon the same day, the wind shifting suddenly from N.W. to S.W. caused the mercury in the thermometer to fall as suddenly from 62° to 52°; such was the different state of the air, between a northerly and southerly wind. The next day, having several hours' calm, we put a boat in the water, and shot some albatrosses and peterels; which, at this time, were highly acceptable. We were now nearly in the situation where the isles which we were in search of are said to lie; however, we saw nothing that could give us the least hope of finding them.

The calm continued till five o'clock of the next morning, when it was succeeded by a breeze at W. by S., with which we stood to N.N.W. and at noon observed in latitude 38° 51′ S. This was upwards of thirty miles more to the north than our log gave us; and the watch showed that we had been set to the east also. If these differences did not arise from some strong current, I know not how to account for them. Very strong currents have been found on the African coast, between Madagascar and the Cape of Good Hope; but I never heard of their extending so far from the land; nor is it probable they do. I rather suppose that this current has no connexion with that on the coast, and that we happened to fall into some stream which is neither lasting nor regular. But these are points which require much time to investigate, and must therefore be left to the industry of future navigators.

We were now two degrees to the north of the parallel in which the isles of Denia and Marseveen are said to lie. We had seen nothing to encourage us to persevere in looking after them; and it must have taken up some time longer to find them, or to prove their non-existence. Every one was impatient to get into port, and for good reasons; as for a long time we had had nothing but stale and salt provisions, for which every one on board had lost all relish. These reasons induced me to yield to the general wish, and to steer for the Cape of Good Hope, being at this time in the latitude of 38° 38′ S., longitude 23° 37′ E. The next day the observed latitude at noon was only seventeen miles to the north of that given by the log; so that we had either got out of the strength of the current, or it had ceased. On the 15th the observed latitude at noon, together with the watch, showed that we had had a strong current setting to the S.W. the contrary direction to what we had experienced on some of the preceding days, as hath been mentioned. At daylight on the 16th, we saw two sail in the N.W. quarter standing to the westward, and one of them showing Dutch colours. At ten o'clock we tacked and stood to the west also, being at this time in the latitude of 35° 9′ S., longitude 22° 38′ E.

I now, in pursuance of my instructions, demanded of the officers and petty officers the log-books and journals they had kept; which were delivered to me accordingly, and sealed up for the inspection of the Admiralty. I also enjoined them, and the whole crew, not to divulge where we had been, till they had their Lordships' permission so to do. In the afternoon the wind veered to the west and increased to a hard gale, which was of short duration; for, the next day, it fell, and at noon veered to S.E. At this time we were in the latitude of 34° 49′ S., longitude 22° E.; and, on sounding, found fifty-six fathoms water.

In the evening we saw the land in the direction of E.N.E., about six leagues distant; and, during the fore part of the night, there was a great fire or light upon it.

At daybreak on the 18th, we saw the land again, bearing N.N.W., six or seven leagues distant, and the depth of water forty-eight fathoms. At nine o'clock, having little or no wind, we hoisted out a boat and sent on board one of the two ships before mentioned, which were about two leagues from us; but we were too impatient after news to regard the distance. Soon after, a breeze sprung up at west, with which we stood to the south; and, presently, three sail more appeared in sight to windward, one of which showed English colours. At one P.M. the boat returned from on board the Bownkerke Polder, Captain Cornelius Bosch, a Dutch Indiaman from Bengal. Captain Bosch, very obligingly, offered us sugar, arrack, and whatever he had to spare. Our people were told by some English seamen on board this ship, that the Adventure had arrived at the Cape of Good Hope twelve months ago, and that the crew of one of her boats had been murdered and eaten by the people of New Zealand; so that the story which we heard in Queen Charlotte's Sound was now no longer a mystery.

We had light airs, next to a calm, till ten o'clock the next morning, when a breeze sprung up at west, and the English ship, which was to windward, bore down to us. She proved to be the True Briton, Captain Broadly, from China. As he did not intend to touch at the Cape, I put a letter on board him for the Secretary of the Admiralty. The account which we had heard of the Adventure was now confirmed to us by this ship. We also got, from on board her, a parcel of old newspapers, which were new to us, and gave us some amusement; but these were the least favours we received from Captain Broadly. With a generosity peculiar to the commanders of the India Company's ships, he sent us fresh provisions, tea, and other articles, which were very acceptable, and deserve from me this public acknowledgment. In the afternoon we parted company. The True Briton stood out to sea, and we in for the land; having a fresh gale at west, which split our fore top-sail in such a manner, that we were obliged to bring another to the yard. At six o'clock we tacked within four or five miles of the shore; and, as we judged, about five or six leagues to the east of Cape Aguilas. We stood off till midnight, when, the wind having veered round to the south, we tacked, and stood along-shore to the west. The wind kept veering more and more in our favour, and at last fixed at E.S.E., and blew, for some hours, a perfect hurricane. As soon as the storm began to subside, we made sail, and hauled in for the land. Next day at noon, the Table Mountain over the Cape Town bore N.E. by E., distant nine or ten leagues. By making use of this bearing and distance to reduce the longitude shown by the watch to the Cape Town, the error was found to be no more than 18′ in longitude, which it was too far to the east. Indeed, the difference we found between it and the lunar observations, since we left New Zealand, had seldom exceeded half a degree, and always the same way.

The next morning, being with us Wednesday, the 22nd, but with the people here Tuesday, the 21st, we anchored in Table Bay, where we found several Dutch ships; some French; and the Ceres, Captain Newte, an English East India Company's ship, from China, bound directly to England, by whom I sent a copy of the preceding parts of this journal, some charts, and other drawings, to the Admiralty. Before we had well got to an anchor, I despatched an officer to acquaint the governor with our arrival, and to request the necessary stores and refreshments, which were readily granted. As soon as the officer came back, we saluted the garrison with thirteen guns, which compliment was immediately returned with an equal number.

I now learnt that the Adventure had called here, on her return; and I found a letter from Captain Furneaux, acquainting me with the loss of his boat, and of ten of his best men, in Queen Charlotte's Sound. The captain, afterwards, on my arrival in England, put into my hands a complete narrative of his proceedings, from the time of our second and final separation, which I now lay before the public in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.—CAPTAIN FURNEAUX'S NARRATIVE OF HIS PROCEEDINGS IN THE ADVENTURE, FROM THE TIME HE WAS SEPARATED FROM THE RESOLUTION, TO HIS ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND; INCLUDING LIEUTENANT BURNEY'S REPORT CONCERNING THE BOAT'S CREW, WHO WERE MURDERED BY THE INHABITANTS OF QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND.

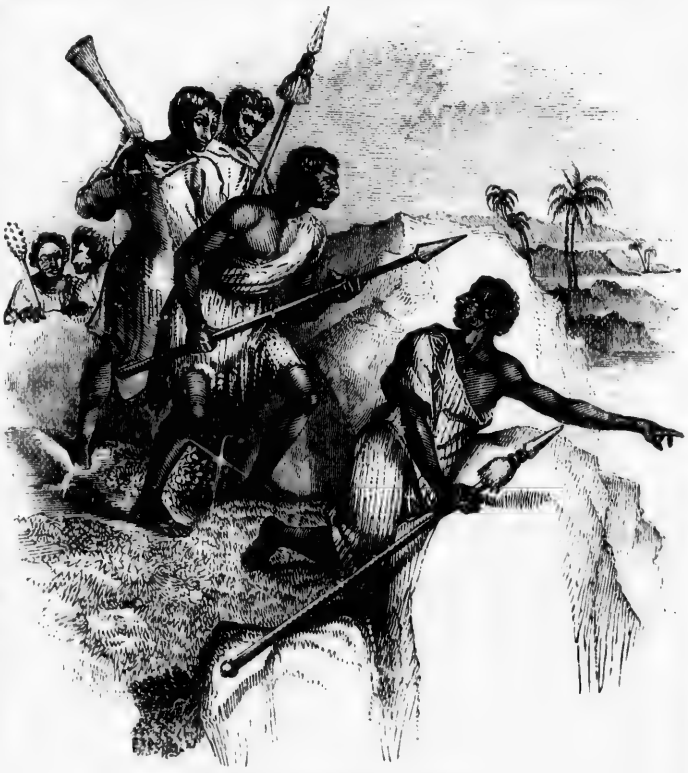
After a passage of fourteen days from Amsterdam, we made the coast of New Zealand near the Table Cape, and stood along-shore till we came as far as Cape Turnagain. The wind then began to blow strong at west, with heavy squalls and rain, which split many of our sails, and blew us off the coast for three days; in which time we parted company with the Resolution, and never saw her afterwards.

On the 4th of November, we again got in-shore, near Cape Palliser, and were visited by a number of the natives in their canoes, bringing a great quantity of cray-fish, which we bought of them for nails and Otaheite cloth. The next day it blew hard from W.N.W., which again drove us off the coast, and obliged us to bring to for two days; during which time it blew one continual gale of wind with heavy falls of sleet. By this time our decks were very leaky; our beds and bedding wet; and several of our people complaining of colds; so that we began to despair of ever getting into Charlotte Sound, or joining the Resolution. On the 6th, being to the north of the Cape, the wind at S.W. and blowing strong, we bore away for some bay to complete our water and wood, being in great want of both; having been at the allowance of one quart of water for some days past; and even that pittance could not be come at, above six or seven days longer. We anchored in Tolaga Bay on the 9th, in latitude 38° 21′ S., longitude 178° 37′ E. It affords good riding with the wind westerly, and regular soundings from eleven to five fathoms, stiff muddy ground across the bay for about two miles. It is open from N.N.E. to E.S.E. It is to be observed, easterly winds seldom blow hard on this shore, but when they do, they throw in a great sea; so that if it were not for a great undertow, together with a large river that empties itself in the bottom of the bay, a ship would not be able to ride here. Wood and water are easily to be had, except when it blows hard easterly. The natives here are the same as those at Charlotte Sound, but more numerous, and seemed settled, having regular plantations of sweet potatoes, and other roots, which are very good; and they have plenty of cray and other fish, which we bought of them for nails, beads, and other trifles, at an easy rate. In one of their canoes we observed the head of a woman lying in state, adorned with feathers and other ornaments. It had the appearance of being alive; but, on examination, we found it dry, being preserved with every feature perfect, and kept as the relic of some deceased relation. Having got about ten tons of water, and some wood, we sailed for Charlotte Sound on the 12th. We were no sooner out than the wind began to blow hard, dead on the shore, so that we could not clear the land on either tack. This obliged us to bear away again for the bay, where we anchored the next morning, and rode out a very heavy gale of wind at E. by S. which threw in a very great sea. We now began to fear we should never join the Resolution; having reason to believe she was in Charlotte Sound, and by this time ready for sea. We soon found it was with great difficulty we could get any water, owing to the swell setting in so strong; at last, however, we were able to go on shore, and got both wood and water.

Whilst we lay here, we were employed about the rigging, which was much damaged by the constant gales of wind we had met with since we made the coast. We got the booms down on the decks, and having made the ship as snug as possible, sailed again on the 16th. After this we met with several gales of wind off the mouth of the strait, and continued beating backwards and forwards till the 30th, when we were so fortunate as to get a favourable wind, which we took every advantage of, and at last got safe into our desired port. We saw nothing of the Resolution, and began to doubt her safety; but on going ashore, we discerned the place where she had erected her tents; and, on an old stump of a tree in the garden, observed these words cut out, "Look underneath." There we dug, and soon found a bottle corked and waxed down, with a letter in it from Captain Cook, signify-

ing their arrival on the 3d instant, and departure on the 24th; and that they intended spending a few days in the entrance of the straits to look for us. We immediately set about getting the ship ready for sea as fast as possible; erected our tents; sent the cooper on shore to repair the casks; and began to unstow the hold, to get at the bread that was in butts; but on opening them, found a great quantity of it entirely spoiled, and most part so damaged that we were obliged to fix our copper oven on shore to bake it over again, which undoubtedly delayed us a considerable time. Whilst we lay here, the inhabitants came on board as before, supplying us with fish, and other things of their own manufacture, which we bought of them for nails, &c., and appeared very friendly; though twice in the middle of the night they came to the tent, with an intention to steal, but were discovered before they could get anything into their possession.

On the 17th of December, having refitted the ship, completed our water and wood, and got everything ready for sea, we sent our large cutter, with Mr. Rowe, a midshipman, and the boat's crew, to gather wild greens for the ship's company, with orders to return that evening, as I intended to sail the next morning. But on the boat's not returning the same evening, nor the next morning, being under great uneasiness about her, I hoisted out the launch, and sent her, with the second lieutenant, Mr. Burney, manned with the boat's crew and ten marines, in search of her. My orders to Mr. Burney were, first to look well into East Bay, and then to proceed to Grass Cove, the place to which Mr. Rowe had been sent; and if he heard nothing of the boat there, to go farther up the Sound, and come back along the west shore. As Mr. Rowe had left the ship an hour before the time proposed, and in a great hurry, I was strongly persuaded that his curiosity had carried him into East Bay, none in our ship having ever been there or else, that some accident had happened to the boat, either by going adrift through the boat-keeper's negligence, or by being stove among the rocks. This was almost everybody's opinion; and on this supposition the carpenter's mate was sent in the launch, with some sheets of tin. I had not the least suspicion that our people had received any injury from the natives; our boats having frequently been higher up, and worse provided. How much I was mistaken too soon appeared; for Mr. Burney having returned about eleven o'clock the same night, mad



NATIVES OF QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND.

report of a horrible scene indeed, which cannot be better described than in his own words, which now follow.

"On the 18th we left the ship; and having a light breeze in our favour, we soon got round Long Island, and within Long Point. I examined every cove on the larboard hand, as we went along, looking well all around with a spy-glass, which I took for that purpose. At half-past one we stopped at a beach, on the left-hand side going up East Bay, to boil some victuals, as we brought nothing but raw meat with us. Whilst we were cooking, I saw an Indian on the opposite shore running along a beach to the head of the bay. Our meat being drest, we got into the boat and put off; and, in a short time, arrived at the head of this reach, where we saw an Indian settlement. As we drew near, some of the Indians came down on the rocks, and waved for us to be gone; but seeing we disregarded them, they altered their notes. Here we found six large canoes hauled up on the beach, most of them double ones, and a great many people; though not so many as one might expect from the number of houses and size of the canoes. Leaving the boat's crew to guard the boat, I stepped ashore with the marines (the corporal and five men), and searched a good many of their houses; but found nothing to give me any suspicion. Three or four well-beaten paths led farther into the woods, where were many more houses; but the people continuing friendly, I thought it unnecessary to continue our search. Coming down to the beach, one of the Indians had brought a bundle of *hepatoos* (long spears), but seeing I looked very earnestly at him, he put them on the ground, and walked about with seeming unconcern. Some of the people appearing to be frightened, I gave a looking-glass to one, and a large nail to another. From this place the bay ran, as nearly as I could guess, N.N.W. a good mile, where it ended in a long sandy beach. I looked all round with the glass, but saw no boat, canoe, or sign of inhabitant. I therefore contented myself with firing some guns, which I had done in every cove as I went along.

"I now kept close to the east shore, and came to another settlement, where the Indians invited us ashore. I inquired of them about the boat, but they pretended ignorance. They appeared very friendly here, and sold us some fish. Within an hour after we left this place, in a small beach adjoining to Grass Cove, we saw a very large double canoe just hauled up, with two men and a dog. The men, on seeing us, left their canoe, and ran up into the woods. This gave me reason to suspect I should here get tidings of the cutter. We went ashore, and searched the canoe, where we found one of the rullock-ports of the cutter, and some shoes, one of which was known to belong to Mr. Woodhouse, one of our midshipmen. One of the people, at the same time, brought me a piece of meat, which he took to be some of the salt meat belonging to the cutter's crew. On examining this, and smelling to it, I found it was fresh. Mr. Fannin (the master), who was with me, supposed it was dog's flesh, and I was of the same opinion; for I still doubted their being cannibals. But we were soon convinced by most horrid and undeniable proof. A great many baskets (about twenty) lying on the beach tied up, we cut them open. Some were full of roasted flesh, and some of fern-root, which serves them for bread. On farther search, we found more shoes and a hand, which we immediately knew to have belonged to Thomas Hill, one of our forecastle men, it being marked T. H. with an Otaheite tattow-instrument. I went with some of the people a little way up the woods, but saw nothing else. Coming down again, there was a round spot covered with fresh earth about four feet diameter, where something had been buried. Having no spade, we began to dig with a cutlass; and in the mean time I launched the canoe with intent to destroy her; but seeing a great smoke ascending over the nearest hill, I got all the people into the boat, and made what haste I could to be with them before sunset.

"On opening the next bay, which was Grass Cove, we saw four canoes, one single and three double ones, and a great many people on the beach, who, on our approach, retreated to a small hill within a ship's length of the water-side, where they stood talking to us. A large fire was on the top of the high land beyond the woods, from whence, all the way down the hill, the place was thronged like a fair. As we came in, I ordered a musquetoon to be fired at one of the canoes, suspecting they might be full of men lying down in the bottom; for they were all afloat, but nobody was seen in them. The savages on the little hill still kept hallooing and making signs for us to land. However, as soon as we got close in, we all

fired. The first volley did not seem to affect them much; but on the second, they began to scramble away as fast as they could, some of them howling. We continued firing as long as we could see the glimpse of any of them through the bushes. Amongst the Indians were two very stout men, who never offered to move till they found themselves forsaken by their companions; and then they marched away with great composure and deliberation; their pride not suffering them to run. One of them, however, got a fall, and either lay there or crawled off on all-fours. The other got clear without any apparent hurt. I then landed with the marines, and Mr. Fannin staid to guard the boat.

"On the beach were two bundles of celery, which had been gathered for loading the cutter. A broken oar was struck upright in the ground, to which the natives had tied their canoes; a proof that the attack had been made here. I then searched all along at the back of the beach, to see if the cutter was there. We found no boat, but instead of her, such a shocking scene of carnage and barbarity as can never be mentioned or thought of but with horror; for the heads, hearts, and lungs of several of our people were seen lying on the beach, and, at a little distance, the dogs gnawing their entrails. Whilst we remained almost stupified on the spot, Mr. Fannin called to us that he heard the savages gathering together in the woods; on which I returned to the boat, and hauling alongside the canoes, we demolished three of them. Whilst this was transacting, the fire on the top of the hill disappeared; and we could hear the Indians in the woods at high words: I suppose quarrelling whether or no they should attack us, and try to save their canoes. It now grew dark: I therefore just stepped out, and looked once more behind the beach, to see if the cutter had been hauled up in the bushes; but seeing nothing of her, returned and put off. Our whole force would have been barely sufficient to have gone up the hill, and to have ventured with half (for half must have been left to guard the boat) would have been fool-hardiness.

"As we opened the upper part of the Sound, we saw a very large fire about three or four miles higher up, which formed a complete oval, reaching from the top of a hill down almost to the water-side, the middle space being enclosed all round by the fire, like a hedge. I consulted with Mr. Fannin, and we were both of opinion that we could expect to reap no other advantage than the poor satisfaction of killing some more of the savages. At leaving Grass Cove, we had fired a general volley towards where we heard the Indians talking; but by going in and out of the boat, the arms had got wet, and four pieces missed fire. What was still worse, it began to rain; our ammunition was more than half expended, and we left six large canoes behind us in one place. With so many disadvantages, I did not think it worth while to proceed, where nothing could be hoped for but revenge. Coming between two round islands, situated to the southward of East Bay, we imagined we heard somebody calling; we lay on our oars and listened, but heard no more of it; we hallooed several times, but to little purpose; the poor souls were far enough out of hearing; and, indeed, I think it some comfort to reflect that, in all probability, every man of them must have been killed on the spot."

Thus far Mr. Burney's report; and, to complete the account of this tragical transaction, it may not be unnecessary to mention that the people in the cutter were, Mr. Rowe, Mr. Woodhouse; Francis Murphy, quarter-master; William Facey, Thomas Hill, Michael Bell, and Edward Jones, forecastle-men; John Cavenaugh and Thomas Milton, belonging to the after-guard; and James Sevilley, the captain's man; being ten in all. Most of these were of our very best seamen, the stoutest and most healthy people in the ship. Mr. Burney's party brought on board two hands; one belonging to Mr. Rowe, known by a hurt he had received on it; the other to Thomas Hill, as before mentioned; and the head of the captain's servant. These, with more of the remains, were tied in a hammock and thrown overboard, with ballast and shot sufficient to sink it. None of their arms nor clothes were found, except part of a pair of trowsers, a frock, and six shoes, no two of them being fellows.

I am not inclined to think this was any premeditated plan of these savages; for the morning Mr. Rowe left the ship, he met two canoes, which came down and staid all the forenoon in Ship Cove. It might probably happen from some quarrel which was decided on the spot; or the fairness of the opportunity might tempt them, our people being so incautious, and thinking themselves too secure. Another thing which encouraged the New Zealanders was, they were sensible that a gun was not infallible, that they sometimes missed, and that, when

discharged, they must be loaded before they could be used again, which time they knew how to take advantage of. After their success, I imagine there was a general meeting on the east side of the Sound. The Indians of Shag Cove were there; this we knew by a cock which was in one of the canoes, and by a long single canoe, which some of our people had seen four days before in Shag Cove, where they had been with Mr. Rowe in the cutter.

We were detained in the Sound by contrary winds four days after this melancholy affair happened, during which time we saw none of the inhabitants. What is very remarkable, I had been several times up in the same cove with Captain Cook, and never saw the least sign of an inhabitant, except some deserted towns, which appeared as if they had not been occupied for several years; and yet, when Mr. Burney entered the cove, he was of opinion there could not be less than fifteen hundred or two thousand people. I doubt not, had they been apprised of his coming, they would have attacked him. From these considerations I thought it imprudent to send a boat up again, as we were convinced there was not the least probability of any of our people being alive.

On the 23d, we weighed and made sail out of the Sound, and stood to the eastward to get clear of the Straits; which we accomplished the same evening, but were baffled for two or three days with light winds before we could clear the coast. We then stood to the S.S.E., till we got into the latitude of 56° S., without anything remarkable happening, having a great swell from the southward. At this time the winds began to blow strong from the S.W., and the weather to be very cold; and as the ship was low and deep laden, the sea made a continual breach over her, which kept us always wet; and by her straining, very few of the people were dry in bed or on deck, having no shelter to keep the sea from them. The birds were the only companions we had in this vast ocean; except, now and then, we saw a whale or porpoise, and sometimes a seal or two, and a few penguins. In the latitude of 58° S., longitude 213° * E., we fell in with some ice, and every day saw more or less, we then standing to the E. We found a very strong current setting to the eastward; for by the time we were abreast of Cape Horn, being in the latitude of 61° S., the ship was ahead of our account eight degrees. We were very little more than a month from Cape Palliser, in New Zealand, to Cape Horn, which is an hundred and twenty-one degrees of longitude, and had continual westerly winds from S.W. to N.W., with a great sea following.

On opening some casks of peas and flour, that had been stowed on the coals, we found them very much damaged, and not eatable; so thought it most prudent to make for the Cape of Good Hope, but first to stand into the latitude and longitude of Cape Circumcision. After being to the eastward of Cape Horn, we found the winds did not blow so strong from the westward as usual, but came more from the north, which brought on thick foggy weather; so that for several days together we could not be able to get an observation, or see the least sign of the sun. This weather lasted above a month, being then among a great many islands of ice, which kept us constantly on the look-out for fear of running foul of them, and, being a single ship, made us more attentive. By this time our people began to complain of colds and pains in their limbs, which obliged me to haul to the northward to the latitude of 54° S.; but we still continued to have the same sort of weather, though we had oftener an opportunity of obtaining observations for the latitude. After getting into the latitude above mentioned, I steered to the east, in order, if possible, to find the land laid down by Bouvet. As we advanced to the east, the islands of ice became more numerous and dangerous, they being much smaller than they used to be, and the nights began to be dark.

On the 3d of March, being then in the latitude of 54° 4′ S., longitude 13° E., which is the latitude of Bouvet's discovery, and half a degree to the eastward of it, and not seeing the least sign of land, either now or since we have been in this parallel, I gave over looking for it, and hauled away to the northward. As our last track to the southward was within a few degrees of Bouvet's discovery, in the longitude assigned to it, and about three or four degrees to the southward, should there be any land thereabout, it must be a very inconsiderable island. But I believe it was nothing but ice, as we, in our first setting out, thought we had seen land several times, but it proved to be high islands of ice at the back of the large fields; and as it was thick foggy weather when Mr. Bouvet fell in with it, he might very easily mistake them for land.

* About 147° west longitude, as I reckon.

On the 7th, being in the latitude of 48° 30′ S., longitude 14° 26′ E., saw two large islands of ice. On the 17th, made the land of the Cape of Good Hope; and on the 19th, anchored in Table Bay, where we found Commodore Sir Edward Hughes, with his Majesty's ships Salisbury and Seahorse. I saluted the Commodore with thirteen guns, and, soon after, the garrison with the same number; the former returned the salute, as usual, with two guns less, and the latter with an equal number.

On the 24th, Sir Edward Hughes sailed with the Salisbury and Seahorse for the East Indies; but I remained, refitting the ship and refreshing my people, till the 16th of April, when I sailed for England; and on the 14th of July, anchored at Spithead.

CHAPTER IX.—TRANSACTIONS AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF SOME DISCOVERIES MADE BY THE FRENCH; AND THE ARRIVAL OF THE SHIP AT ST. HELENA.

I now resume my own Journal, which Captain Furneaux's interesting Narrative, in the preceding chapter, had obliged me to suspend.

The day after my arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, I went on shore and waited on the governor, Baron Plettenberg, and other principal officers, who received and treated us with the greatest politeness, contributing all in their power to make it agreeable. And, as there are few people more obliging to strangers than the Dutch in general at this place, and refreshments of all kinds are nowhere to be got in such abundance, we enjoyed some real repose, after the fatigues of a long voyage. The good treatment which strangers meet with at the Cape of Good Hope, and the necessity of breathing a little fresh air, has introduced a custom not common anywhere else (at least I have nowhere seen it so strictly observed), which is, for all the officers who can be spared out of the ships to reside on shore. We followed this custom. Myself, the two Mr. Forsters, and Mr. Sparrman, took up our abode with Mr. Brandt, a gentleman well known to the English by his obliging readiness to serve them. My first care after my arrival, was to procure fresh-baked bread, fresh meat, greens, and wine, for those who remained on board; and, being provided every day during our stay with these articles, they were soon restored to their usual strength. We had only three men on board whom it was thought necessary to send on shore for the recovery of their health; and for these I procured quarters, at the rate of thirty stivers, or half-a-crown, per day, for which they were provided with victuals, drink, and lodging.

We now went to work to supply all our defects. For this purpose, by permission, we erected a tent on shore, to which we sent our casks and sails to be repaired. We also struck the yards and topmasts, in order to overhaul the rigging, which we found in so bad a condition, that almost everything, except the standing rigging, was obliged to be replaced with new; and that was purchased at a most exorbitant price. In the article of naval stores, the Dutch here, as well as at Batavia, take a shameful advantage of the distress of foreigners. That our rigging, sails, &c. should be worn out, will not be wondered at, when it is known, that, during this circumnavigation of the globe, that is, from our leaving this place, to our return to it again, we had sailed no less than twenty thousand leagues; an extent of voyage nearly equal to three times the equatorial circumference of the earth, and which, I apprehend, was never sailed by any ship in the same space of time before. And yet, in all this great run, which had been made in all latitudes between 9° and 71°, we sprung neither lowmasts, top-mast, lower nor top-sail yard, nor so much as broke a lower or top-mast shroud; which, with the great care and abilities of my officers, must be owing to the good properties of our ship.

One of the French ships which were at anchor in the bay, was the Ajax Indiaman, bound to Pondicherry, commanded by Captain Crozet. He had been second in command with Captain Marion, who sailed from this place with two ships, in March 1772, as hath been already mentioned. Instead of going from hence to America, as was said, he stood away for New Zealand; where, in the Bay of Isles, he and some of his people were killed by the inhabitants. Captain Crozet, who succeeded to the command, returned by the way of the Philippine Isles, with the two ships, to the Island of Mauritius. He seemed to be a man

possessed of the true spirit of discovery, and to have abilities. In a very obliging manner, he communicated to me a chart, wherein were delineated not only his own discoveries, but also that of Captain Kerguelen, which I found laid down in the very situation where we searched for it; so that I can, by no means, conceive how both we and the Adventure missed it. Besides this land, which Captain Crozet told us was a long but very narrow island, extending east and west, Captain Marion, in about the latitude of 42° S., and from 16° to 30° of longitude east of the Cape of Good Hope, discovered six islands which were high and barren *. These, together with some islands lying between the line and the southern tropic in the Pacific Ocean, were the principal discoveries made in this voyage, the account of which, we were told, was ready for publication.

By Captain Crozet's chart, it appeared that a voyage had been made by the French across the South Pacific Ocean, in 1769, under the command of one Captain Surville; who, on condition of his attempting discoveries, had obtained leave to make a trading voyage to the coast of Peru. He fitted out, and took in a cargo, in some part of the East Indies; proceeded by way of the Philippine Isles; passed near New Britain; and discovered some land in the latitude of 10° S., longitude 158° E. to which he gave his own name. From hence he steered to the south; passed but a few degrees to the west of New Caledonia; fell in with New Zealand at its northern extremity, and put into Doubtful Bay, where, it seems, he was when I passed it, on my former voyage, in the Endeavour. From New Zealand, Captain Surville steered to the east, between the latitude of 35° and 41° south, until he arrived on the coast of America; where, in the port of Callao, in attempting to land, he was drowned. These voyages of the French, though undertaken by private adventurers, have contributed something towards exploring the Southern Ocean. That of Captain Surville clears up a mistake which I was led into, in imagining the shoals off the west end of New Caledonia to extend to the west, as far as New Holland. It proves that there is an open sea in that space, and that we saw the N.W. extremity of that country.

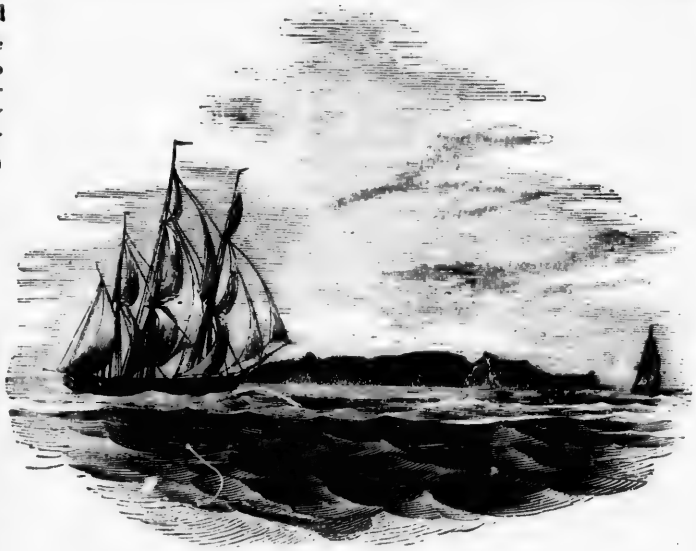
From the same gentleman we learnt, that the ship which had been at Otaheite before our first arrival there this voyage, was from New Spain; and that, in her return, she had discovered some islands in the latitude of 32° S. and under the meridian of 130° W. Some other islands, said to be discovered by the Spaniards, appeared on this chart; but Captain Crozet seemed to think, they were inserted from no good authorities. We were likewise informed of a later voyage undertaken by the French, under the command of Captain Kerguelen, which had ended much to the disgrace of that commander.

While we lay in Table Bay, several foreign ships put in and out, bound to and from India, viz. English, French, Danes, Swedes, and three Spanish frigates, two of them going to, and one coming from, Manilla. It is but very lately that the Spanish ships have touched here; and these were the first that were allowed the same privileges as other European friendly nations.

On examining our rudder, the pintles were found to be loose, and we were obliged to unhang it, and take it on shore to repair. We were also delayed for want of calkers to calk the ship, which was absolutely necessary to be done, before we put to sea. At length I obtained two workmen from one of the Dutch ships; and the Dutton English East Indiaman, coming in from Bengal, Captain Rice, obliged me with two more; so that by the 26th of April, this work was finished; and having got on board all necessary stores, and a fresh supply of provisions and water, we took leave of the governor and other principal officers, and the next morning repaired on board. Soon after, the wind coming fair, we weighed and put to sea; as did also the Spanish frigate Juno, from Manilla, a Danish Indiaman, and the Dutton. As soon as we were under sail, we saluted the garrison with thirteen guns; which compliment was immediately returned with the same number. The Spanish frigate and Danish Indiaman both saluted us as we passed them, and I returned each salute with an equal number of guns. When we were clear of the bay, the Danish ship steered for the East Indies, the Spanish frigate for Europe, and we and the Dutton for St. Helena.

* These were visited by Cook when going out on his third voyage, and were distinguished by him by the names of Prince Edward's Islands, Marion's and Crozet's Islands. For a further account of Kerguelen's Land, see the narrative of Cook's visit to it on his third voyage, in Dec. 1776, and Dr. Douglas's notes upon the subject of the previous visits of the French.—Ed.

Depending on the goodness of Mr. Kendall's watch, I resolved to try to make the island, by a direct course. For the first six days, that is, till we got into the latitude of 27° S., longitude 11¼° W. of the Cape, the winds were southerly and S.E. After this we had variable light airs for two days; they were succeeded by a wind at S.E. which continued to the island, except a part of one day, when it was at N.E. In general, the wind blew faint all the passage, which made it longer than common. At daybreak in the morning of the 15th of May, we saw the island of St. Helena, at the distance of fourteen leagues; and, at midnight, anchored in the road before the town, on the N.W. side of the island. At sunrise the next morning, the castle, and also the Dutton, saluted us, each with thirteen guns: on my landing, soon after, I was saluted by the castle, with the same number; and each of the salutes was returned by the ship. Governor Skettowe, and the principal gentlemen of the island, received and treated me, during my stay, with the greatest politeness, by showing me every kind of civility in their power.



ST. HELENA.

Whoever view St. Helena, in it present state, an can but conceiv what it must have been originally, will not hastily charge the inhabitants with want of industry: though, perhaps, they might apply it to more advantage, were more land appropriated to planting of corn, vegetables, roots, &c., instead of being laid out in pasture, which is the present mode. But this is not likely to happen, so long as the greatest part of it remains in the hands of the Company and their servants. Without industrious planters this island can never flourish, and be in a condition to supply the shipping with the necessary refreshments *. Within these three years a new church has been built; some other new buildings were in hand; a commodious landing-place for boats has been made; and several other improvements, which add both strength and beauty to the place. During our stay here we finished some necessary repairs of the ship, which we had not time to do at the Cape. We also filled all our empty water-casks; and the crew were served with fresh beef, purchased at fivepence per pound. Their beef is exceedingly good, and is the only refreshment to be had worth mentioning.

By a series of observations made at the Cape Town, and at James Fort, in St. Helena; at the former by Messrs. Mason and Dixon, and at the latter by Mr. Maskelyne, the present astronomer royal; the difference of longitude between these two places is 24° 12′ 15″, only two miles more than Mr. Kendall's watch made. The lunar observations made by Mr. Wales, before we arrived at the island, and after we left it, and reduced to it by the watch, gave

* In recent years great improvement has taken place in the cultivation of the island, which has been encouraged by the exertions of the government and the establishment of Agricultural and Horticultural Societies. Still the chief supplies to be obtained here are fresh meat and water; and the former is held of such importance, that no one is allowed to kill an ox without the governor's permission.—Ed.

5° 51′ for the longitude of James Fort, which is only five miles more west than it is placed by Mr. Maskelyne. In like manner, the longitude of the Cape Town was found within 5′ of the truth. I mention this to show how near the longitude of places may be found by the lunar method, even at sea, with the assistance of a good watch.

CHAPTER X.—PASSAGE FROM ST. HELENA TO THE WESTERN ISLANDS, WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND OF ASCENSION AND FERNANDO NORONHO.

On the 21st, in the evening, I took leave of the governor, and repaired on board. Upon my leaving the shore, I was saluted with thirteen guns; and, upon my getting under sail, with the Dutton in company, I was saluted with thirteen more; both of which I returned. After leaving St. Helena, the Dutton was ordered to steer N.W. by W. or N.W. by compass, in order to avoid falling in with Ascension; at which island, it was said, an illicit trade was carried on between the officers of the India Company's ships and some vessels from North America, who, of late years, had frequented the island, on pretence of fishing for whales or catching turtle, when their real design was to wait the coming of the India ships. In order to prevent their homeward-bound ship from falling in with these smugglers, and to put a stop to this illicit trade, the Dutton was ordered to steer the course above mentioned till to the northward of Ascension. I kept company with this ship till the 24th, when, after putting a packet on board her for the Admiralty, we parted, she continuing her course to the N.W., and I steering for Ascension.

In the morning of the 28th, I made the island, and the same evening anchored in Cross Bay, on the N.W. side, in ten fathoms water, the bottom a fine sand, and half a mile from the shore. The Cross Hill, so called on account of a cross or flag-staff erected upon it, bore by compass S. 38° E.; and the two extreme points of the Bay extended from N.E. to S.W. We remained here till the evening of the 31st; and, notwithstanding we had several parties out every night, we got but twenty-four turtle, it being rather too late in the season; however, as they weighed between four and five hundred pounds each, we thought ourselves not ill off. We might have had a plentiful supply of fish in general; especially of that sort called old wives, I have nowhere seen such abundance; there were also cavalies, congor eels, and various other sorts; but the catching of any of these was not attended to, the object being turtle. There are abundance of goats, and aquatic birds, such as men-of-war and tropic birds, boobies, &c.

The Island of Ascension is about ten miles in length, in the direction of N.W. and S.E., and about five or six in breadth. It shows a surface composed of barren hills and valleys, on the most of which not a shrub or plant is to be seen for several miles, and where we found nothing but stones and sand, or rather slags and ashes; an indubitable sign that the isle, at some remote time, has been destroyed by a volcano, which has thrown up vast heaps of stones, and even hills. Between these heaps of stones we found a smooth even surface, composed of ashes and sand, and very good travelling upon it; but one may as easily walk over broken glass bottles as over the stones. If the foot deceives you, you are sure to be cut or lamed, which happened to some of our people. A high mountain, at the S.E. end of the isle, seems to be left in its original state, and to have escaped the general destruction. Its soil is a kind of white marl, which yet retains its vegetative qualities, and produceth a kind of purslain, spurg, and one or two grasses. On these the goats subsist; and it is at this part of the isle where they are to be found, as also land-crabs, which are said to be very good. I was told, that about this part of the isle is some very good land, on which might be raised many necessary articles; and some have been at the trouble of sowing turnips and other useful vegetables. I was also told there is a fine spring in a valley which disjoins two hills on the top of the mountain above mentioned; besides great quantities of fresh water in holes in the rocks, which the person who gave me this information believed was collected from rains. But these supplies of water can only be of use to the traveller, or to those who may

be so unfortunate as to be shipwrecked on the island *; which seems to have been the fate of some not long ago, as appeared by the remains of a wreck we found on the N.E. side. By what we could judge, she seemed to have been a vessel of about one hundred and fifty tons burthen.

While we lay in the road, a sloop of about seventy tons burthen came to an anchor by us. She belonged to New York, which place she left in February; and having been to the coast of Guinea with a cargo of goods, was come here to take in turtle to carry to Barbadoes. This was the story which the master, whose name was Greves, was pleased to tell, and which may, in part, be true; but I believe the chief view of his coming here was the expectation of meeting with some of the India ships. He had been in the island near a week, and had got on board twenty turtle. A sloop, belonging to Bermuda, had sailed but a few days before with one hundred and five on board, which was as many as she could take in; but having turned several more on the different sandy beaches, they had ripped open their bellies, taken out the eggs, and left the carcasses to putrify; an act as inhuman as injurious to those who came after them. Part of the account I have given of the interior parts of this island I received from Captain Greves, who seemed to be a sensible, intelligent man, and had been all over it. He sailed in the morning of the same day we did.

Turtle, I am told, are to be found at this isle from January to June. The method of catching them is to have people upon the several sandy bays, to watch their coming on shore to lay their eggs, which is always in the night, and then to turn them on their backs, till there be an opportunity to take them off the next day. It was recommended to us to send a good many men to each beach, where they were to lie quiet till the turtle were ashore, and then rise and turn them at once. This method may be the best when the turtle are numerous; but when there are but few, three or four men are sufficient for the largest beach: and if they keep patrolling it, close to the wash of the surf, during the night, by this method they will see all that come ashore, and cause less noise than if there were more of them. It was by this method we caught the most we got; and this is the method by which the Americans take them. Nothing is more certain, than that all the turtle which are found about this island come here for the sole purpose of laying their eggs, for we meet with none but females; and of all those which we caught, not one had any food worth mentioning in its stomach; a sure sign, in my opinion, that they must have been a long time without any; and this may be the reason why the flesh of them is not so good as some I have ate on the coast of New South Wales, which were caught on the spot where they fed.

The watch made 8° 45′ difference of longitude between St. Helena and Ascension; which added to 5° 49′, the longitude of James Fort in St. Helena, gives 14° 34′ for the longitude of the Road of Ascension, or 14° 30′ for the middle of the island, the latitude of which is 8° S. The lunar observations made by Mr. Wales, and reduced to the same point of the island by the watch, gave 14° 28′ 30″ west longitude.

On the 31st of May we left Ascension, and steered to the northward, with a fine gale at S.E. by E. I had a great desire to visit the island of St. Matthew, to settle its situation; but as I found the winds would not let me fetch it, I steered for the island of Fernando de Noronho, on the coast of Brazil, in order to determine its longitude, as I could not find this had yet been done. Perhaps I should have performed a more acceptable service to navigation, if I had gone in search of the island of St. Paul, and those shoals which are said to lie near the equator, and about the meridian of 20° west; as neither their situation nor existence is well known. The truth is, I was unwilling to prolong the passage in searching for what I was not sure to find; nor was I willing to give up every object, which might tend to the improvement of navigation or geography, for the sake of getting home a week or a fortnight sooner. It is but seldom that opportunities of this kind offer; and when they do, they are too often neglected.

In our passage to Fernando de Noronho, we had steady fresh gales between the S.E. and E.S.E. attended with fair and clear weather; and as we had the advantage of the moon, a

* Since the time when Napoleon was imprisoned in St. Helena, Ascension has been occupied by a small British garrison, by whose exertion it has been much improved; and is now a very convenient station as a depôt for stores, and a place for watering ships cruising on the coast of Brasil or in the South Atlantic Ocean.—ED.

day or night did not pass without making lunar observations for the determining our longitude. In this run, the variation of the compass gradually decreased from 11° west, which it was at Ascension, to 1° west, which we found off Fernando de Noronho. This was the mean result of two compasses, one of which gave 1° 37′, and the other 23′ west. On the 9th of June, at noon, we made the island of Fernando de Noronho, bearing S.W. by W. ½ W., distant six or seven leagues, as we afterwards found by the log. It appeared in detached and peaked hills, the largest of which looked like a church tower or steeple. As we drew near the S.E. part of the isle, we perceived several unconnected sunken rocks lying near a league from the shore, on which the sea broke in a great surf. After standing very near the rocks, we hoisted our colours, and then bore up round the north end of the isle, or rather round a group of little islets; for we could see that the land was divided by narrow channels. There is a strong fort on the one next the main island, where there are several others; all of which seemed to have every advantage that nature can give them, and they are so disposed as wholly to command all the anchoring and landing places about the island. We continued to steer round the northern point, till the sandy beaches (before which is the road for shipping) began to appear, and the forts and the peaked hills were open to the westward of the said point. At this time, on a gun being fired from one of the forts, the Portuguese colours were displayed, and the example was followed by all the other forts. As the purpose for which I made the island was now answered, I had no intention to anchor; and therefore, after firing a gun to leeward, we made sail and stood away to the northward, with a fine fresh gale at E.S.E. The peaked hill or church tower bore south, 27° west, distant about four or five miles; and from this point of view it leans, or overhangs, to the east. This hill is nearly in the middle of the island, which now here exceeds two leagues in extent, and shows a hilly, unequal surface, mostly covered with wood and herbage.

Ulloa says, "This island hath two harbours, capable of receiving ships of the greatest burden; one is on the north side, and the other on the N.W. The former is, in every respect, the principal, both for shelter and capacity, and the goodness of its bottom; but both are exposed to the north and west, though these winds, particularly the north, are periodical, and of no long continuance." He further says, that you anchor in the north harbour (which is no more than what I would call a road) in thirteen fathoms water, one-third of a league from shore, bottom of fine sand; the peaked hill above mentioned bearing S.W. 3° southerly *.

This road seems to be well sheltered from the south and east winds. One of my seamen had been on board a Dutch India ship, who put in at this isle in her way out, in 1770. They were very sickly, and in want of refreshments and water. The Portuguese supplied them with some buffaloes and fowls; and they watered behind one of the beaches in a little pool, which was hardly big enough to dip a bucket in. By reducing the observed latitude at noon to the peaked hill, its latitude will be 3° 53′ south; and its longitude, by the watch, carried on from St. Helena, is 32° 34′ west; and by observations of the sun and moon, made before and after we made the isle, and reduced to it by the watch, 32° 44′ 30″ west. This was the mean result of my observations. The results of those made by Mr. Wales, which were more numerous, gave 32° 23′. The mean of the two will be pretty near the watch, and probably nearest the truth. By knowing the longitude of this isle, we are able to determine that of the adjacent east coast of Brazil; which, according to the modern charts, lies about sixty or seventy leagues more to the west. We might very safely have trusted to these charts, especially the Variation Chart for 1744, and Mr. Dalrymple's of the Southern Atlantic Ocean †.

On the 11th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, we crossed the equator in the longitude of 32° 14′ west. We had fresh gales at S.S.E., blowing in squalls, attended by showers of

* See Don Antonio d'Ulloa's book, vol. ii. chap. 3, page 55 to 102, where there is a very particular account of this island.

† Ulloa says, that the chart places this island sixty leagues from the coast of Brazil; and that the Portuguese pilots, who often make the voyage, judge it to be eighty leagues; but, by taking the mean between the two opinions, the distance may be fixed at seventy leagues.

rain, that continued at certain intervals, till noon the next day, after which we had twenty-four hours' fair weather. At noon on the 13th, being in the latitude of 3° 49′ north, longitude 31° 47′ west, the wind became variable, between the N.E. and south; and we had light airs and squalls by turns, attended by hard showers of rain, and for the most part dark, gloomy weather, which continued till the evening of the 15th, when in the latitude of 5° 47′ north, longitude 31° west, we had three calm days, in which time we did not advance above ten or twelve leagues to the north. We had fair weather and rain by turns; the sky, for the most part, being obscured, and sometimes by heavy dense clouds which broke in excessive hard showers. At seven o'clock in the evening on the 18th, the calm was succeeded by a breeze at east, which, the next day, increasing and veering to and fixing at N.E., we stretched to N.W. with our tacks on board. We made no doubt that we had now got the N.E. trade-wind, as it was attended with fair weather, except now and then some light showers of rain; and as we advanced to the north, the wind increased and blew a fresh top-gallant gale.

On the 21st, I ordered the still to be fitted to the largest copper, which held about sixty-four gallons. The fire was lighted at four o'clock in the morning, and at six the still began to run. It was continued till six o'clock in the evening; in which time we obtained thirty-two gallons of fresh water, at the expense of one bushel and a half of coals; which was about three-fourths of a bushel more than was necessary to have boiled the ship's company's victuals only; but the expense of fuel was no object with me. The victuals were dressed in the small copper, the other being applied wholly to the still; and every method was made use of to obtain from it the greatest quantity of fresh water possible, as this was my sole motive for setting it to work. The mercury in the thermometer at noon was at eighty-four and a half, and higher it is seldom found at sea. Had it been lower, more water, under the same circumstances, would undoubtedly have been produced; for the colder the air is, the cooler you can keep the still, which will condense the steam the faster. Upon the whole, this is a useful invention; but I would advise no man to trust wholly to it. For although you may, provided you have plenty of fuel and good coppers, obtain as much water as will support life, you cannot, with all your efforts, obtain sufficient to support health, in hot climates especially, where it is the most wanting; for I am well convinced, that nothing contributes more to the health of seamen than having plenty of water.

The wind now remained invariably fixed at N.E. and E.N.E. and blew fresh with squalls, attended with showers of rain, and the sky for the most part cloudy. On the 25th, in the latitude of 16° 12′ north, longitude 37° 20′ west, seeing a ship to windward steering down upon us, we shortened sail in order to speak with her; but finding she was Dutch by her colours, we made sail again and left her to pursue her course, which we supposed was to some of the Dutch settlements in the West Indies. In the latitude of 20° north, longitude 39° 45′ west, the wind began to veer to E. by N. and E.; but the weather remained the same; that is, we continued to have it clear and cloudy by turns, with light squalls and showers. Our track was between N.W. by N. and N.N.W. till noon on the 28th, after which our course made good was N. by W., being at this time in the latitude of 21° 21′ north, longitude 40° 6′ west. Afterwards, the wind began to blow a little more steady, and was attended with fair and clear weather. At two o'clock in the morning of the 30th, being in the latitude of 24° 20′ north, longitude 40° 47′ west, a ship, steering to the westward, passed us within hail. We judged her to be English, as they answered us in that language; but we could not understand what they said, and they were presently out of sight.

In the latitude of 29° 30′, longitude 41° 30′, the wind slackened and veered more to the S.E. We now began to see some of that sea-plant which is commonly called gulf-weed, from a supposition that it comes from the Gulf of Florida. Indeed, for aught I know to the contrary, it may be a fact; but it seems not necessary, as it is certainly a plant which vegetates at sea. We continued to see it, but always in small pieces, till we reached the latitude 36°, longitude 39° west, beyond which situation no more appeared. On the 5th of July, in the latitude of 32° 31′ 30″ north, longitude 40° 29′ west, the wind veered to the east, and blew very faint; the next day it was calm; the two following days we had

variable light airs and calms by turns; and, at length, on the 9th, having fixed at S.S.W., it increased to a fresh gale, with which we steered first N.E. and then E.N.E. with a view of making some of the Azores, or Western Isles. On the 11th, in the latitude of 36° 45′ north, longitude 36° 45′ west, we saw a sail which was steering to the west; and the next day we saw three more.

CHAPTER XI.—ARRIVAL OF THE SHIP AT THE ISLAND OF FAYAL, A DESCRIPTION OF THE PLACE, AND THE RETURN OF THE RESOLUTION TO ENGLAND.

AT five o'clock in the evening of the 13th, we made the Island of Fayal, one of the Azores, and soon after that of Pico, under which we spent the night making short boards. At daybreak the next morning we bore away for the bay of Fayal, or De Horta, where, at eight o'clock, we anchored in twenty fathoms water, a clean sandy bottom, and something more than half-a-mile from the shore. Here we moored N.E. and S.W., being directed so to do by the master of the port, who came on board before we dropped anchor. When moored, the S.W. point of the bay bore S. 16° W., and the N.E. point N. 33° E.; the church at the N.E. end of the town N. 38° W.; the west point of St. George's Island N. 42° E., distant eight leagues; and the Isle of Pico extending from N. 74° E. to S. 46° E., distance four or five miles. We found in the bay the Pourvoyeur, a large French frigate, an American sloop, and a brig belonging to the place. She had come last from the river Amazon, where she took in a cargo of provisions for the Cape Verde Islands; but, not being able to find them, she steered for this place, where she anchored about half an hour before us.

As my sole design in stopping here was to give Mr. Wales an opportunity to find the rate of the watch, the better to enable us to fix, with some degree of certainty, the longitude of these islands, the moment we anchored, I sent an officer to wait on the English consul, and to notify our arrival to the governor, requesting his permission for Mr. Wales to make observations on shore, for the purpose above-mentioned. Mr. Dent, who acted as consul in the absence of Mr. Gathorne, not only procured this permission, but accommodated Mr. Wales with a convenient place in his garden to set up his instruments; so that he was enabled to observe equal altitudes the same day. We were not more obliged to Mr. Dent for the very friendly readiness he showed in procuring us this and every other thing we wanted, than for the very liberal and hospitable entertainment we met with at his house, which was open to accommodate us, both night and day.

During our stay, the ship's company was served with fresh beef; and we took on board about fifteen tons of water, which we brought off in the country boats, at the rate of about three shillings per ton. Ships are allowed to water with their own boats, but the many inconveniences attending it more than overbalance the expense of hiring shore-boats which is the most general custom. Fresh provisions for present use may be got, such as beef, vegetables, and fruit; and hogs, sheep, and poultry, for sea-stock, at a pretty reasonable price; but I do not know that any sea-provisions are to be had, except wine. The bullocks and hogs are very good, but the sheep are small, and wretchedly poor.

The principal produce of Fayal is wheat and Indian corn, with which they supply Pico, and some of the other isles. The chief town is called Villa de Horta. It is situated in the bottom of the bay, close to the edge of the sea, and is defended by two castles, one at each end of the town, and a wall of stone-work, extending along the sea-shore, from the one to the other. But these works are suffered to go to decay, and serve more for show than strength. They heighten the prospect of the city, which makes a fine appearance from the road; but, if we except the Jesuits' College, the monasteries, and churches, there is not another building that has anything to recommend it, either outside or in. There is not a glass window in the place, except what are in the churches, and in a country-house, which lately belonged to the English consul; all the others being latticed, which, to an Englishman, makes them look like prisons.

This little city, like all others belonging to the Portuguese, is crowded with religious

buildings; there being no less than three convents of men, and two of women; and eight churches, including those belonging to the convents, and the one in the Jesuits' College. The college is a fine structure, and is seated on an elevation in the pleasantest part of the city. Since the expulsion of that order, it has been suffered to go to decay, and will probably in a few years, be no better than a heap of ruins. Fayal, although the most noted for wine, does not raise sufficient for its own consumption. This article is raised on Pico, where there is no road for shipping; but being brought to De Horta, and from thence shipped abroad, chiefly to America, it has acquired the name of Fayal wine.

The bay, or road of Fayal, is situated at the east end of the isle, before the Villa de Horta, and facing the west end of Pico. It is two miles broad, and three quarters of a mile deep, and hath a semicircular form. The depth of water is from twenty to ten, and even six fathoms, a sandy bottom; except near the shore, and particularly near the S.W. head, off which the bottom is rocky, also without the line, which joins the two points of the bay, so that it is not safe to anchor far out. The bearing before-mentioned, taken when at anchor, will direct any one to the best ground. It is by no means a bad road, but the winds most to be apprehended are those which blow from between the S.S.W. and S.E.; the former is not so dangerous as the latter, because, with it, you can always get to sea. Besides this road, there is a small cove round the S.W. point, called Porto Piere, in which, I am told, a ship or two may lie in tolerable safety, and where they sometimes heave small vessels down.

A Portuguese captain told me, that about half a league from the road, in the direction of S.E., in a line between it and the south side of Pico, lies a sunken rock, over which is twenty-two feet water, and on which the sea breaks in hard gales from the south. He also assured me, that of all the shoals that are laid down in our charts and pilot-books about these isles, not one has any existence but the one between the islands of St. Michael and St. Mary, called Hormingan.—This account may be believed, without relying entirely upon it. He further informed me, that it is forty-five leagues from Fayal to the island of Flores; and that there runs a strong tide between Fayal and Pico, the flood setting to the N.E., and the ebb to the S.W., but that out at sea, the direction is east and west. Mr. Wales having observed the times of high and low water, by the shore, concluded that it must be high water at the full and change about twelve o'clock, and the water riseth about four or five feet.

The distance between Fayal and Flores was confirmed by Mr. Rebiers, lieutenant of the French frigate, who told me, that, after being by estimation two leagues due south of Flores, they made forty-four leagues, on a S.E. by E. course by compass, to St. Catherine's Point, on Fayal.

I found the latitude of the ship at anchor in the bay	38°	31′	55″	N
By a mean of seventeen sets of lunar observations, taken before we arrived, and reduced to the bay by the watch, the longitude was made	28	24	30	W.
By a mean of six sets after leaving it, and reduced back by the watch	28	53	22	
Longitude by observation	28	38	56	
Ditto, by the watch	28	55	48	
Error of the watch on our arrival at Portsmouth	—	16	26½	
True longitude by the watch	28	39	18½	

I found the variation of the compass, by several azimuths, taken by different compasses on board the ship, to agree very well with the like observations made by Mr. Wales on shore; and yet the variation thus found is greater by 5°, than we found it to be at sea; for the azimuths taken on board, the evening before we came into the bay, gave no more than 16° 18′ west variation, and the evening after we came out, 17° 33′ west.

I shall now give some account of the variation, as observed in our run from the Island of Fernando de Noronho to Fayal. The least variation we found was 37′ W., which was the

day after we left Fernando de Noronho, and in the latitude of 33° S., longitude 32° 16′ W. The next day, being nearly in the same longitude, and in the latitude of 1° 25′ N. it was 1° 23′ west; and we did not find it increase till we got into the latitude of 5° N., longitude 31° west. After this our compasses gave different variations, viz., from 3° 57′ to 5° 11′ W., till we arrived in the latitude of 26° 44′ north, longitude 41° west, when we found 6° west. It then increased gradually, so that in the latitude of 35° N. longitude 40° W., it was 10° 24′ W.; in the latitude of 36° 12′ N., longitude 32½° W., it was 14° 47′; and in sight of Fayal 16° 18′ W., as mentioned above.

Having left the bay at four in the morning of the 19th, I steered for the west end of St. George's Island. As soon as we had passed it, I steered E. ½ S. for the Island of Tercera; and after having run thirteen leagues, we were not more than one league from the west end. I now edged away for the north side, with a view of ranging the coast to the eastern point, in order to ascertain the length of the island; but the weather coming on very thick and hazy, and night approaching, I gave up the design, and proceeded with all expedition for England. On the 29th we made the land near Plymouth. The next morning we anchored at Spithead; and the same day I landed at Portsmouth, and set out for London, in company with Messrs. Wales, Forsters, and Hodges.

Having been absent from England three years and eighteen days, in which time, and under all changes of climate, I lost but four men, and only one of them by sickness, it may not be amiss, at the conclusion of this journal, to enumerate the several causes to which, under the care of Providence, I conceive this uncommon good state of health experienced by my people was owing. In the Introduction, mention has been made of the extraordinary attention paid by the Admiralty, in causing such articles to be put on board as, either from experience or suggestion, it was judged would tend to preserve the health of the seamen. I shall not trespass upon the reader's time in mentioning them all, but confine myself to such as were found the most useful. We were furnished with a quantity of malt, of which was made *Sweet Wort*. To such of the men as showed the least symptoms of the scurvy, and also to such as were thought to be threatened with that disorder, this was given from one to two or three pints a day each man; or in such proportion as the surgeon found necessary, which sometimes amounted to three quarts. This is, without doubt, one of the best anti-scorbutic sea medicines yet discovered; and, if used in time, will, with proper attention to other things, I am persuaded, prevent the scurvy from making any great progress for a considerable while. But I am not altogether of opinion that it will cure it at sea.

Sour Krout, of which we had a large quantity, is not only a wholesome vegetable food, but, in my judgment, highly antiscorbutic; and it spoils not by keeping. A pound of this was served to each man when at sea, twice a week or oftener, as was thought necessary. *Portable Broth* was another great article, of which we had a large supply. An ounce of this to each man, or such other proportion as circumstances pointed out, was boiled in their pease, three days in the week; and when we were in places where vegetables were to be got, it was boiled with them, and wheat or oatmeal every morning for breakfast; and also with pease and vegetables for dinner. It enabled us to make several nourishing and wholesome messes, and was the means of making the people eat a greater quantity of vegetables than they would otherwise have done. *Rob of Lemon* and *Orange* is an antiscorbutic we were not without. The surgeon made use of it in many cases, with great success. Amongst the articles of victualling, we were supplied with *Sugar* in the room of *Oil*, and with *Wheat* for a part of our *Oatmeal*; and were certainly gainers by the exchange. Sugar, I apprehend, is a very good antiscorbutic; whereas oil (such as the navy is usually supplied with), I am of opinion, has the contrary effect.

But the introduction of the most salutary articles, either as provisions or medicines, will generally prove unsuccessful, unless supported by certain regulations. On this principle, many years' experience, together with some hints I had from Sir Hugh Palliser, Captains Campbell, Wallis, and other intelligent officers, enabled me to lay a plan whereby all was to be governed. The crew were at three watches, except upon some extraordinary occasions. By this means they were not so much exposed to the weather as if they had been at watch and watch; and had generally dry clothes to shift themselves, when they happened to get

wet. Care was also taken to expose them as little to wet weather as possible. Proper methods were used to keep their persons, hammocks, bedding, clothes, &c., constantly clean and dry. Equal care was taken to keep the ship clean and dry betwixt decks. Once or twice a week she was aired with fires; and when this could not be done, she was smoked with gunpowder mixed with vinegar or water. I had also frequently a fire made in an iron pot at the bottom of the well, which was of great use in purifying the air in the lower parts of the ship. To this and to cleanliness, as well in the ship as amongst the people, too great attention cannot be paid; the least neglect occasions a putrid and disagreeable smell below, which nothing but fires will remove. Proper attention was paid to the ship's coppers, so that they were kept constantly clean. The fat which boiled out of the salt beef and pork, I never suffered to be given to the people; being of opinion that it promotes the scurvy.

I was careful to take in water wherever it was to be got, even though we did not want it. Because I look upon fresh water from the shore to be more wholesome than that which has been kept some time on board a ship. Of this essential article we were never at an allowance, but had always plenty for every necessary purpose. Navigators in general cannot, indeed, expect, nor would they wish to meet with, such advantages in this respect, as fell to my lot. The nature of our voyage carried us into very high latitudes. But the hardships and dangers inseparable from that situation, were, in some degree, compensated by the singular felicity we enjoyed, of extracting inexhaustible supplies of fresh water from an ocean strewed with ice. We came to few places where either the art of man or the bounty of nature had not provided some sort of refreshment or other, either in the animal or vegetable way. It was my first care to procure whatever of any kind could be met with, by every means in my power; and to oblige our people to make use thereof, both by my example and authority; but the benefits arising from refreshments of any kind soon became so obvious, that I had little occasion to recommend the one or to exert the other.

It doth not become me to say how far the principal objects of our voyage have been obtained. Though it hath not abounded with remarkable events, nor been diversified by sudden transitions of fortune; though my relation of it has been more employed in tracing our course by sea, than in recording our operations on shore; this, perhaps, is a circumstance from which the curious reader may infer, that the purposes for which we were sent into the southern hemisphere were diligently and effectually pursued. Had we found out a continent there, we might have been better enabled to gratify curiosity; but we hope our not having found it, after all our persevering searches, will leave less room for future speculation about unknown worlds remaining to be explored. But, whatever may be the public judgment about other matters, it is with real satisfaction, and without claiming any merit but that of attention to my duty, that I can conclude this account with an observation which facts enable me to make, that our having discovered the possibility of preserving health amongst a numerous ship's company, for such a length of time, in such varieties of climate and amidst such continued hardships and fatigues, will make this voyage remarkable in the opinion of every benevolent person, when the disputes about a southern continent shall have ceased to engage the attention, and to divide the judgment of philosophers.

ible. Proper
nstantly clean
cks. Once or
was smoked
ade in an iron
e lower parts
ple, too great
smell below,
's coppers, so
eef and pork,
he scurvy.
did not want
an that which
never at an
s in general
n this respect,
les. But the
mpensated by
water from an
or the bounty
l or vegetable
vith, by every
my example
on became so

ge have been
diversified by
yed in tracing
circumstance
sent into the
it a continent
ur not having
culation about
blic judgment
rit but that of
on which facts
ealth amongst
climate and
rkable in the
ent shall have

COOK'S THIRD VOYAGE.

A VOYAGE TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN,

TO DETERMINE

THE POSITION AND EXTENT OF THE WEST SIDE OF NORTH AMERICA; ITS DISTANCE FROM ASIA; AND THE PRACTICABILITY OF A NORTHERN PASSAGE TO EUROPE.

PERFORMED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

CAPTAINS COOK, CLERKE, AND GORE,

IN HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS THE RESOLUTION AND DISCOVERY, IN THE YEARS 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, AND 1780.

PART I.

WRITTEN BY CAPTAIN COOK.

A VOYAGE TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

PART I.

BOOK I.

TRANSACTIONS FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE VOYAGE TILL OUR DEPARTURE FROM NEW ZEALAND.

CHAPTER I.—VARIOUS PREPARATIONS FOR THE VOYAGE.—OMAI'S BEHAVIOUR ON EMBARKING.—OBSERVATIONS FOR DETERMINING THE LONGITUDE OF SHEERNESS AND THE NORTH FORELAND.—PASSAGE OF THE RESOLUTION FROM DEPTFORD TO PLYMOUTH.—EMPLOYMENTS THERE.—COMPLEMENTS OF THE CREWS OF BOTH SHIPS, AND NAMES OF THE OFFICERS.—OBSERVATIONS TO FIX THE LONGITUDE OF PLYMOUTH.—DEPARTURE OF THE RESOLUTION.

Having, on the 9th day of February, 1776, received a commission to command his Majesty's sloop the Resolution, I went on board the next day, hoisted the pendant, and began to enter men. At the same time, the Discovery, of three hundred tons' burthen, was purchased into the service, and the command of her given to Captain Clerke, who had been my second Lieutenant on board the Resolution, in my second voyage round the world, from which we had lately returned. These two ships were, at this time, in the dock at Deptford, under the hands of the shipwrights, being ordered to be equipped to make farther discoveries in the Pacific Ocean, under my direction.

On the 9th of March the Resolution was hauled out of dock into the river, where we completed our rigging, and took on board the stores and provisions requisite for a voyage of such duration. Both ships, indeed, were supplied with as much of every necessary article as we could conveniently stow, and with the best of every kind that could be procured. And, besides this, everything that had been found, by the experience acquired during our former extensive voyages, to be of any utility in preserving the health of seamen, was supplied in abundance.

It was our intention to have sailed to Long Reach on the 6th of May, when a pilot came on board to carry us thither; but it was the 29th before the wind would permit us to move, and the 30th before we arrived at that station, where our artillery, powder, shot, and other ordnance stores were received. While we lay in Long Reach, thus employed, the Earl of Sandwich, Sir Hugh Palliser, and others of the Board of Admiralty, as the least mark of the very great attention they had all along shown to this equipment, paid us a visit on the 8th of June, to examine whether everything had been completed conformably to their intentions and orders, and to the satisfaction of all who were to embark in the voyage. They, and several other noblemen and gentlemen, their friends, honoured me with their company at dinner on that day; and, on their coming on board, and also on their going ashore, we saluted them with seventeen guns, and three cheers.

With the benevolent view of conveying some permanent benefit to the inhabitants of Otaheite, and of the other islands in the Pacific Ocean, whom we might happen to visit, his Majesty having commanded some useful animals to be carried out, we took on board, on the 10th, a bull, two cows, with their calves, and some sheep, with hay and corn for their

subsistence; intending to add to these other useful animals, when I should arrive at the Cape of Good Hope. I was also, from the same laudable motives, furnished with a sufficient quantity of such of our European garden-seeds as could not fail to be a valuable present to our newly-discovered islands, by adding fresh supplies of food to their own vegetable productions. Many other articles, calculated to improve the condition of our friends in the other hemisphere in various ways, were, at the same time, delivered to us by order of the Board of Admiralty. And both ships were provided with a proper assortment of iron tools and trinkets, as the means of enabling us to traffic and to cultivate a friendly intercourse with the inhabitants of such new countries as we might be fortunate enough to meet with.

The same humane attention was extended to our own wants. Some additional clothing, adapted to a cold climate, was ordered for our crews; and nothing was denied to us that could be supposed in the least conducive to health or even to convenience. Nor did the extraordinary care of those at the head of the naval department stop here. They were equally solicitous to afford us every assistance towards rendering our voyage of public utility. Accordingly, we received on board, next day, several astronomical and nautical instruments, which the Board of Longitude intrusted to me and to Mr. King, my second lieutenant; we having engaged to that board to make all the necessary observations during the voyage, for the improvement of astronomy and navigation; and, by our joint labours, to supply the place of a professed observator. Such a person had been originally intended to be sent out in my ship.

The Board likewise put into our possession the same watch, or time-keeper, which I had carried out in my last voyage, and had performed its part so well. It was a copy of Mr. Harrison's, constructed by Mr. Kendall. This day, at noon, it was found to be too slow for mean time at Greenwich, by 3′ 31″ .890; and by its rate of going, it lost on mean time, 1″ .209 per day. Another time-keeper, and the same number and sort of instruments for making observations, were put on board the Discovery, under the care of Mr. William Baily, who, having already given satisfactory proofs of his skill and diligence as an observator, while employed in Captain Furneaux' ship, during the late voyage, was engaged a second time in that capacity, to embark with Captain Clerke.

Mr. Anderson, my surgeon, who, to skill in his immediate profession, added great proficiency in natural history, was as willing as he was qualified to describe everything in that branch of science which should occur worthy of notice. As he had already visited the South Sea Islands in the same ship, and been of singular service, by enabling me to enrich my relation of that voyage with various useful remarks on men and things, I reasonably expected to derive considerable assistance from him in recording our new proceedings. I had several young men amongst my sea-officers who, under my direction, could be usefully employed in constructing charts, in taking views of the coasts and headlands near which we should pass, and in drawing plans of the bays and harbours in which we should anchor. A constant attention to this I knew to be highly requisite, if we would render our discoveries profitable to future navigators. And that we might go out with every help that could serve to make the result of our voyage entertaining to the generality of readers, as well as instructive to the sailor and scholar, Mr. Webber was pitched upon, and engaged to embark with me, for the express purpose of supplying the unavoidable imperfections of written accounts, by enabling us to preserve and to bring home such drawings of the most memorable scenes of our transactions as could only be executed by a professed and skilful artist.

Every preparation being now completed, I received an order to proceed to Plymouth, and to take the Discovery under my command. I accordingly gave Captain Clerke two orders; one to put himself under my command, and the other to carry his ship round to Plymouth. On the 15th, the Resolution sailed from Long Reach, with the Discovery in company, and the same evening they anchored at the Nore. Next day the Discovery proceeded, in obedience to my order; but the Resolution was ordered to remain at the Nore till I should join her, being at this time in London.

As we were to touch at Otaheite and the Society Islands, in our way to the intended scene of our free operations, it had been determined not to omit this opportunity (the only

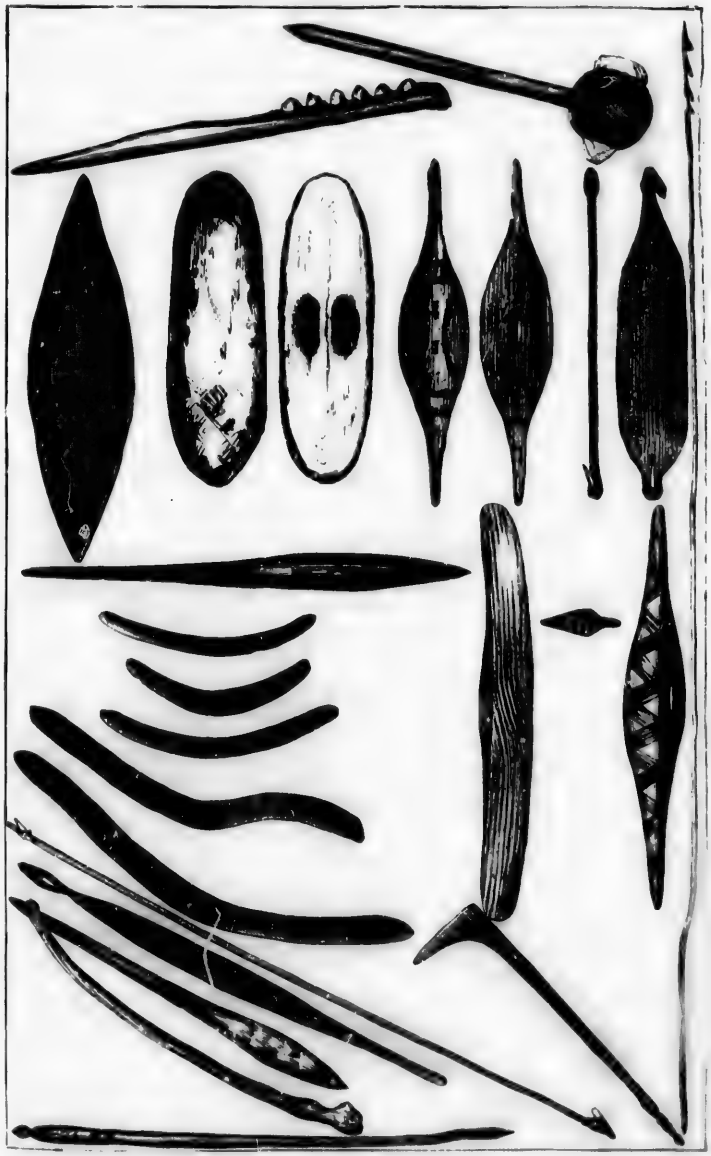
arrive at the
th a sufficient
ble present to
vegetable pro-
friends in the
y order of the
tment of iron
friendly inter-
ate enough to

ional clothing,
nied to us that
Nor did the
e. They were
public utility.
al instruments,
nd lieutenant;
ng the voyage,
s, to supply the
to be sent out

er, which I had
was a copy of
ound to be too
it lost on mean
t of instruments
of Mr. William
diligence as an
e, was engaged

lded great pro-
erything in that
isited the South
e to enrich my
s, I reasonably
proceedings. I
uld be usefully
s near which we
uld anchor. A
our discoveries
that could serve
lers, as well as
gaged to embark
ions of written
most memorable
al artist.
ed to Plymouth,
tain Clerke two
is ship round to
he Discovery in
the Discovery
main at the Nore

to the intended
tunity (the only



AUSTRALIAN WEAPONS AND SHIELDS.

one ever likely to happen) of carrying Omai back to his native country *. Accordingly, everything being ready for our departure, he and I set out together from London on the 24th, at six o'clock in the morning. We reached Chatham between ten and eleven o'clock; and after dining with Commissioner Proby, he very obligingly ordered his yacht to carry us to Sheerness, where my boat was waiting to take us on board. Omai left London with a mixture of regret and satisfaction. When we talked about England and about those who, during his stay, had honoured him with their protection or friendship, I could observe that his spirits were sensibly affected, and that it was with difficulty he could refrain from tears. But the instant the conversation turned to his own islands, his eyes began to sparkle with joy. He was deeply impressed with a sense of the good treatment he had met with in England, and entertained the highest ideas of the country and of the people. But the pleasing prospect he now had before him of returning home, loaded with what he well knew would be esteemed invaluable treasures there; and the flattering hope which the possession of these gave him, of attaining to a distinguished superiority amongst his countrymen, were considerations which operated by degrees to suppress every uneasy sensation; and he seemed

* Omai, or, more properly, Mai (the *o* being only a particle prefixed in the native language to nouns in the nominative case), was a native of Raiatea, who having taken shelter in Huahine, after a defeat which his countrymen had sustained from the people of Borabora, persuaded Captain Furneaux, when he was at Huahine in Sept. 1775, to convey him to Britain, somewhat against the wishes of Captain Cook, who did not consider that his qualifications were such as to promise any great advantages to himself or his countrymen from such an expedition. Captain Cook's objections were well-founded; for Omai, although not destitute of intelligence, and, like the generality of the South Sea Islanders, possessing much quickness of apprehension and readiness to conform to the manners and customs of those by whom they are surrounded, was a man of very inferior capabilities to Tupia, the Otaheitan chief and priest, whom Captain Cook took with him, on his return from his first voyage, but who unfortunately died at Batavia. Omai possessed no rank in his own country beyond that, as he himself stated, of a *hoa*, or attendant upon the king, and therefore was not a person who could be expected, even had every advantage been afforded him in England, to exercise much moral influence on his return. But the treatment he experienced here was as injudicious as the project of bringing him over at all. Being the first native of the South Sea Islands brought to England, he was sought after as a wonder, and became the "lion" of a season; he was introduced to fashionable parties, conducted to the splendid entertainments of the highest classes, and presented at court. In all these positions, the pliancy natural to the Tahitans and their congeners, enabled him to preserve a perfect propriety of demeanour, and his natural lively disposition, rendered him, with his imperfect English (a language varying so much from the idiom of his native tongue, as to render its perfect acquirement very difficult), an exceedingly entertaining guest. As such he was welcomed everywhere, and carried about from one public exhibition to another, without time being allowed him to comprehend any; but no effort was made to instruct him in any useful art, or to enable him to comprehend the wonders he beheld, or the condition of the society by which he was surrounded. Of all those who took an interest in him, Mr. Granville Sharp alone exerted himself to turn his attention to rational pursuits, by teaching him to write, and instructing him in some degree in the principles of Christianity.

When he departed from England, he was loaded with presents, but few of which were calculated to be of real service. He carried with him a coat of mail, a suit of armour, a musket, pistols, cartouch-box, cutlasses, powder and ball; a portable organ and an electrical machine; but no implements of agriculture or useful tools are included in the catalogue of his treasures. The account of his final settlement in Huahine will be found in the subsequent pages. Captain Cook procured for him a grant of land, on which a house in the European style was erected for him; and he was furnished with seeds, plants, horses, goats, and other useful animals. His warlike stores rendered him a man of consequence to the king, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and honoured him with the name of *Paavi* (wise, or instructed), by which name, Mr. Ellis informs us, he is now always spoken of by the natives, several of whom still remember him. So far, however, from becoming the instructor or improver of the natives, he seems to have sunk into the mere compliant tool of the king, who, Mr. Ellis states, "not only availed himself of the effects of his fire-arms in periods of war, but frequently ordered him to shoot at a man at a certain distance, in order to see how far the musket would do execution, or to despatch with his pistol, in the presence of the king, the ill-fated objects of his deadly anger."

Mr. Ellis further informs us (Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 370, second edition, 12mo, 1831), that "the spot where Mai's house stood is still called Beretani, or Britain, by the inhabitants of Huahine. A shaddock-tree, which the natives say was planted by Captain Cook himself, while the vessels lay at anchor, is still growing on what was once part of his garden. The animals, with the exception of the goats and pigs, have all died; and in this instance, the benevolent intentions of the British government, in sending out horses, cattle, &c., proved abortive. The helmet, and some other parts of his armour, with several cutlasses, are still preserved, and, when we arrived in Huahine, were displayed on the sides of the house standing on the spot where Mai's dwelling was erected by Captain Cook. A few of the trinkets, such as a jack-in-the-box, a kind of surprise that darts out of a cylindrical case when the lid is removed, were preserved with care by one of the principal chiefs, who, when we first saw them, considered them great curiosities, and exhibited them as a mark of his condescension, to particular favourites. What became of the organ and the electrical machine, I never knew. Among the curiosities preserved by the young chief of Tahaa, there was an article that I was very glad to see; it was a large quarto English Bible, with numerous coloured engravings, which were the only objects of attraction with the natives. I was told it belonged to Paari, or Mai, and hope it was given him among the presents from England, although no mention whatever is made of a Bible, or any other book, among the various articles enumerated by those who conveyed him to his native shores."—ED.

to be quite happy when he got on board the ship. He was furnished by his Majesty with an ample provision of every article which, during our intercourse with his country, we had observed to be in any estimation there, either as useful or as ornamental. He had, besides, received many presents of the same nature from Lord Sandwich, Mr. Banks, and several other gentlemen and ladies of his acquaintance. In short, every method had been employed, both during his abode in England and at his departure, to make him the instrument of conveying to the inhabitants of the islands of the Pacific Ocean the most exalted opinion of the greatness and generosity of the British nation.

While the Resolution lay at the Nore, Mr. King made several observations for finding the longitude by the watch. The mean of them all gave 0° 44′ 0″, for the longitude of the ship. This, reduced to Sheerness, by the bearing and estimated distance, will make that place to be 0° 37′ 0″ east of Greenwich; which is more by seven miles than Mr. Lyons made it, by the watch which Lord Mulgrave had with him, on his voyage towards the North Pole. Whoever knows anything of the distance between Sheerness and Greenwich, will be a judge which of these two observations is nearest the truth. The variation of the needle here, by a mean of different sets, taken with different compasses, was 20° 37′ west.

On the 25th, about noon, we weighed anchor, and made sail for the Downs, through the Queen's Channel, with a gentle breeze at north-west by west. At nine in the evening we anchored, with the North Foreland bearing south by east, and Margate Point south-west by south. Next morning, at two o'clock, we weighed and stood round the Foreland; and when it bore north, allowing for the variation of the compass, the watch gave 1° 24′ east longitude, which, reduced to the Foreland, will be 1° 21′ east. Lunar observations, made the preceding evening, fixed it at 1° 20′ east. At eight o'clock the same morning, we anchored in the Downs. Two boats had been built for us at Deal, and I immediately sent on shore for them. I was told that many people had assembled there to see Omai; but to their great disappointment he did not land.

Having received the boats on board, and a light breeze at south-south-east springing up, we got under sail the next day at two o'clock in the afternoon. But the breeze soon died away, and we were obliged to anchor again till ten o'clock at night. We then weighed, with the wind at east, and proceeded down the channel. On the 30th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, we anchored in Plymouth Sound, where the Discovery had arrived only three days before. I saluted Admiral Amherst, whose flag was flying on board the Ocean, with thirteen guns, and he returned the compliment with eleven.

It was the first object of our care, on arriving at Plymouth, to replace the water and provisions that we had expended, and to receive on board a supply of Port wine. This was the employment which occupied us on the 1st and 2d of July. During our stay here, the crews were served with fresh beef every day: and I should not do justice to Mr. Ommanney, the agent-victualler, if I did not take this opportunity to mention, that he showed a very obliging readiness to furnish me with the best of everything that lay within his department. I had been under the like obligations to him on my setting out upon my last voyage. Commissioner Ourry, with equal zeal for the service, gave us every assistance that we wanted from the naval yard.

It could not but occur to us as a singular and affecting circumstance, that at the very instant of our departure upon a voyage, the object of which was to benefit Europe by making fresh discoveries in North America, there should be the unhappy necessity of employing others of his Majesty's ships, and of conveying numerous bodies of land forces, to secure the obedience of those parts of that continent which had been discovered and settled by our countrymen in the last century. On the 6th, his Majesty's ships Diamond, Ambuscade, and Unicorn, with a fleet of transports, consisting of sixty-two sail, bound to America, with the last division of the Hessian troops, and some horse, were forced into the Sound by a strong north-west wind. On the 8th, I received, by express, my instructions for the voyage, and an order to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope with the Resolution. I was also directed to leave an order for Captain Clerke to follow us, as soon as he should join his ship; he being, at this time, detained in London.

Our first discoverers of the New World, and navigators of the Indian and Pacific Oceans,

were justly thought to have exerted such uncommon abilities, and to have accomplished such perilous enterprises, that their names have been handed down to posterity as so many Argonauts. Nay, even the hulks of the ships that carried them, though not converted into constellations in the heavens, used to be honoured and visited as sacred relics upon earth. We, in the present age of improved navigation, who have been instructed by their labours, and have followed them as our guides, have no such claim to fame. Some merit, however, being still, in the public opinion, considered as due to those who sail to unexplored quarters of the globe, in conformity to this favourable judgment, I prefixed to the account of my last voyage the names of the officers of both my ships, and a table of the number of their respective crews. The like information will be expected from me at present.

The Resolution was fitted out with the same complement of officers and men she had before; and the Discovery's establishment varied from that of the Adventure, in the single instance of her having no marine officer on board. This arrangement was to be finally completed at Plymouth; and, on the 9th, we received the party of marines allotted for our voyage. Colonel Bell, who commanded the division at this port, gave me such men for the detachment as I had reason to be satisfied with. And the supernumerary seamen, occasioned by this reinforcement, being turned over into the Ocean man-of-war, our several complements remained fixed, as represented in the following table:—

RESOLUTION.			DISCOVERY.	
Officers and Men.	No.	*Officers' Names.*	No.	*Officers' Names.*
Captain	1	James Cook	1	Charles Clerke
Lieutenants	3	John Gore	2	James Burney
		James King		John Rickman
		John Williamson		
Master	1	William Bligh	1	Thomas Edgar
Boatswain	1	William Ewin	1	Encas Atkins
Carpenter	1	James Clevely	1	Peter Reynolds
Gunner	1	Robert Anderson	1	William Peckover
Surgeon	1	William Anderson	1	John Law
Master's Mates	3	. . .	2	
Midshipmen	6	. . .	4	
Surgeon's Mates	2	. . .	2	
Captain's Clerk	1	. . .	1	
Master at Arms	1	. . .	1	
Corporal	1			
Armourer	1	. . .	1	
Ditto Mate	1	. . .	1	
Sail Maker	1	. . .	1	
Ditto Mate	1	. . .	1	
Boatswain's Mates	3	. . .	2	
Carpenter's Ditto	3	. . .	2	
Gunner's Ditto	2	. . .	1	
Carpenter's Crew	4	. . .	4	
Cook	1	. . .	1	
Ditto Mate	1			
Quarter Masters	6	. . .	4	
Able Seamen	45	. . .	33	
		Marines.		
Lieutenant	1	Molesworth Phillips		
Serjeant	1	. . .	1	
Corporals	2	. . .	1	
Drummer	1	. . .	1	
Privates	15	. . .	8	
Total	112		70	

On the 10th, the commissioner and pay-clerks came on board, and paid the officers and crew up to the 30th of last month. The petty officers and seamen had besides, two months'

wages in advance. Such indulgence to the latter is no more than what is customary in the navy. But the payment of what was due to the superior officers was humanely ordered by the Admiralty, in consideration of our peculiar situation, that we might be better able to defray the very great expense of furnishing ourselves with a stock of necessaries for a voyage which, probably, would be of unusual duration, and to regions where no supply could be expected.

Nothing now obstructing my departure but a contrary wind, which blew strong at south-west, in the morning of the 11th I delivered into the hands of Mr. Burney, first lieutenant of the Discovery, Captain Clerke's sailing orders; a copy of which I also left with the officer * commanding his Majesty's ships at Plymouth, to be delivered to the Captain immediately on his arrival. In the afternoon, the wind moderating, we weighed with the ebb, and got farther out, beyond all the shipping in the Sound; where, after making an unsuccessful attempt to get to sea, we were detained most of the following day, which was employed in receiving on board a supply of water; and, by the same vessel that brought it, all the empty casks were returned.

As I did not imagine my stay at Plymouth would have been so long as it proved, we did not get our instruments on shore to make the necessary observations for ascertaining the longitude by the watch. For the same reason, Mr. Baily did not set about this, till he found that the Discovery would probably be detained some days after us. He then placed his quadrant upon Drake's Island; and had time, before the Resolution sailed, to make observations sufficient for the purpose we had in view. Our watch made the island to lie 4° 11′, and his 4° 13½′ west of Greenwich. Its latitude, as found by Messrs. Wales and Baily, on the last voyage, is 50° 21′ 30″ north.

We weighed again at eight in the evening, and stood out of the Sound, with a gentle breeze at north-west by west.

CHAPTER II.—PASSAGE OF THE RESOLUTION TO TENERIFFE.—RECEPTION THERE.—DESCRIPTION OF SANTA CRUZ ROAD.—REFRESHMENTS TO BE MET WITH.—OBSERVATIONS FOR FIXING THE LONGITUDE OF TENERIFFE.—SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ISLAND.—BOTANICAL OBSERVATIONS.—CITIES OF SANTA CRUZ AND LAGUNA.—AGRICULTURE.—AIR AND CLIMATE.—COMMERCE.—INHABITANTS.

We had not been long out of Plymouth Sound, before the wind came more westerly, and blew fresh, so that we were obliged to ply down the Channel; and it was not till the 14th, at eight in the evening, that we were off the Lizard. On the 16th, at noon, St. Agnes's light house, on the Isles of Scilly, bore north-west by west, distant seven or eight miles. Our latitude was now 49° 53′ 30″ north, and our longitude, by the watch, 6° 11′ west. Hence, I reckon that St. Agnes's light-house is in 49° 57′ 30″ north latitude, and in 6° 20′ of west longitude. On the 17th † and 18th we were off Ushant, and found the longitude of the island to be, by the watch, 5° 18′ 37″ west. The variation was 23° 0′ 50″, in the same direction.

With a strong gale at south, on the 19th, we stood to the westward, till eight o'clock in the morning; when the wind shifting to the west and north-west, we tacked and stretched to the southward. At this time, we saw nine sail of large ships, which we judged to be French men-of-war. They took no particular notice of us, nor we of them. At ten o'clock in the morning of the 22d, we saw Cape Ortegal; which at noon bore south-east, half south, about four leagues distant. At this time we were in the latitude of 44° 6′ north; and our longitude by the watch, was 8° 23′ west. After two days of calm weather we passed Cape Finisterre, on the afternoon of the 24th, with a fine gale at north-north-east. The longitude

* Captain Le Cross, Admiral Amherst having struck his flag some days before.

† It appears from Captain Cook's log-book, that he began his judicious operations for preserving the health of his crew, very early in the voyage. On the 17th, the ship was smoked between decks with gunpowder. The spare sails also were then well aired.

of this Cape, by the watch, is 9° 29′ west; and, by the mean of forty-one lunar observations, made before and after we passed it, and reduced to it by the watch, the result was 9° 19′ 12″.

On the 30th at six minutes and thirty-eight seconds past ten o'clock at night, apparent time, I observed with a night-telescope, the moon totally eclipsed. By the *ephemeris*, the same happened at Greenwich at nine minutes past eleven o'clock: the difference being one hour, two minutes, and twenty-two seconds, or 15° 35′ 30″ of longitude. The watch, for the same time, gave 15° 26′ 45″ longitude west; [illegible]titude 31° 10′ north. No other observation could be made on this eclipse, as the moon was hid behind the clouds the greater part of the time; and, in particular, when the beginning and end of total darkness, and the end of the eclipse, happened.

Finding that we had not hay and corn sufficient for the subsistence of the stock of animals on board, till our arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, I determined to touch at Teneriffe, to get a supply of these, and of the usual refreshments for ourselves; thinking that island, for such purposes, better adapted than Madeira. At four in the afternoon of the 31st, we saw Teneriffe, and steered for the eastern part. At nine, being near it, we hauled up, and stood off and on during the night. At daylight on the morning of the 1st of August, we sailed round the east Point of the island; and, about eight o'clock, anchored on the south-east side of it, in the road of Santa Cruz, in twenty-three fathoms water; the bottom, sand and owze. Punta de Nago, the east point of the road, bore north 64° east; St Francis's church, remarkable for its high steeple, west-south-west; the Pic, south 65° west; and the south-west point of the road, on which stands a fort or castle, south 39° west. In this situation, we moored north-east and south-west, with a cable each way, being near half a mile from the shore. We found, riding in this road, La Boussole, a French frigate, commanded by the *Chevalier de Borda*; two brigantines of the same nation; an English brigantine from London, bound to Senegal; and fourteen sail of Spanish vessels.

No sooner had we anchored, than we were visited by the master of the port, who satisfied himself with asking the ship's name. Upon his leaving us, I sent an officer ashore to present my respects to the Governor; and to ask his leave to take in water, and to purchase such articles as we were in want of. All this he granted with the greatest politeness; and, soon after, sent an officer on board, to compliment me on my arrival. In the afternoon, I waited upon him in person, accompanied by some of my officers; and, before I returned to my ship, bespoke some corn and straw for the live stock; ordered a quantity of wine from Mr. M'Carrick, the contractor, and made an agreement with the master of a Spanish boat to supply us with water, as I found that we could not do it ourselves.

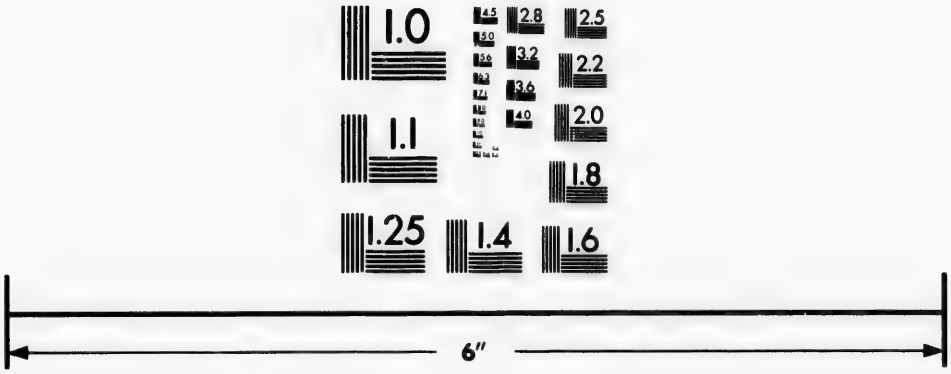
The road of Santa Cruz is situated before the town of the same name, on the south-east side of the island. It is, as I am told, the principal road of Teneriffe, for shelter, capacity, and the goodness of its bottom. It lies entirely open to the south-east and south winds. But these winds are never of long continuance; and, they say, there is not an instance * of a ship driving from her anchors on shore. This may, in part, be owing to the great care they take in mooring them; for I observed, that all the ships we met with there had four anchors out; two to the north-east, and two to the south-west: and their cables buoyed up with casks. Ours suffered a little by not observing this last precaution.

At the south-west part of the road, a stone pier runs out into the sea from the town, for the convenience of loading and landing of goods. To this pier, the water that supplies the shipping is conveyed. This, as also what the inhabitants of Santa Cruz use, is derived from a rivulet that runs from the hills, the greatest part of which comes into the town in wooden spouts or troughs, that are supported by slender posts, and the remainder doth not reach the sea; though it is evident, from the size of the channel, that sometimes large torrents rush down. At this time these troughs were repairing, so that fresh water, which is very good here, was scarce.

Were we to judge from the appearance of the country in the neighbourhood of Santa

* Though no such instance was known to those from whom Captain Cook had this information, we learn from Glas that, some years before he was at Teneriffe, almost all the shipping in the road were driven on shore.—See Glas's Hist. of the Canary Islands, p. 235. We may well suppose the precautions now used have prevented any more such accidents happening. This will sufficiently justify Captain Cook's account.

IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)



Photographic
Sciences
Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

2.8
2.5
3.2
2.2
2.0
1.8
1.0

Cruz, it might be concluded that Teneriffe is a barren spot, insufficient to maintain even its own inhabitants. The ample supplies, however, which we received, convinced us that they had enough to spare for visitors. Besides wine, which is the chief produce of the island, beef may be had at a moderate price. The oxen are small and bony, and weigh about ninety pounds a quarter. The meat is but lean, and was, at present, sold for half a bit (threepence sterling) a pound. I, unadvisedly, bought the bullocks alive, and paid considerably more. Hogs, sheep, goats, and poultry, are likewise to be bought at the same moderate rate; and fruits are in great plenty. At this time we had grapes, figs, pears, mulberries, plantains, and musk-melons. There is a variety of other fruits produced here, though not in season at this time. Their pumpkins, onions, and potatoes, are exceedingly good of their kind, and keep better at sea than any I ever before met with.

The Indian corn, which is also their produce, cost me about three shillings and sixpence a bushel; and the fruits and roots were, in general, very cheap. They have not any plentiful supply of fish from the adjoining sea; but a very considerable fishery is carried on by their vessels upon the coast of Barbary; and the produce of it sells at a reasonable price. Upon the whole, I found Teneriffe to be a more eligible place than Madeira for ships bound on long voyages to touch at; though the wine of the latter, according to my taste, is as much superior to that of the former, as strong beer is to small. To compensate for this, the difference of prices is considerable; for the best Teneriffe wine was now sold for twelve pounds a pipe; whereas a pipe of the best Madeira would have cost considerably more than double that sum *.

The Chevalier de Borda, commander of the French frigate now lying in Santa Cruz road, was employed, in conjunction with Mr. Varila, a Spanish gentleman, in making astronomical observations for ascertaining the going of two time-keepers which they had on board their ship. For this purpose, they had a tent pitched on the pier head, where they made their observations, and compared their watches every day at noon with the clock on shore by signals. These signals the Chevalier very obligingly communicated to us; so that we could compare our watch at the same time. But our stay was too short to profit much by his kindness.

The three days' comparisons which we made, assured us that the watch had not materially, if at all, altered her rate of going; and gave us the same longitude, within a very few seconds, that was obtained by finding the time from observations of the sun's altitude from the horizon of the sea. The watch, from a mean of these observations, on the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of August, made the longitude 16° 31′ west; and, in like manner, the latitude was found to be 28° 30′ 11″ north. Mr. Varila informed us, that the true longitude was 18° 35′ 30″ from Paris, which is only 16° 16′ 30″ from Greenwich; less than what our watch gave by 14′ 30″. But, far from looking upon this as an error in the watch, I rather think it a confirmation of its having gone well; and that the longitude by it may be nearer the truth than any other. It is farther confirmed by the lunar observations that we made in the road, which gave 16° 37′ 10″. Those made before we arrived, and reduced to the road by the watch, gave 16° 33′ 30″. And those made after we left it, and reduced back in the same manner, gave 16° 28′. The mean of the three is 16° 30′ 40″.

To reduce these several longitudes, and the latitude to the Pic of Teneriffe, one of the most noted points of land with geographers (to obtain the true situation of which, I have entered into this particular discussion), I had recourse to the bearing, and a few hours of the ship's run after leaving Santa Cruz road; and found it to be 12′ 11″ south of the road, and 29′ 30″ of longitude west of it. As the base, which helped to determine this, was partly estimated, it is liable to some error; but I think I cannot be much mistaken. Dr. Maskelyne, in his *British Mariner's Guide*, places the Pic in the latitude of 28° 12′ 54″.

* Formerly, there was made at Teneriffe a great quantity of Canary sack, which the French call Vin de Malvesie; and we, corruptly after them, name Malmsey (from Malvesia, a town in the Morea, famous for such luscious wine). In the last century, and still later, much of this was imported into England; but little wine is now made there, but of the sort described by Captain Cook. Not more than fifty pipes of the rich Canary was annually made in Glas's time; and he says, they now gather the grapes when green, and make a dry hard wine of them fit for hot climates, p. 262.

This, with the bearing from the road, will give the difference of longitude 43′, which considerably exceeds the distance they reckon the Pic to be from Santa Cruz. I made the latitude of the Pic to be 28° 18′ north. Upon that supposition, its longitude will be as follows:—

By	the time-keeper	17° 0′ 30″	west.
	lunar observations	16° 30′ 20″	
	Mr. Varila	16° 46′ 0″	

But if the latitude of it is 28° 12′ 54″, as in the *British Mariner's Guide*, its longitude will be 13′ 30″ more westerly.

The variation, when we were at anchor in the road, by the mean of all our compasses, was found to be 14° 41′ 20″ west. The dip of the north end of the needle was 61° 52′ 30″.

Some of Mr. Anderson's remarks on the natural appearances of Teneriffe and its productions; and what he observed himself, or learnt by information, about the general state of the island, will be of use, particularly in marking what changes may have happened there since Mr. Glas visited it. They here follow in his own words:—

"While we were standing in for the land, the weather being perfectly clear, we had an opportunity of seeing the celebrated Pic of Teneriffe. But I own I was much disappointed in my expectation with respect to its appearance. It is, certainly, far from equalling the noble figure of Pico, one of the western isles which I have seen; though its perpendicular height may be greater. This circumstance, perhaps, arises from its being surrounded by other very high hills; whereas Pico stands without a rival. Behind the city of Santa Cruz, the country rises gradually, and is of a moderate height. Beyond this, to the south-westward, it becomes higher, and continues to rise towards the Pic, which, from the road, appears but little higher than the surrounding hills. From thence it seems to decrease, though not suddenly, as far as the eye can reach. From a supposition that we should not stay above one day, I was obliged to contract my excursions into the country; otherwise, I had proposed to visit the top of this famous mountain *. To the eastward of Santa Cruz, the island appears perfectly barren. Ridges of hills run towards the sea; between which ridges are deep valleys, terminating at mountains or hills that run across, and are higher than the former. Those that run towards the sea are marked by impressions on their sides, which make them appear as a succession of conic hills, with their tops very rugged. The higher ones that run across, are more uniform in their appearance.

"In the forenoon of the 1st of August, after we had anchored in the road, I went on shore to one of these valleys, with an intention to reach the top of the remoter hills, which seemed covered with wood; but time would not allow me to get further than their foot. After walking about three miles, I found no alteration in the appearance of the lower hills; which produce great quantities of the *Euphorbia canariensis*. It is surprising that this large succulent plant should thrive on so burnt-up a soil. When broken, which is easily done, the quantity of juice is very great; and it might be supposed that, when dried, it would shrivel to nothing; yet it is a pretty tough, though soft and light wood. The people here believe its juice to be so caustic as to erode the skin †: but I convinced them, though with much difficulty, to the contrary, by thrusting my finger into the plant full of it, without afterwards wiping it off. They break down the bushes of *euphorbia* and, suffering them to dry, carry them home for fuel. I met with nothing else growing there, but two or three small shrubs, and a few fig-trees near the bottom of the valley. The basis of the hills is a heavy, compact, blueish stone, mixed with some shining particles; and, on

* See an account of a journey to the top of the Pic of Teneriffe, in Sprat's History of the Royal Society, p. 200, &c. Glas also went to the top of it. History of the Canary Islands, p. 252 to 259. In the Philosophical Transactions, vol. xlvii. p. 353—356, we have Observations made, in going up the Pic of Teneriffe, by Dr. T. Heberden. The Doctor makes its height, above the level of the sea, to be 2566 fathoms, or 15,396 English feet; and says, that this was confirmed by two subsequent observations by himself, and another made by Mr. Crosse, the consul. And yet, I find, that the Chevalier de Borda, who measured the height of this mountain in August 1776, makes it to be only 1931 French toises, or 12,340 English feet. See Dr. Forster's Observations during a Voyage round the World, p. 32.

† Glas, p. 231, speaking of this plant, says, that he "cannot imagine why the natives of the Canaries do not extract the juice, and use it instead of pitch, for the bottoms of their boats." We now learn from Mr. Anderson their reason for not using it.

the surface, large masses of red friable earth, or stone, are scattered about. I also often found the same substance disposed in thick *strata;* and the little earth, strewed here and there, was a blackish mould. There were likewise some pieces of slag; one of which, from its weight and smooth surface, seemed almost wholly metalline.

"The mouldering state of these hills is, doubtless, owing to the perpetual action of the sun, which calcines their surface. This mouldering part being afterwards washed away by the heavy rains, perhaps is the cause of their sides being so uneven. For, as the different substances of which they are composed are more or less easily affected by the sun's heat, they will be carried away in the like proportions. Hence, perhaps, the tops of the hills, being of the hardest rock, have stood, while the other parts on a declivity have been destroyed. As I have usually observed that the tops of most mountains that are covered with trees have a more uniform appearance, I am inclined to believe that this is owing to their being shaded.

"The city of Santa Cruz, though not large, is tolerably well built. The churches are not magnificent without; but within are decent, and indifferently ornamented. They are inferior to some of the churches at Madeira; but, I imagine, this rather arises from the different disposition of the people, than from their inability to support them better. For the private houses, and dress of the Spanish inhabitants of Santa Cruz, are far preferable to those of the Portuguese at Madeira; who, perhaps, are willing to strip themselves, that they may adorn their churches. Almost facing the stone pier at the landing-place is a handsome marble column, lately put up, ornamented with some human figures, that do no discredit to the artist; with an inscription in Spanish, to commemorate the occasion of the erection, and the date.

"In the afternoon of the 2nd, four of us hired mules to ride to the city of Laguna *, so called from an adjoining lake, about four miles from Santa Cruz. We arrived there between five and six in the evening; but found a sight of it very unable to compensate for our trouble, as the road was very bad, and the mules but indifferent. The place is, indeed, pretty extensive, but scarcely deserves to be dignified with the name of city. The disposition of its streets is very irregular; yet some of them are of a tolerable breadth, and have some good houses. In general, however, Laguna is inferior in appearance to Santa Cruz, though the latter is but small, if compared with the former. We were informed, likewise, that Laguna is declining fast; there being, at present, some vineyards where houses formerly stood; whereas Santa Cruz is increasing daily. The road leading from Santa Cruz to Laguna runs up a steep hill, which is very barren; but, lower down, we saw some fig-trees, and several corn-fields. These are but small, and not thrown into ridges, as is practised in England. Nor does it appear that they can raise any corn here without great labour, as the ground is so encumbered with stones, that they are obliged to collect and lay them in broad rows, or walls, at small distances. The large hills that run to the south-west, appeared to be pretty well furnished with trees. Nothing else worth noticing presented itself during this excursion, except a few aloe plants in flower, near the side of the road, and the cheerfulness of our guides, who amused us with songs by the way.

"Most of the laborious work in this island is performed by mules; horses being to appearance scarce, and chiefly reserved for the use of the officers. They are of a small size, but well-shaped and spirited. Oxen are also employed to drag their casks along upon a large clumsy piece of wood; and they are yoked by the head; though it doth not seem that this has any peculiar advantage over our method of fixing the harness on the shoulders. In my walks and excursions, I saw some hawks, parrots, which are natives of the island, the sea-swallow or tern, sea-gulls, partridges, wagtails, swallows, martins, blackbirds, and canary birds in large flocks. There are also lizards of the common, and another sort; some insects, as locusts; and three or four sorts of dragon-flies.

"I had an opportunity of conversing with a sensible and well-informed gentleman residing here, and whose veracity I have not the least reason to doubt. From him I learnt some

* Its extended name is St. Christobal de la Laguna; and it used to be reckoned the capital of the island, the gentry and lawyers living there; though the Governor-General of the Canary Islands resides at Santa Cruz, as being the centre of their trade, both with Europe and America. See Glas's Hist. p. 248.

particulars, which, during the short stay of three days, did not fall within my own observation. He informed me, that a shrub is common here, agreeing exactly with the description given by Tournefort and Linnæus, of the tea shrub, as growing in China and Japan. It is reckoned a weed, and he roots out thousands of them every year, from his vineyards. The Spaniards, however, of the island, sometimes use it as tea, and ascribe to it all the qualities of that imported from China. They also give it the name of tea; but what is remarkable, they say it was found here when the islands were first discovered. Another botanical curiosity, mentioned by him, is what they call the *impregnated lemon* *. It is a perfect and distinct lemon, inclosed within another, differing from the outer one only in being a little more globular. The leaves of the tree that produces this sort, are much longer than those of the common one; and it was represented to me as being crooked, and not equal in beauty.

"From him I learnt also, that a certain sort of grape growing here is reckoned an excellent remedy in phthisical complaints. And the air and climate, in general, are remarkably healthful, and particularly adapted to give relief in such diseases. This he endeavoured to account for, by its being always in one's power to procure a different temperature of the air, by residing at different heights in the island; and he expressed his surprise that the English physicians should never have thought of sending their consumptive patients to Teneriffe, instead of Nice or Lisbon. How much the temperature of the air varies here, I myself could sensibly perceive, only in riding from Santa Cruz up to Laguna, and you may ascend till the cold becomes intolerable. I was assured that no person can live comfortably within a mile of the perpendicular height of the Pic, after the month of August †. Although some smoke constantly issues from near the top of the Pic, they have had no earthquake or eruption of a volcano since 1704, when the port of Garrachica, where much of their trade was formerly carried on, was destroyed ‡.

"Their trade, indeed, must be considered as very considerable; for they reckon that forty thousand pipes of wine are annually made; the greatest part of which is either consumed in the island, or made into brandy, and sent to the Spanish West Indies § About six thousand pipes were exported every year to North America, while the trade with it was uninterrupted; at present, they think not above half the quantity. The corn they raise is, in general, insufficient to maintain the inhabitants; but the deficiency used to be supplied by importation from the North Americans, who took their wines in return. They make a little silk; but unless we reckon the filtering-stones, brought in great numbers from Grand Canary, the wine is the only considerable article of the foreign commerce of Teneriffe.

"None of the race of inhabitants found here when the Spaniards discovered the Canaries now remain a distinct people ||, having intermarried with the Spanish settlers; but their descendants are known, from their being remarkably tall, large-boned, and strong. The men are, in general, of a tawny colour, and the women have a pale complexion, entirely destitute of that bloom which distinguishes our northern beauties. The Spanish custom of wearing black clothes continues amongst *them;* but the men seem more indifferent about this, and, in some measure, dress like the French. In other respects, we found the inhabit-

* The writer of the Relation of Teneriffe in Sprat's Sprat's History, p. 207, takes notice of this lemon as produced here, and calls it ***Pregnada***. Probably, ***emprennada***, the Spanish word for ***impregnated***, is the name it goes by.

† This agrees with Dr. T. Heberden's account, who says that the sugar-loaf part of the mountain, or *la pericosa* (as it is called), "which is an eighth part of a league (or 1980 feet) to the top, is covered with snow the greatest part of the year." See Philosophical Transactions, as quoted above.

‡ This port was then filled up by the rivers of burning lava that flowed into it from a volcano; insomuch that houses are now built where ships formerly lay at anchor. See Glas's Hist. p. 244.

§ Glas, p. 342, says, that they annually export no less than fifteen thousand pipes of wine and brandy. In another place, p. 252, he tells us, that the number of the inhabitants of Teneriffe, when the last account was taken, was no less than 96,000. We may reasonably suppose that there has been a considerable increase of population since Glas visited the island, which is above thirty years ago. The quantity of wine annually consumed, as the common beverage of at least one hundred thousand persons, must amount to several thousand pipes. There must be a vast expenditure of it, by conversion into brandy; to produce one pipe of which, five or six pipes of wine must be distilled. An attention to these particulars will enable every one to judge, that the account given to Mr. Anderson, of an annual produce of 40,000 pipes of wine, has a foundation in truth.

|| It was otherwise in Glas's time, when a few families of the *Guanches* (as they are called) remained still in Teneriffe, not blended with the Spaniards. Glas, p. 240.

ants of Teneriffe to be a decent and very civil people, retaining that grave cast which distinguishes those of their country from other European nations. Although we do not think that there is a great similarity between our manners and those of the Spaniards, it is worth observing, that Omai did not think there was much difference. He only said, that they seemed not so friendly as the English; and that, in their persons, they approached those of his countrymen."

CHAPTER III.—DEPARTURE FROM TENERIFFE.—DANGER OF THE SHIP NEAR BONAVISTA.—ISLE OF MAYO.—PORT PRAYA.—PRECAUTIONS AGAINST THE RAIN AND SULTRY WEATHER IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF THE EQUATOR.—POSITION OF THE COAST OF BRAZIL.—ARRIVAL AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—TRANSACTIONS THERE.—JUNCTION OF THE DISCOVERY.—MR. ANDERSON'S JOURNEY UP THE COUNTRY.—ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS.—NAUTICAL REMARKS ON THE PASSAGE FROM ENGLAND TO THE CAPE, WITH REGARD TO THE CURRENTS AND THE VARIATION.

Having completed our water, and got on board every other thing we wanted at Teneriffe, we weighed anchor on the 4th of August, and proceeded on our voyage, with a fine gale at north-east. At nine o'clock in the evening on the 10th*, we saw the island of Bonavista bearing S., distant little more than a league; though, at this time, we thought ourselves much farther off; but this proved a mistake. For, after hauling to the eastward till twelve o'clock, to clear the sunken rocks that lie about a league from the S.E. point of the island, we found ourselves, at that time, close upon them, and did but just weather the breakers. Our situation, for a few minutes, was very alarming. I did not choose to sound, as that might have heightened the danger without any possibility of lessening it. I make the N. end of the island of Bonavista to lie in the latitude of 16° 17′ N., and in the longitude of 22° 59′ W. As soon as we were clear of the rocks, we steered S.S.W., till daybreak next morning, and then hauled to the westward, to go between Bonavista and the Isle of Mayo, intending to look into Port Praya for the Discovery, as I had told Captain Clerke that I should touch there, and did not know how soon he might sail after me. At one in the afternoon, we saw the rocks that lie on the S.W. side of Bonavista, bearing S.E., distant three or four leagues.

Next morning, at six o'clock, the isle of Mayo bore S.S.E., distant about five leagues. In this situation we sounded, and found ground at sixty fathoms. At the same time the variation, by the mean of several azimuths taken with three different compasses, was 9° 32½′ W. At eleven o'clock, one extreme of Mayo bore E. by N., and the other S.E. by S. In this position, two roundish hills appeared near its N.E. part; farther on, a large and higher hill; and, at about two-thirds of its length, a single one that is peaked. At the distance we now saw this island, which was three or four miles, there was not the least appearance of vegetation, nor any relief to the eye from that lifeless brown which prevails in countries under the torrid zone that are unwooded.

Here I cannot help remarking that Mr. Nichelson, in his Preface to "Sundry Remarks and Observations made in a Voyage to the East Indies†," tells us, that "with eight degrees W. variation, or anything above that, you may venture to sail by the Cape de Verde Islands night or day, being well assured, with that variation, that you are to the eastward of them." Such an assertion might prove of dangerous consequence, were there any that would implicitly trust to it. We also tried the current, and found one setting S.W. by W., something more than half a mile an hour. We had reason to expect this, from the differences between the longitude given by the watch and dead reckoning, which, since our leaving Teneriffe, amounted to one degree. While we were amongst these islands we had

* As a proof of Captain Cook's attention, both to the discipline and to the health of his ship's company, it may be worth while to observe here, that it appears from his log-book, he "exercised them at great guns and small arms, and cleared and smoked the ship below decks," twice in the interval between the 4th and the 10th of August.

† On board his Majesty's ship Elizabeth, from 1758 to 1764; by William Nichelson, master of the said ship. London, 1773.

light breezes of wind, varying from the S.E. to E., and some calms. This shows that the Cape de Verde Islands are either extensive enough to break the current of the trade-wind, or that they are situated just beyond its verge, in that space where the variable winds, found on getting near the line, begin. The first supposition, however, is the most probable, a Dampier * found the wind westerly here in the month of February; at which time the trade-wind is supposed to extend farthest towards the equinoctial. The weather was hot and sultry, with some rain; and, for the most part, a dull whiteness prevailed in the sky, that seems a medium between fog and clouds. In general, the tropical regions seldom enjoy that clear atmosphere observable where variable winds blow; nor does the sun shine with such brightness. This circumstance, however, seems an advantage; for otherwise, perhaps, the rays of the sun, being uninterrupted, would render the heat quite unsupportable. The nights are, nevertheless, often clear and serene.

At nine o'clock in the morning of the 13th, we arrived before Port Praya, in the island of St. Jago, where we saw two Dutch East India ships, and a small brigantine at anchor. As the Discovery was not there, and we had expended but little water in our passage from Teneriffe, I did not think proper to go in, but stood to the southward. Some altitudes of the sun were now taken, to ascertain the true time. The longitude by the watch, deduced therefrom, was 23° 48′ W.; the little island in the bay bore W.N.W., distant near three miles, which will make its longitude 23° 51′. The same watch, on my late voyage, made the longitude to be 23° 30′ W., and we observed the latitude to be 14° 53′ 30″ N.

The day after we left the Cape de Verde Islands, we lost the N.E. trade-wind; but did not get that which blows from the S.E. till the 30th, when we were in the latitude of 2° N., and in the twenty-fifth degree of W. longitude. During this interval †, the wind was mostly in the S.W. quarter. Sometimes it blew fresh, and in squalls; but for the most part a gentle breeze. The calms were few, and of short duration. Between the latitude of 12° and of 7° N., the weather was generally dark and gloomy, with frequent rains, which enabled us to save as much water as filled most of our empty casks.

These rains, and the close sultry weather accompanying them, too often bring on sickness in this passage. Every bad consequence, at least, is to be apprehended from them; and commanders of ships cannot be too much upon their guard, by purifying the air between-decks with fires and smoke, and by obliging the people to dry their clothes at every opportunity. These precautions were constantly observed on board the Resolution ‡ and Discovery; and we certainly profited by them, for we had now fewer sick than on either of my former voyages. We had, however, the mortification to find our ship exceedingly leaky in all her upper works. The hot and sultry weather we had just passed through, had opened her seams, which had been badly caulked at first, so wide, that they admitted the rain-water through as it fell. There was hardly a man that could lie dry in his bed; and the officers in the gun-room were all driven out of their cabins, by the water that came through the sides. The sails in the sail-room got wet; and before we had weather to dry them, many of them were much damaged, and a great expense of canvas and of time became necessary to make them in some degree serviceable. Having experienced the same defect in our sail-rooms on my late voyage, it had been represented to the yard-officers, who undertook to remove it. But it did not appear to me that anything had been done to remedy the complaint. To repair these defects the caulkers were set to work, as soon as we got into fair settled weather, to caulk the decks and inside weather works of the ship; for I would not trust them over the sides while we were at sea.

* Dampier's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 10.

† "On the 18th, I sunk a bucket with a thermometer seventy fathoms below the surface of the sea, where it remained two minutes; and it took three minutes more to haul it up. The mercury in the thermometer was at 66, which before, in the air, stood at 78, and in the surface of the sea at 79. The water which came up in the bucket contained, by Mr. Cavendish's table $\frac{1}{28}$, 7 part salt; and that at the surface of the sea $\frac{1}{29}$, 4. As this last was taken up after a smart shower of rain, it might be lighter on that account."—Captain Cook's log-book.

‡ The particulars are mentioned in his log-book:—"On the 14th of August, a fire was made in the well, to air the ship below. On the 15th, the spare sails were aired upon deck, and a fire made to air the sail-room. On the 17th, cleaned and smoked betwixt decks, and the bread-room aired with fires. On the 21st, cleaned and smoked betwixt decks; and on the 22nd, the men's bedding was spread on deck to air."

On the first of September * we crossed the equator in the longitude of 27° 38′ W., with a fine gale at S.E. by S.; and notwithstanding my apprehensions of falling in with the coast of Brazil in stretching to the S.W., I kept the ship a full point from the wind. However, I found my fears were ill-grounded; for, on drawing near that coast, we met with the wind more and more easterly; so that, by the time we were in the latitude of 10° S., we could make a south-easterly course good. On the 8th we were in the latitude of 8° 57′ S.; which is a little to the southward of Cape St. Augustine, on the coast of Brazil. Our longitude, deduced from a very great number of lunar observations, was 34° 16′ W.; and by the watch 34° 47′. The former is 1° 43′, and the latter 2° 14′ more westerly than the island of Fernando de Noronha, the situation of which was pretty well determined during my late voyage †. Hence I concluded that we could not now be farther from the continent than twenty or thirty leagues at most; and perhaps not much less, as we neither had soundings, nor any other signs of land. Dr. Halley, however, in his voyage, published by Mr. Dalrymple, tells us ‡, that "he made no more than one hundred and two miles, meridian distance, from the island [Fernando de Noronha] to the coast of Brazil;" and seems to think that "currents could not be the whole cause" of his making so little. But I rather think that he was mistaken, and that the currents had hurried him far to the westward of his intended course. This was, in some measure, confirmed by our own observations; for we had found, during three or four days preceding the 8th, that the currents set to the westward; and, during the last twenty-four hours, it had set strong to the northward, as we experienced a difference of twenty-nine miles between our observed latitude and that by dead reckoning. Upon the whole, till some better astronomical observations are made on shore on the eastern coast of Brazil, I shall conclude that its longitude is thirty-five degrees and a half, or thirty-six degrees west, at most.

We proceeded on our voyage, without meeting with anything of note till the 6th of October. Being then in the latitude of 35° 15′ S., longitude 7° 45′ W., we met with light airs and calms by turns, for three days successively. We had, for some days before, seen albatrosses, pintadoes, and other petrels; and here we saw three penguins, which occasioned us to sound; but we found no ground with a line of one hundred and fifty fathoms. We put a boat in the water, and shot a few birds; one of which was a black petrel, about the size of a crow, and, except as to the bill and feet, very like one. It had a few white feathers under the throat; and the under-side of the quill-feathers were of an ash-colour. All the other feathers were jet black, as also the bill and legs.

On the 8th, in the evening, one of those birds which sailors call noddies settled on our rigging, and was caught. It was something larger than an English blackbird, and nearly as black, except the upper part of the head, which was white, looking as if it were powdered; the whitest feathers growing out from the base of the upper bill, from which they gradually assumed a darker colour, to about the middle of the upper part of the neck, where the white shade was lost in the black, without being divided by any line. It was web-footed; had black legs and a black bill, which was long, and not unlike that of a curlew. It is said these birds never fly far from land. We knew of none nearer the station we were in, than Gough's or Richmond Island, from which our distance could not be less than one hundred leagues. But it must be observed that the Atlantic Ocean, to the southward of this latitude, has been but little frequented; so that there may be more islands there than

* The afternoon, as appears from Mr. Anderson's Journal, was spent in performing the old and ridiculous ceremony of ducking those who had not crossed the equator before. Though Captain Cook did not suppress the custom, he thought it too trifling to deserve the least mention of it in his Journal, or even in his log-book. Pernetty, the writer of Bougainville's Voyage to the Falkland Islands, in 1763 and 1764, thought differently; for his account of the celebration of this childish festival on board his ship is extended through seventeen pages, and makes the subject of an entire chapter, under the title of *Baptême de la Ligne*.

It may be worth while to transcribe his introduction to the description of it. "C'est un usage qui ne remonte pas plus haut que ce voyage célèbre de Gama, qui a fourni au Camoens le sujet de la Lusiade. L'idée qu'on ne sçauroit être un bon marin, sans avoir traversé l'Equateur, l'ennui inséparable d'une longue navigation, un certain esprit républicain qui règne dans toutes les petites sociétés, peut-être toutes ces causes réunies, ont pu donner naissance à ces espèces de saturnales. Quoiqu'il en soit, elles furent adoptées, en un instant, dans toutes les nations, et les hommes les plus éclairés furent obligés de se soumettre à une coutume dont ils reconnoissoient l'absurdité. Car, partout, dès que le peuple parle, il faut que le sage se mette à l'unison."—Histoire d'un Voyage aux Isles Malouines. p. 107, 108.

† See Cook's Second Voyage, b. iv. c. 10. ‡ P. 11.

we are acquainted with. We frequently, in the night, saw those luminous marine animals mentioned and described in my first voyage *. Some of them seemed to be considerably larger than any I had before met with; and sometimes they were so numerous, that hundreds were visible at the same moment.

This calm weather was succeeded by a fresh gale from the N.W., which lasted two days. Then we had again variable light airs for about twenty-four hours; when the N.W. wind returned, and blew with such strength, that on the 17th we had sight of the Cape of Good Hope; and the next day anchored in Table Bay, in four fathoms water, with the church bearing S.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S., and Green Point N.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. As soon as we had received the usual visit from the master attendant and the surgeon, I sent an officer to wait on Baron Plettenberg the governor; and, on his return, saluted the garrison with thirteen guns, which compliment was returned with the same number. We found in the bay two French East India ships; the one outward, and the other homeward bound. And two or three days before our arrival, another homeward bound ship of the same nation had parted from her cable, and been driven on shore at the head of the bay, where she was lost. The crew were saved; but the greatest part of the cargo shared the same fate with the ship, or (which amounted to the same) was plundered and stolen by the inhabitants, either out of the ship, or as it was driven or carried on shore. This is the account the French officers gave to me; and the Dutch themselves could not deny the fact. But, by way of excusing themselves from being guilty of a crime disgraceful to every civilised state, they endeavoured to lay the whole blame on the French captain, for not applying in time for a guard.

As soon as we had saluted, I went on shore, accompanied by some of my officers, and waited on the governor, the lieutenant-governor, the fiscal, and the commander of the troops. These gentlemen received me with the greatest civility; and the governor, in particular, promised me every assistance that the place afforded. At the same time I obtained his leave to set up our observatory on any spot I should think most convenient; to pitch tents for the sail-makers and coopers; and to bring the cattle on shore to graze near our encampment. Before I returned on board, I ordered soft bread, fresh meat, and greens, to be provided every day for the ship's company. On the 22nd, we set up the tents and observatory, and began to send the several articles out of the ship which I wanted on shore. This could not be done sooner, as the militia of the place were exercising on, or near, the ground which we were to occupy. The next day we began to observe equal altitudes of the sun, in order to ascertain the rate of the watch, or, which is the same thing, to find whether it had altered its rate. These observations were continued every day, whenever the weather would permit, till the time of our departure drew near. But before this, the caulkers had been set to work to caulk the ship; and I had concerted measures with Messrs. Brandt and Chiron, for supplying both ships with such provisions as I should want. Bakers, likewise, had been ordered, immediately after our arrival, to bake such a quantity of bread as I thought would be requisite. As fast as the several articles destined for the Resolution were got ready, they were carried on board.

On the 26th, the French ship sailed for Europe, and by her we sent letters to England. The next day the Hampshire, East India ship, from Bencoolen, anchored in the bay, and saluted us with thirteen guns, which we returned with eleven.

Nothing remarkable happened till the evening of the 31st, when it came on to blow excessively hard at S.E., and continued for three days; during which time there was no communication between the ship and the shore. The Resolution was the only ship in the bay that rode out the gale without dragging her anchors. We felt its effects as sensibly on shore. Our tents and observatory were torn to pieces; and our astronomical quadrant narrowly escaped irreparable damage. On the 3rd of November the storm ceased, and the next day we resumed our different employments. On the 6th, the Hampshire, India ship, sailed for England. In her I sent home an invalid, whom Captain Trimble was so obliging as to receive on board. I was afterwards sorry that I had not availed myself of this opportunity to part with two or three more of my crew, who were troubled with different complaints; but, at this time, there was some hope of their health being re-established.

* See vol. I. p. 9

In the morning of the 10th, the Discovery arrived in the bay. Captain Clerke informed me that he had sailed from Plymouth on the 1st of August, and should have been with us here a week sooner if the late gale of wind had not blown him off the coast. Upon the whole, he was seven days longer in his passage from England than we had been. He had the misfortune to lose one of his marines, by falling overboard; but there had been no other mortality amongst his people, and they now arrived well and healthy. Captain Clerke having represented to me that his ship was in want of caulking; that no time might be lost in repairing this defect, next day I sent all my workmen on board her, having already completed this service on board the Resolution. I lent every other assistance to the captain to expedite his supply of provisions and water, having given him an order to receive on board as much of both articles as he could conveniently stow. I now found that the bakers had failed in baking the bread I had ordered for the Discovery. They pretended a want of flour; but the truth was, they were doubtful of her coming, and did not care to begin till they saw her at anchor in the bay.

I have before made mention of our getting our cattle on shore. The bull and two cows, with their calves, were sent to graze along with some other cattle; but I was advised to keep our sheep, sixteen in number, close to our tents, where they were penned up every night. During the night preceding the 14th, some dogs having got in amongst them, forced them out of the pen, killing four, and dispersing the rest. Six of them were recovered the next day; but the two rams, and two of the finest ewes in the whole flock, were amongst those missing. Baron Plettenberg being now in the country, I applied to the lieutenant-governor, Mr. Hemmy, and to the fiscal. Both these gentlemen promised to use their endeavours for the recovery of the lost sheep. The Dutch, we know, boast that the police at the Cape is so carefully executed, that it is hardly possible for a slave, with all his cunning and knowledge of the country, to effectuate his escape. Yet my sheep evaded all the vigilance of the fiscal's officers and people. However, after much trouble and expense, by employing some of the meanest and lowest scoundrels in the place (who, to use the phrase of the person who recommended this method to me, would, for a ducatoon, cut their master's throat, burn the house over his head, and bury him and the whole family in the ashes), I recovered them all but the two ewes. Of these I never could hear the least tidings: and I gave over all inquiry after them, when I was told, that since I had got the two rams, I might think myself very well off. One of these, however, was so much hurt by the dogs, that there was reason to believe he would never recover.

Mr. Hemmy very obligingly offered to make up this loss, by giving me a Spanish ram, out of some that he had sent for from Lisbon. But I declined the offer, under a persuasion that it would answer my purpose full as well, to take with me some of the Cape rams; the event proved, that I was under a mistake. This gentleman has taken some pains to introduce European sheep at the Cape; but his endeavours, as he told me, have been frustrated by the obstinacy of the country people, who hold their own breed in greater estimation, on account of their large tails, of the fat of which they sometimes make more money than of the whole carcass besides *; and think that the wool of European sheep will, by no means, make up for their deficiency in this respect. Indeed, I have heard some sensible men here make the same observation. And there seems to be foundation for it. For, admitting that European sheep were to produce wool of the same quality here as in Europe, which experience has shown not to be the case, the Dutch have not hands, at the Cape of Good Hope, to spare for the manufacturing even their own clothing. It is certain that, were it not for the continual importation of slaves, this settlement would be thinner of people than any other inhabited part of the world.

While the ships were getting ready for the prosecution of our voyage, some of our officers made an excursion to take a view of the neighbouring country. Mr. Anderson, my surgeon,

* "The most remarkable thing in the Cape sheep, is the length and thickness of their tails, which weigh from fifteen to twenty pounds. The fat is not so tallowish as that of European mutton, and the poorer sort use it for butter." Kolben's Cape of Good Hope [English translation], vol. ii. p. 65. De la Caille, who finds everything wrong in Kolben, says, the weight of the tails of the Cape sheep is not above five or six pounds Voyage de la Caille, p. 343. If the information given to Captain Cook may be depended upon, it will prove that, in this instance at least, Kolben is unjustly accused of exaggeration.

who was one of the party, gave me the following relation of their proceedings * :—"On the 16th, in the forenoon, I set out in a waggon, with five more, to take a view of some part of the country. We crossed the large plain that lies to the eastward of the town, which is entirely a white sand, like that commonly found on beaches, and produces only heath, and other small plants of various sorts. At five in the afternoon we passed a large farm-house, with some corn-fields, and pretty considerable vineyards, situated beyond the plain, near the foot of some low hills, where the soil becomes worth cultivating. Between six and seven we arrived at Stellenbosh, the colony next to that of the Cape for its importance. The village does not consist of more than thirty houses, and stands at the foot of the range of lofty mountains, above twenty miles to the eastward of the Cape Town. The houses are neat; and, with the advantage of a rivulet which runs near, and the shelter of some large oaks, planted at its first settling, forms what may be called a rural prospect in this desert country. There are some vineyards and orchards about the place, which, from their thriving appearance, seem to indicate an excellent soil; though, perhaps, they owe much to climate, as the air here has an uncommon serenity. I employed the next day in searching for plants and insects about Stellenbosh, but had little success. Few plants are in flower here at this season, and insects but scarce. I examined the soil in several places, and found it to consist of yellowish clay, mixed with a good deal of sand. The sides of the low hills, which appear brown, seem to be constituted of a sort of stone marl.

"We left Stellenbosh next morning, and soon arrived at the house we had passed on Saturday; the owner of which, Mr. Cloeder, had sent us an invitation, the evening before, to visit him. This gentleman entertained us with the greatest hospitality, and in a manner very different from what we expected. He received us with music; and a band also played while we were at dinner, which, considering the situation of the place, might be reckoned elegant. He showed us his wine-cellars, his orchards, and vineyards; all which, I must own, inspired me with a wish to know in what manner these industrious people could create such plenty in a spot where, I believe, no other European nation would have attempted to settle. In the afternoon we crossed the country, and passed a few plantations, one of which seemed very considerable, and was laid out in a taste somewhat different from any other we saw. In the evening we arrived at a farm-house, which is the first in the cultivated tract called the Pearl. We had, at the same time, a view of Drakenstein, the third colony of this country, which lies along by the foot of the lofty hills already mentioned, and contains several farms or plantations, not very extensive.

"I went, on the 19th in the forenoon, in quest of plants and insects, which I found almost as scarce as at Stellenbosh; but I met with more shrubs or small trees, naturally produced, in the valleys, than in any part of the country I had hitherto seen. In the afternoon, we went to see a stone of a remarkable size, called by the inhabitants the Tower of Babylon, or the Pearl Diamond†. It lies, or stands, upon the top of some low hills, at the foot of which our farm-house was situated; and though the road to it is neither very steep nor rugged, we were above an hour and a half in walking to it. It is of an oblong shape, rounded on the top, and lies nearly south and north. The east and west sides are steep, and almost perpen-

* In the Philosophical Transactions, vol. lxvi. p. 268 to 319, is an "Account of Three Journeys from the Cape Town into the Southern Parts of Africa," in 1772, 1773, and 1774; by Mr. Francis Masson, who had been sent from England for the discovery of new plants, towards the improvement of the Royal Botanical Garden at Kew. Much curious information is contained in Mr. Masson's account of these journeys. M. de Pagès, who was at the Cape in 1773, gives some remarks on the state of that settlement, and also the particulars of his journey from False Bay to the Cape Town.—"Voyage vers le Pôle du Sud," p. 17 to 32.

† In the Philosophical Transactions, vol. lxviii. part I. p. 102, we have a Letter from Mr. Anderson to Sir John Pringle, describing this remarkable stone. The account sent home from the Cape, and read before the Royal Society, is much the same with that now published, but rather fuller. In particular, he tells Sir John, that he went to see it at "Mr. Masson's desire," who, probably, had not had an opportunity of sufficiently examining it himself. In the account of his journeys, above referred to, p. 270, he only says, "There are two large solid rocks on the Perel Berg, each of which (he believes) is more than a mile in circumference at the base, and upwards of two hundred feet high. Their surfaces are nearly smooth, without chink or fissures; and they are found to be a species of granite, different from that which composes the neighbouring mountains."

Mr. Anderson having, with his letter to Sir John Pringle, also sent home a specimen of the rock, it was examined by Sir William Hamilton, whose opinion is, that "this singular, immense fragment of granite, most probably, has been raised by a volcanic explosion, or some such cause." See his Letter to Sir John Pringle, annexed to Mr. Anderson's in the Philosophical Transactions.

dicular. The south end is likewise steep, and its greatest height is there; from whence it declines gently to the north part, by which we ascended to its top, and had an extensive view of the whole country.

"Its circumference, I think, must be at least half a mile; as it took us above half an hour to walk round it, including every allowance for the bad road, and stopping a little. At its highest part, which is the south end, comparing it with a known object, it seems to equal the dome of St. Paul's church. It is one uninterrupted mass of stone, if we except some fissures, or rather impressions, not above three or four feet deep, and a vein which runs across near its north end. It is of that sort of stone called, by mineralogists, *Saxum conglutinatum*, and consists chiefly of pieces of coarse *quartz* and *glimmer*, held together by a clayey cement. But the vein which crosses it, though of the same materials, is much compacter. This vein is not above a foot broad or thick; and its surface is cut into little squares or oblongs, disposed obliquely, which makes it look like the remains of some artificial work. But I could not observe whether it penetrated far into the large rock, or was only superficial. In descending, we found at its foot a very rich black mould; and on the sides of the hills, some trees of a considerable size, natives of the place, which are a species of *olea**. In the morning on the 20th, we set out from the Pearl; and going a different road from that by which we came, passed through a country, wholly uncultivated, till we got to the Tyger hills, when some tolerable corn-fields appeared. At noon, we stopped in a hollow for refreshment; but, in walking about here, were plagued with a vast number of musquitoes or sand-flies, which were the first I saw in the country. In the afternoon we set out again, and in the evening arrived at the Cape Town, tired with the jolting waggon."

On the 23d, we got on board the observatory, clock, &c. By a mean of the several results of the equal altitudes of the sun, taken with the astronomical quadrant, the astronomical clock was found to lose on sidereal time 1′ 8″ .368 each day. The pendulum was kept at the same length as at Greenwich, where the daily loss of the clock on sidereal time, was 4″.

The watch, by the mean of the results of fifteen days' observations, was found to be losing 2″ .261, on mean time, each day; which is 1″ .052 more than at Greenwich: and on the 21st, at noon, she was too slow for mean time by 1ʰ 20′ 57″ .66. From this, 6′ 48″ .956, is to be subtracted, for what she was too slow on the 11th of June at Greenwich, and her daily rate since; and the remainder, viz., 1ʰ 14′ 08″ .704, or 18° 32′ 10″, will be the longitude of the Cape Town by the watch. Its true longitude, as found by Messrs. Mason and Dixon, is 18° 23′ 15″. As our observations were made about half a mile to the east of theirs, the error of the watch, in longitude, is no more than 8′ 25″. Hence we have reason to conclude, that she had gone well all the way from England, and that the longitude, thus given, may be nearer the truth than any other. If this be admitted, it will, in a great measure, enable me to find the direction and strength of the currents we met with on this passage from England. For, by comparing the latitude and longitude by dead reckoning, with those by observation and the watch, we shall, from time to time, have, very accurately, the error of the ship's reckoning, be the cause what it will. But as all imaginable care was taken in heaving and keeping the log, and every necessary allowance made for lee-way, heave of the sea, and other such circumstances, I cannot attribute those errors that did happen, to any other cause but currents; but more particularly when the error was constantly the same way, for several days successively.

On the contrary, if we find the ship ahead of the reckoning on one day, and astern of it

* It is strange that neither Kolben nor De la Caille should have thought the "Tower of Babylon" worthy of a particular description. The former [vol. ii. p. 52, 53, English Translation], only mentions it as a "high mountain." The latter contents himself with telling us, that it is a very low hillock, "un très-bas monticule." Voyage de la Caille, p. 341. We are much obliged to Mr. Anderson for his very accurate account of this remarkable rock, which agrees with Mr. Sonnerat's, who was at the Cape of Good Hope so late as 1781. His words are, "La montagne de la *Perle* mérite d'être observée. C'est une des plus hautes des environs du Cap. Elle n'est composée que d'un seul bloc de granit crévassé dans plusieurs endroits."—Voyage aux Indes, tom. ii. p. 91.

Mr. Sonnerat tells us, that Mr. Gordon, commander of the troops at the Cape, had lately made three journeys up the country, from which, when he publishes his Journal, we may expect much curious information.

on another, we have reason to believe that such errors are owing to accidental causes, and not to currents. This seems to have been the case in our passage between England and Teneriffe. But, from the time of our leaving that island, till the 15th of August, being then in the latitude of 12° N., and longitude 24° W., the ship was carried 1° 20′ of longitude to the westward of her reckoning. At this station the currents took a contrary direction, and set to E.S.E., at the rate of twelve or fourteen miles a day, or twenty-four hours, till we arrived into the latitude of 5° N., and longitude of 20° W.; which was our most easterly situation after leaving the Cape de Verde Islands, till we got to the southward. For in this situation the wind came southerly, and we tacked and stretched to the westward; and for two or three days could not find t our reckoning was affected by any current. So that, I judged, we were between the cu nt that generally, if not constantly, sets to the east upon the coast of Guinea, and that which sets to the west towards the coast of Brasil. This westerly current was not considerable till we got into 2° N., and 25° W. From this station, to 3° S. and 30° W., the ship, in the space of four days, was carried one hundred and fifteen miles in the direction of S.W. by W. beyond her reckoning; an error by far too great to have any other cause but a strong current running in the same direction. Nor did its strength abate here; but its course was, afterward, more westerly, and to the N. of W.; and off Cape Augustine, north, as I have already mentioned. But this northerly current did not exist at twenty or thirty leagues to the southward of that Cape, nor any other, that I could perceive, in the remaining part of the passage. The little difference we afterward found between the reckoning and observations, might very well happen without the assistance of currents, as will appear by the Table of Days' Works.

In the account of my last voyage *, I remarked, that the currents one meets with in this passage generally balance each other. It happened so then, because we crossed the line about 20° more to the eastward than we did now; so that we were, of consequence, longer under the influence of the easterly current, which made up for the westerly one. And this, I apprehend, will generally be the case, if you cross the line 10° or 15° to the east of the meridian of St. Jago.

From these remarks I shall draw the following conclusion, that, after passing the Cape de Verde Island, if you do not make above 4° or 5° easting, and cross the line in, or to the westward of, the meridian of St. Jago, you may expect to find your ship 3° or 4° to the westward of her reckoning, by the time you get into the latitude of 10° S. If, on the other hand, you keep well to the east, and cross the line 15° or 20° to the east of St. Jago, you will be then as much to the east of your reckoning; and the more you keep to the eastward, the greater will be your error; as has been experienced by some India ships, whose people have found themselves close upon the coast of Angola, when they thought its distance was above two hundred leagues. During the whole of our passage from England, no opportunity was omitted of observing, with all the attention and accuracy that circumstances would permit, the variation of the compass, which I have inserted in a table, with the latitude and longitude of the ship at the time of observation. As the longitude may be depended upon, to a quarter or half a degree at most, this table will be of use to those navigators who correct their reckoning by the variation. It will also enable Mr. Dun to correct his new Variation Chart, a thing very much wanted.

It seems strange to me, that the advocates for the variation should not agree amongst themselves. We find one † of them telling us, as I have already observed, "that with 8° west variation, or anything above that, you may venture to sail by the Cape de Verde islands, by night or day, being well assured, with that variation, that you are to the eastward of them." Another, in his chart ‡, lays down this variation ninety leagues to the westward of them. Such a disagreement as this, is a strong proof of the uncertainty of both. However, I have no doubt, the former found here, as well as in other places, the variation he mentions. But we should have considered, that at sea, nay even on land, the results of the most accurate observations will not always be the same. Different compasses will give different variations; and even the same compass will differ from itself two degrees, without our being able to

* Vol. I., p. 343. † Nicholso ‡ Mr. Dun.

discover, much less to remove, the cause. Whoever imagines he can find the variation within a degree, will very often see himself much deceived. For, besides the imperfection which may be in the construction of the instrument, or in the power of the needle, it is certain that the motion of the ship, or attraction of the ironwork, or some other cause not yet discovered, will frequently occasion far greater errors than this. That the variation may be found, with a share of accuracy more than sufficient to determine the ship's course, is allowed; but that it can be found so exactly as to fix the longitude within a degree, or sixty miles, I absolutely deny.

CHAPTER IV.—THE TWO SHIPS LEAVE THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—TWO ISLANDS, NAMED PRINCE EDWARD'S, SEEN, AND THEIR APPEARANCE DESCRIBED.—KERGUELEN'S LAND VISITED.—ARRIVAL IN CHRISTMAS HARBOUR.—OCCURRENCES THERE.—DESCRIPTION OF IT.

After the disaster which happened to our sheep, it may be well supposed I did not trust those that remained long on shore, but got them, and the other cattle, on board as fast as possible. I also added to my original stock by purchasing two young bulls, two heifers, two young stone-horses, two mares, two rams, several ewes and goats, and some rabbits and poultry. All of them were intended for New Zealand, Otaheite, and the neighbouring islands, or any other places, in the course of our voyage, where there might be a prospect that the leaving any of them would be useful to posterity. Towards the latter end of November the calkers had finished their work on board the Discovery, and she had received all her provisions and water. Of the former, both ships had a supply sufficient for two years and upwards; and every other article we could think of, necessary for such a voyage, that could be had at the Cape, was procured; neither knowing when or where we might come to a place where we could furnish ourselves so well.

CAPE-TOWN.

Having given Captain Clerke a copy of my instructions, and an order directing him how to proceed in case of separation, in the morning of the 30th we repaired on board. At five in the afternoon a breeze sprung up at S.E., with which we weighed, and stood out of the bay. At nine it fell calm, and we anchored between Penguin Island and the east shore, where we lay till three o'clock next morning. We then weighed and put to sea, with a light breeze at south, but did not get clear of the land till the morning of the 3d, when with a fresh gale at W.N.W. we stood to the S.E. to get more into the way of these winds.

On the 5th a sudden squall of wind carried away the Resolution's mizen topmast. Having another to replace it, the loss was not felt, especially as it was a bad stick, and had often complained. On the 6th, in the evening, being then in the latitude of 39° 14′ S., and in the longitude of 23° 56′ E., we passed through several small spots of water of reddish colour. Some of this was taken up, and it was found to abound with a small animal which the microscope discovered to be like a cray-fish, of a reddish hue. We continued our course to the south-east, with a very strong gale from the westward, followed by a mountainous sea, which made the ship roll and tumble exceedingly, and gave us a great deal of trouble to preserve the cattle we had on board. Notwithstanding all our care, several goats, especially the males, died; and some sheep. This misfortune was, in a great measure, owing to the cold, which we now began most sensibly to feel.

On the 12th, at noon, we saw land extending from S.E. by S. to S.E. by E. Upon a nearer approach, we found it to be two islands. That which lies most to the south, and is also the largest, I judged to be about fifteen leagues in circuit, and to be in the latitude of 46° 53′ S., and in the longitude of 37° 46′ E. The most northerly one is about nine leagues in circuit, and lies in the latitude of 46° 40′ S., and in 38° 8′ E. longitude. The distance from the one to the other is about five leagues. We passed through this channel at equal distance from both islands, and could not discover, with the assistance of our best glasses, either tree or shrub on either of them. They seemed to have a rocky and bold shore; and excepting the south-east parts, where the land is rather low and flat, a surface composed of barren mountains, which rise to a considerable height, and whose summits and sides were covered with snow, which in many places seemed to be of a considerable depth The south-east parts had a much greater quantity on them than the rest; owing probably to the sun acting for a less space of time on these than on the north and north-west parts. The ground, where it was not hid by the snow, from the various shades it exhibited, may be supposed to be covered with moss, or, perhaps, such a coarse grass as is found in some parts of Falkland's Islands. On the north side of each of the islands is a detached rock: that near the south island is shaped like a tower, and seemed to be at some distance from the shore. As we passed along, a quantity of sea-weed was seen, and the colour of the water indicated soundings. But there was no appearance of an inlet, unless near the rock just mentioned; and that, from its smallness, did not promise a good anchoring-place.

These two islands, as also four others which lie from nine to twelve degrees of longitude more to the east, and nearly in the same latitude, were discovered, as I have mentioned in my late voyage *, by Captains Marion du Fresne, and Crozet, French navigators, in January 1772, on their passage in two ships from the Cape of Good Hope to the Philippine Islands. As they have no names in the French chart of the southern hemisphere which Captain Crozet communicated to me in 1775 †, I shall distinguish the two we now saw, by calling them Prince Edward's Islands, after his Majesty's fourth son; and the other four by the name of Marion's and Crozet's Islands, to commemorate their discoveries. We had now, for the most part, strong gales between the north and west, and but very indifferent weather; not better, indeed, than we generally have in England in the very depth of winter, though it was now the middle of summer in this hemisphere. Not discouraged, however, by this, after leaving Prince Edward's Islands, I shaped our course to pass to the southward of the others, that I might get into the latitude of the land discovered by Monsieur de Kerguelen.

I had applied to the Chevalier de Borda, whom, as I have mentioned, I found at Teneriffe, requesting, that if he knew anything of the island discovered by Monsieur de Kerguelen, between the Cape of Good Hope and New Holland, he would be so obliging as to communicate it to me. Accordingly, just before we sailed from Santa Cruz bay, he sent me the following account of it, viz., "That the pilot of the Boussole, who was in the voyage with

* See book iv. chap. 9. These islands are there said to be in the latitude of 48° S., that is, two degrees farther south than what here appears to be their real position.

† See vol. I., as above. Dr. Forster, in his Observations made during that voyage, p. 30, gives us this description of the chart then communicated by Monsieur Crozet; that it was "published under the patronage of the Duke de Croye by Robert de Vaugondy." Captain Cook tells us lower in this chapter that it was published in 1773.

Monsieur de Kerguelen, had given him the latitude and longitude of a little island, which Monsieur de Kerguelen called the Isle of Rendezvous, and which lies not far from the great island which he saw. Latitude of the little isle, by seven observations, 48° 26′ south; longitude, by seven observations of the distance of the sun and moon, 64° 57′ east from Paris." I was very sorry I had not sooner known that there was on board the frigate at Teneriffe an officer who had been with Monsieur de Kerguelen, especially the pilot; because from him I might have obtained more interesting information about this land than the situation alone, of which I was not before entirely ignorant*.

My instructions directing me to examine it, with a view to discover a good harbour, I proceeded in the search; and on the 16th, being then in the latitude of 48° 45′, and in the longitude of 52° E., we saw penguins and divers, and rock-weed floating in the sea. We continued to meet with more or less of these every day, as we proceeded to the eastward;

* Captain Cook's proceedings, as related in the remaining part of this chapter, and in the next, being upon a coast newly discovered by the French, it could not but be an object of his attention to trace the footsteps of the original explorers. But no superiority of professional skill, nor diligence in exerting it, could possibly qualify him to do this successfully, without possessing, at the same time, full and authentic intelligence of all that had been performed here by his predecessors in the discovery. But that he was not so fortunate as to be thus sufficiently instructed, will appear from the following facts, which the reader is requested to attend to, before he proceeds to the perusal of this part of the journal.

How very little was known, with any precision, about the operations of Kerguelen, when Captain Cook sailed in 1776, may be inferred from the following paragraph of his instructions:—"You are to proceed in search of some islands *said to have been lately seen* by the French in the latitude of 48° S., and in the meridian of Mauritius." This was barely the amount of the very indefinite and imperfect information which Captain Cook himself had received from Baron Plettenberg at the Cape of Good Hope, in November 1772; in the beginning of which year Kerguelen's *first* voyage had taken place.

The Captain, on his return homeward in March 1775, heard, a second time, something about this French discovery at the Cape, where he met with Monsieur Crozet, who "very obligingly communicated to him" a chart of the southern hemisphere, "wherein were delineated not only his own discoveries, but also that of Captain Kerguelen." But what little information that chart could convey, was still necessarily confined to the operations of the first voyage; the chart here referred to having been published in France in 1773; that is, before any intelligence could possibly be conveyed from the southern hemisphere of the result of Kerguelen's second visit to this new land, which we now know happened towards the close of the same year.

Of these latter operations, the only account (if that can be called an account which conveys no particular information) received by Captain Cook from Monsieur Crozet was, "that a later voyage had been undertaken by the French, under the command of Captain Kerguelen, which had ended much to the disgrace of that commander."

What Crozet had *not* communicated to our author, and what we are sure, from a variety of circumstances, he had *never* heard of from any other quarter, he missed an opportunity of learning at Teneriffe. He expresses his being sorry, as we have just read, "that he did not know sooner that there was on board the frigate an officer who had been with Kerguelen, as he might have obtained from him more interesting information about this land than its situation." And, indeed, if he had conversed with that officer, he might have obtained information "more interesting" than he was aware of; he might have learned that Kerguelen had actually visited this southern land a second time, and that the little isle of which he then received the name and position from the Chevalier de Borda, was a discovery of this later voyage. But the account conveyed to him being, as the reader will observe, unaccompanied with any date, or other distinguishing circumstance, he left Teneriffe, and arrived on the coasts of Kerguelen's Land, under a full persuasion that it had been visited only *once* before. And, even with regard to the operations of that first voyage, he had nothing to guide him but the very scanty materials afforded to him by Baron Plettenberg and Monsieur Crozet.

The truth is, the French seem, for some reason or other, not surely founded on the importance of Kerguelen's discovery, to have been very shy of publishing a full and distinct account of it. No such account had been published while Captain Cook lived. Nay, even after the return of his ships in 1780, the gentleman who obligingly lent his assistance to give a view of the prior observations of the French, and to connect them on the same chart with those of our author, though his assiduity in procuring geographical information can be equalled only by his readiness in communicating it, had not, it should seem, been able to procure any materials for that purpose, but such as mark the operations of the first French voyage; and even for these he was indebted to a MS. drawing.

But this veil of unnecessary secrecy is at length drawn aside. Kerguelen himself has, very lately, published the journal of his proceedings in two successive voyages in the years 1772 and 1773; and has annexed to his Narrative a chart of the coasts of this land, as far as he had explored them in both voyages. Monsieur de Pagès also, much about the same time, favoured us with another account of the second voyage, in some respects fuller than Kerguelen's own, on board whose ship he was then an officer.

From these sources of authentic information we are enabled to draw every necessary material to correct what is erroneous, and to illustrate what otherwise would have remained obscure, in this part of Captain Cook's Journal. We shall take occasion to do this in separate notes on the passages as they occur, and conclude this tedious, but, it is hoped, not unnecessary detail of facts, with one general remark, fully expressive of the disadvantages our author laboured under. He never saw that part of the coast upon which the French had been in 1772; and he never knew that they had been upon another part of it in 1773, which was the very scene of his own operations. Consequently, what he knew of the *former* voyage, as *delineated* upon Crozet's chart, only served to perplex and mislead his judgment; and his total ignorance of the *latter* put it out of his power to compare his own observations with those then made by Kerguelen; though we, who are better instructed, can do this, by tracing the plainest marks of coincidence and agreement.

and on the 21st, in the latitude of 48° 27′ S., and in the longitude of 65° E., a very large seal was seen. We had now much foggy weather, and, as we expected to fall in with the land every hour, our navigation became both tedious and dangerous.

At length, on the 24th, at six o'clock in the morning, as we were steering to the eastward, the fog clearing away a little, we saw land*, bearing S.S.E., which, upon a nearer approach, we found to be an island of considerable height, and about three leagues in circuit†. Soon after, we saw another of the same magnitude, one league to the eastward ‡; and between these two, in the direction of S.E., some smaller ones §. In the direction of S. by E. ½ E., from the E. end of the first island, a third || high island was seen. At times, as the fog broke away, we had the appearance of land over the small islands; and I had thoughts of steering for it, by running in between them. But, on drawing near, I found this would be a dangerous attempt, while the weather continued foggy. For, if there should be no passage, or if we should meet with any sudden danger, it would have been impossible for us to get off; the wind being right astern, and a prodigious sea running, that broke on all the shores in a frightful surf. At the same time, seeing another island in the N.E. direction, and not knowing but that there might be more, I judged it prudent to haul off, and wait for clearer weather, lest we should get entangled amongst unknown lands in a thick fog. We did but just weather the island last mentioned. It is a high round rock, which was named Bligh's Cap. Perhaps this is the same that Monsieur de Kerguelen called the Isle of Rendezvous ¶; but I know nothing that can rendezvous at it, but fowls of the air; for it is certainly inaccessible to every other animal.

At eleven o'clock the weather began to clear up, and we immediately tacked, and steered in for the land. At noon we had a pretty good observation, which enabled us to determine the latitude of Bligh's Cap, which is the northernmost island, to be 48° 29′ S., and its longitude 68° 40′ E.** We passed it at three o'clock, standing to the S.S.E., with a fresh gale at W. Soon after we saw the land, of which we had a faint view in the morning; and at four o'clock it extended from S.E. ½ E., to S.W. by S., distant about four miles The left extreme, which I judged to be the northern point of this land called, in the French chart of the southern hemisphere, Cape St. Louis††, terminated in a perpendicular rock of a considerable height; and the right one (near

* Captain Cook was not the original discoverer of these small islands which he now fell in with. It is certain that they had been seen and named by Kerguelen, on his second voyage, in December, 1773. Their position, relatively to each other, and to the adjoining coasts of the greater land, bears a striking resemblance to Kerguelen's delineation of them.

† This is the isle to which Kerguelen gave the name of Croy or Crouy. Besides delineating it upon his chart, he has added a particular view of it, exactly corresponding with Captain Cook's account of its being of "considerable height."

‡ Kerguelen called this Isle Rolland, after the name of his own ship. There is also a particular view of it on the French chart.

§ The observations of the French and English navigators agree exactly, as to the position of these smaller isles.

|| The situation of Kerguelen's Isle de Clugny, as marked on his chart, shows it to be the "third high island" seen by Captain Cook.

¶ This isle, or *rock*, was the single point about which Captain Cook had received the least information at Teneriffe; and we may observe how sagacious he was in tracing it. What he could only speak of as *probable*, a comparison of his chart with that lately published by Kerguelen, proves to be certain; and if he had even read and copied what his predecessors in the discovery says of it, he could scarcely have varied his account of its shape. Kerguelen's words are "Isle de Réunion, qui n'est qu'une roche, nous servoit *de* rendezvous, ou de point de ralliement; et ressemble à un coin de mire."

** The French and English agree very nearly (as might be expected) in their accounts of the latitude of this island; but the observations by which they fix its longitude, vary considerably.

The pilot at Teneriffe made it only 64° 57′ E. from Paris, which is about 67° 16′ E. from London; or 1° 24′ more westerly than Captain Cook's observations fix it. Monsieur de Pagès says it is 66° 47′ E. from Paris, that is 69° 6′ E. from London, or twenty-six miles more easterly than it is placed by Captain Cook. Kerguelen himself only says that it is *about* 68° of E. longitude, "par 68° de longitude."

†† Hitherto, we have only had occasion to supply defects, owing to Captain Cook's *entire* ignorance of Kerguelen's second voyage in 1773; we must now correct errors, owing to his very limited knowledge of the operations of the first voyage in 1772. The chart of the southern hemisphere, his only guide, having given him, as he tells us, the name of Cape St. Louis (or Cap Louis) as the most northerly promontory then seen by the French; and his own observations now satisfying him that no part of the main land stretched further N. than the "left extreme" now before him; from this supposed similarity of situation he judged that his own "perpendicular rock" must be the Cap Louis of the first discoverers. A comparison of the chart laid down by Captain Cook with that published by Kerguelen, shows in the clearest manner that the northern point now described by Captain Cook is the very same to which the French have given the name of Cap François.

which is a detached rock) in a high indented point *. From this point the coast seemed to turn short round to the southward; for we could see no land to the westward of the direction in which it now bore to us, but the islands we had observed in the morning; the most southerly† of them lying nearly W. from the point, about two or three leagues distant.

About the middle of the land there appeared to be an inlet, for which we steered; but, on approaching, found it was only a bending on the coast, and therefore bore up, to go round Cape St. Louis‡. Soon after, land opened off the Cape, in the direction of S. 53° E., and appeared to be a point at a considerable distance; for the trending of the coast from the Cape was more southerly. We also saw several rocks and islands to the eastward of the above directions, the most distant of which was about seven leagues from the Cape, bearing S. 88° E.§ We had no sooner got off the Cape, than we observed the coast, to the southward, to be much indented by projecting points and bays; so that we now made sure of soon finding a good harbour. Accordingly, we had not run a mile farther, before we discovered one behind the Cape, into which we began to ply; but after making one board, it fell calm, and we anchored at the entrance, in forty-five fathoms water, the bottom black sand; as did the Discovery soon after. I immediately despatched Mr. Bligh, the master, in a boat to sound the harbour; who, on his return, reported it to be safe and commodious, with good anchorage in every part; and great plenty of fresh water, seals, penguins, and other birds, on the shore; but not a stick of wood. While we lay at anchor, we observed that the flood-tide came from the south-east, running two knots, at least, in an hour.

At daybreak, in the morning of the 25th, we weighed with a gentle breeze at west; and having wrought into the harbour, to within a quarter of a mile of the sandy beach at its head, we anchored in eight fathoms water, the bottom a fine dark sand. The Discovery did not get in till two o'clock in the afternoon; when Captain Clerke informed me, that he had narrowly escaped being driven on the south point of the harbour, his anchor having started before they had time to shorten in the cable. This obliged them to set sail, and drag the anchor after them, till they had room to heave it up; and then they found one of its palms was broken off. As soon as we had anchored, I ordered all the boats to be hoisted out; the ship to be moored with a kedge-anchor; and the water-casks to be got ready to send on shore. In the mean time I landed, to look for the most convenient spot where they might be filled, and to see what else the place afforded.

I found the shore, in a manner, covered with penguins and other birds, and seals. These latter were not numerous, but so insensible of fear (which plainly indicated that they were unaccustomed to such visitors), that we killed as many as we chose, for the sake of their fat or blubber, to make oil for our lamps, and other uses. Fresh water was in no less plenty than were birds; for every gully afforded a large stream. But not a single tree or shrub, nor the least sign of any, was to be discovered, and but very little herbage of any sort. The appearances, as we sailed into the harbour, had flattered us with the hope of meeting with something considerable growing here, as we observed the sides of many of the hills to be of a lively green. But I now found that this was occasioned by a single plant, which, with the other natural productions, shall be described in another place. Before I returned to my ship, I ascended the first ridge of rocks, which rise in a kind of amphitheatre above one another. I was in hopes, by this means, of obtaining a view of the country; but before I reached the top, there came on so thick a fog, that I could hardly find my way down again. In the evening, we hauled the seine at the head of the harbour, but caught only half-a-dozen small fish. We had no better success next day, when we tried with hook and line. So

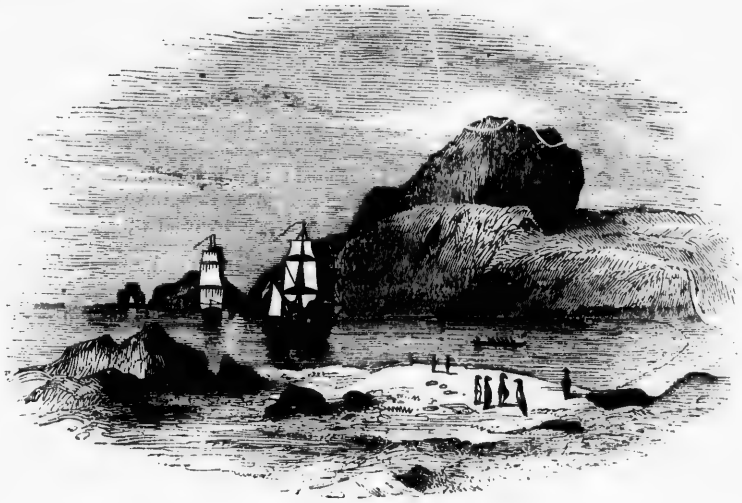
* This *right extreme* of the coast, as it now showed itself to Captain Cook, seems to be what is represented on Kerguelen's chart under the name of Cap Aubert. It may be proper to observe here, that all that extent of coast lying between Cap Louis and Cap François, of which the French saw very little during their first visit in 1772, and may be called the N.W. side of this land, they had it in their power to trace the position of in 1773, and have assigned names to some of its bays, rivers, and promontories, upon their chart.

† Kerguelen's Isle de Clugny.

‡ Cap François, as already observed.

§ The observations of the French, round Cap François, remarkably coincide with Captain Cook's in this paragraph; and the rocks and islands here mentioned by him, also appear upon their chart.

that our only resource here, for fresh provisions, were birds, of which there was an inexhaustible store.



KERGUELEN'S LAND.

The morning of the 26th proved foggy, with rain. However, we went to work to fill water, and to cut grass for our cattle, which we found in small spots near the head of the harbour. The rain which fell swelled all the rivulets to such a degree, that the sides of the hills bounding the harbour seemed to be covered with a sheet of water. For the rain, as it fell, ran into the fissures and crags of the rocks that composed the interior parts of the hills, and was precipitated down their sides in prodigious torrents.

The people having wrought hard the two preceding days, and nearly completed our water, which we filled from a brook at the left corner of the beach, I allowed them the 27th, as a day of rest, to celebrate Christmas. Upon this indulgence, many of them went on shore and made excursions, in different directions, into the country, which they found barren and desolate in the highest degree. In the evening, one of them brought to me a quart-bottle which he had found, fastened with some wire to a projecting rock on the north side of the harbour. This bottle contained a piece of parchment, on which was written the following inscription:—

LUDOVICO XV. GALLIARUM
REGE, ET D.* DE BOYNES
REGI A SECRETIS AD RES
MARITIMAS ANNIS 1772 ET
1773.

From this inscription, it is clear, that we were not the first Europeans who had been in this harbour. I supposed it to be left by Monsieur de Boisguehenneu, who went on shore in a boat, on the 13th of February, 1772, the same day that Monsieur de Kerguelen discovered this land; as appears by a note in the French chart of the southern hemisphere, published the following year†.

* The *D.*, no doubt, is a contraction of the word *Domino*. The French Secretary of the Marine was then Monsieur de Boynes.

† On perusing this paragraph of the Journal, it will be natural to ask, How could Monsieur de Boisguehenneu, in the beginning of 1772, leave an inscription, which, upon the very face of it, commemorates a transaction of the following year? Captain Cook's manner of expressing himself here strongly marks that he made this supposition only for want of information to enable him to make

As a memorial of our having been in this harbour, I wrote on the other side of the parchment,

NAVES RESOLUTION
ET DISCOVERY
DE REGE MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ,
DECEMBRIS, 1776.

I then put it again into a bottle, together with a silver two-penny piece of 1772; and having covered the mouth of the bottle with a leaden cap, I placed it, the next morning, in a pile of stones erected for the purpose, upon a little eminence on the north shore of the harbour, and near to the place where it was first found; in which position it cannot escape the notice of any European, whom chance or design may bring into this port. Here I displayed the British flag, and named the place *Christmas Harbour*, from our having arrived in it on that festival.

It is the first, or northernmost inlet that we meet with on the south-east side of Cape St. Louis *, which forms the north side of the harbour, and is also the northern point of this land. The situation alone is sufficient to distinguish it from any of the other inlets; and, to make it more remarkable, its south point terminates in a high rock, which is perforated quite through, so as to appear like the arch of a bridge. We saw none like this upon the whole coast †. The harbour has another distinguishing mark within, from a single stone or

any other. He had no idea that the French had visited this land a second time; and, reduced to the necessity of trying to accommodate what he saw himself to what little he had heard of their proceedings, he confounds a transaction which we, who have been better instructed, know, for a certainty, belongs to the second voyage, with a similar one, which his chart of the Southern Hemisphere has recorded, and which happened in a different year, and at a different place. The bay, indeed, in which Monsieur de Boisguehenneu landed is upon the west side of this land, considerably to the south of Cape Louis, and not far from another more southerly promontory, called Cape Bourbon; a part of the coast which our ships were not upon. A particular view of the Bay *du Lion Marin* (for so Boisguehenneu called it), with the soundings, is preserved by Kerguelen.

But if the bottle and inscription, found by Captain Cook's people, were not left here by Boisguehenneu, by whom and when were they left? This we learn most satisfactorily, from the accounts of Kerguelen's second voyage, as published by himself and Monsieur de Pagès, which present us with the following particulars:—That they arrived on the west side of this land on the 14th of December, 1773; that, steering to the north-east, they discovered, on the 16th, the *Isle de Réunion*, and the other small islands as mentioned above; that, on the 17th, they had before them the principal land (which they were sure was connected with that seen by them on the 14th), and a high point of that land named by them Cap François; that beyond this Cape the coast took a south-easterly direction, and behind it they found a bay, called by them *Baie de l'Oiseau*, from the name of their frigate; that they then endeavoured to enter it, but were prevented by contrary winds and blowing weather, which drove them off the coast eastward; but that, at last, on the 6th of January, Monsieur de Rosnevet, Captain of the Oiseau, was able to send his boat on shore into this bay, under the command of Monsieur de Rochegude, one of his officers, "who took possession of that bay, and of all that country, in the name of the King of France, with all the requisite formalities."

Here, then, we trace, by the most unexceptionable evidence, the history of the bottle and inscription; the leaving of which was, no doubt, one of the requisite formalities observed by Monsieur de Rochegude on this occasion. And though he did not land till the 6th of January 1774, yet, as Kerguelen's ships arrived upon the coast on the 14th of December, 1773, and had discovered and looked into this very bay on the 17th of that month, it was with the strictest propriety and truth that 1773, and not 1774 was mentioned as the date of the discovery.

We need only look at Kerguelen's and Cook's charts, to judge that the *Baie de l'Oiseau*, and the harbour where the French inscription was found, is one and the same place. But besides this agreement as to the general position, the same conclusion results more decisively still, from another circumstance worth mentioning: the French, as well as the English visitors of this bay and harbour, have given us a particular plan of it; and whoever compares ours, published in this volume, with that to be met with in Kerguelen's and De Pagès' voyages, must be struck with a resemblance that could only be produced by copying one common original with fidelity. Nay, even the soundings are the same upon the same spots in both plans, being forty-five fathoms between the two Capes, before the entrance of the bay; sixteen fathoms further in, where the shores begin to contract; and eight fathoms up, near the bottom of the harbour.

To these particulars, which throw abundant light on this part of our author's Journal, I shall only add, that the distance of our harbour from that where Boisguehenneu landed, in 1772, is forty leagues. For this we have the authority of Kerguelen, in the following passage:—"Monsieur de Boisguehenneu descendit le 13 de Février, 1772, dans un baie, qu'il nomme Baie du Lion Marin, et prit possession de cette terre au nom de Roi; il n'y vit aucune trace d'habitants. Monsieur de Rochegude, en 1774, a descendu dans un autre baie, que nous avons nommé Baie de l'Oiseau, et cette seconde rade est à quarantes lieues de la première. Il en a également pris possession, et il n'y trouva également aucune trace d'habitants."—Kerguelen, p. 92.

* Cap François, for reasons already assigned.

† If there could be the least doubt remaining of the identity of the Baie de l'Oiseau, and Christmas Harbour, the circumstance of the perforated rock, which divides it from another bay to the south, would amount to a strict demonstration. For Monsieur de Pagès had observed this discriminating mark before Captain Cook. His words are as follow:—"L'on vit que la côte de l'est

rock, of a vast size, which lies on the top of a hill on the south side, near its bottom; and opposite this, on the north side, there is another hill, much like it, but smaller. There is a small beach at its bottom, where we commonly landed; and, behind it, some gently rising ground, on the top of which is a large pool of fresh water. The land on both sides of the inlet is high, and it runs in west, and W.N.W., about two miles. Its breadth is one mile and a quarter, for more than half its length; above which, it is only half a mile. The depth of water, which is forty-five fathoms at the entrance, varies, as we proceed farther in, from thirty to five and four fathoms, as marked upon the plan. The shores are steep; and the bottom is everywhere a fine dark sand, except in some places close to the shore, where there are beds of sea-weed, which always grows on rocky ground. The head of the harbour lies open only to two points of the compass; and even these are covered by islands in the offing, so that no sea can fall in to hurt a ship. The appearances on shore confirmed this; for we found grass growing close to high-water mark, which is a sure sign of a pacific harbour *. It is high water here, at the full and change days, about ten o'clock; and the tide rises and falls about four feet. After I had finished this business of the inscription, I went, in my boat, round the harbour, and landed in several places, to examine what the shore afforded; and, particularly, to look for drift-wood. For, although the land here was totally destitute of trees, this might not be the case in other parts; and if there were any, the torrents would force some, or, at least, some branches, into the sea, which would afterward throw them upon the shores; as in all other countries where there is wood, and in many where there is none; but throughout the whole extent of the harbour I found not a single piece.

In the afternoon I went upon Cape St. Louis †, accompanied by Mr. King, my second lieutenant. I was in hopes, from this elevation, to have had a view of the sea-coast, and of the islands lying off it. But, when I got up, I found every distant object below me hid in a thick fog. The land on the same plain, or of a greater height, was visible enough, and appeared naked and desolate in the highest degree; except some hills to the southward, which were covered with snow.

When I got on board, I found the launch hoisted in, the ships unmoored, and ready to put to sea; but our sailing was deferred till five o'clock the next morning, when we weighed anchor.

voisine du Cap François, avoit deux baies; elles étoient séparées par une pointe très-reconnoissable par sa forme, qui représentoit une porte cochère, au travers de laquelle l'on voyait le jour."—Voyage du M. de Pagès, vol. ii. p. 67. Every one knows how exactly the form of a *porte cochère*, or arched gateway, corresponds with that of the arch of a bridge. It is very satisfactory to find the two navigators, neither of whom knew anything of the other's description, adopting the same idea; which both proves that they had the same uncommon object before their eyes, and that they made an accurate report.

* In the last note, we saw how remarkably Monsieur de Pagés and Captain Cook agree about the appearance of the south point of the harbour; I shall here subjoin another quotation from the former, containing his account of the harbour itself, in which the reader may trace the same distinguishing features observed by Captain Cook in the foregoing paragraph.

"Le 6, l'on mit à terre dans la première baie à l'est du Cap François, et l'on prit possession de ces contrées. Ce mouillage consiste en une petite rade, qui a environs quatres encablures, ou quatre cents toises de profondeur, sur un tiers en sus de largeur. En dedans de cette rade est un petit port, dont l'entrée, de quatres encablures de largeur, présente au sud-est. La sonde de la petite rade est depuis quarante-cinq jusqu'à trente brasses; et celle du port, depuis seize jusqu'à huit. Le fond des deux est de sable noir et vaseux. La côte des deux bords est haute, et par une pente très-rude; elle est couverte de verdure, et il y a une quantité prodigieuse d'outardes. Le fond du port est occupé par un monticule qui laisse entre lui et la mer une plage de sable. Une petite rivière, de très-bonne eau, coule à la mer dans cet endroit; et elle est fournie par un lac qui est un peu au loin, au-dessus du monticule. Il y avoit sur la plage beaucoup de pinguoins et de lions marins. Ces deux espèces d'animaux ne fuyoient pas, et l'on augura que le pays n'étoit point habité; la terre rapportoit de l'herbe large, noire, et bien nourrie, qui n'avoit cependant que cinque pouces ou plus de hauteur. L'on ne vit aucun arbre, ni signe d'habitation."—Voyage du Monsieur du Pagès, tom. ii. p. 69, 70.

† Cap François.

CHAPTER V.—DEPARTURE FROM CHRISTMAS HARBOUR.—RANGE ALONG THE COAST, TO DISCOVER ITS POSITION AND EXTENT.—SEVERAL PROMONTORIES AND BAYS, AND A PENINSULA, DESCRIBED AND NAMED.—DANGER FROM SHOALS.—ANOTHER HARBOUR AND A SOUND.—MR. ANDERSON'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE NATURAL PRODUCTIONS, ANIMALS, SOIL, ETC. OF KERGUELEN'S LAND.

As soon as the ships were out of Christmas Harbour, we steered S.E. ½ S., along the coast, with a fine breeze at N.N.W., and clear weather. This we thought the more fortunate, as, for some time past, fogs had prevailed, more or less, every day; and the continuance of them would have defeated our plan of extending Kerguelen's discovery. We kept the lead constantly going, but seldom struck ground with a line of fifty or sixty fathoms. About seven or eight o'clock, we were off a promontory, which I called Cape Cumberland. It lies a league and a half from the south point of Christmas Harbour, in the direction of S.E. ½ S. Between them is a bay with two arms, both of which seemed to afford good shelter for shipping. Off Cape Cumberland is a small but pretty high island, on the summit of which is a rock like a sentry-box, which occasioned our giving that name to the island. Two miles farther to the eastward, lies a group of small islands and rocks, with broken ground about them; we sailed between these and Sentry-Box Island, the channel being a full mile broad, and more than forty fathoms deep; for we found no bottom with that length of line.

Being through this channel, we discovered, on the south side of Cape Cumberland, a bay, running in three leagues to the westward. It is formed by this cape to the N., and by a promontory to the S., which I named Point Pringle, after my good friend Sir John Pringle, President of the Royal Society. The bottom of this bay was called Cumberland Bay; and it seemed to be disjoined from the sea, which washes the N.W. coast of this country, by a narrow neck of land. Appearances, at least, favoured such a conjecture. To the southward of Point Pringle, the coast is formed into a fifth bay; of which this point is the northern extreme; and from it to the southern extreme is about four miles in the direction of S.S.E. ½ E. In this bay, which obtained the name of White Bay, on account of some white spots of land or rocks in the bottom of it, are several lesser bays or coves, which seemed to be sheltered from all winds. Off the S. point are several rocks which raise their heads above water, and, probably, many more that do not.

Thus far our course was in a direction parallel to the coast, and not more than two miles from it. Thither our glasses were continually pointed; and we could easily see that, except the bottoms of the bays and coves, which, for the most part, terminated in sandy beaches, the shores were rocky, and, in many places, swarmed with birds; but the country had the same barren and naked appearance as in the neighbourhood of Christmas Harbour. We had kept on our larboard bow the land which first opened off Cape St. Louis *, in the direction of S. 53° E., thinking that it was an island, and that we should find a passage between it and the main. We now discovered this to be a mistake, and found that it was a peninsula, joined to the rest of the coast by a low isthmus. I called the bay, formed by this peninsula, Repulse Bay; and a branch of it seemed to run a good way inland towards the S.S.W. Leaving this, we steered for the northern point of the peninsula, which we named Howe's Foreland, in honour of Admiral Lord Howe. As we drew near it, we perceived some rocks and breakers near the N.W. part, and two islands a league and a half to the eastward of it, which, at first, appeared as one. I steered between them and the Foreland †, and was in the middle of the channel by noon. At that time our latitude, by observation, was 48° 51′ S., and we had made twenty-six miles of E. longitude from Cape St. Louis ‡.

* Cap François.

† Though Kerguelen's ships, in 1773, did not venture to explore this part of the coast, Monsieur de Pagés' account of it answers well to Captain Cook's. "Du 17 au 23, l'on ne prit d'autre connoissance que celle de la figure de la côte, qui, courant d'abord au S.E., et revenant ensuite au N.E., formoit un grand golfe. Il étoit occupé par des brisans et des rochers; il avoit aussi une isle basse, et assez étendue, et l'on usa d'une bien soigneuse précaution, pour ne pas s'affaler dans ce golfe."—Voyage de M. de Pagés, tom. ii. p. 67.

‡ Cap François.

From this situation, the most advanced land to the southward bore S.E.; but the trending of the coast from the foreland was more southerly. The islands which lie off Christmas Harbour bore N.; and the N. point of the foreland, N. 60° W., distant three miles. The land of this peninsula, or foreland, is of a moderate height, and of a hilly and rocky substance. The coast is low, with rocky points shooting out from it; between which points are little coves, with sandy beaches; and these, at this time, were mostly covered with sea-birds. We also saw upon them some seals. As soon as we were clear of the rocks and islands before mentioned, I gave orders to steer S.E. by S., along the coast. But before these orders could be carried into execution, we discovered the whole sea before us to be checkered with large beds of rock-weed, which we knew to be fast to the bottom, and to grow on rocky shoals. I had often found a great depth of water on such shoals; and I had as often found rocks that have raised their heads nearly to the surface of the water. It is always dangerous, therefore, to sail over them before they are well examined; but more especially, when there is no surge of the sea to discover the danger. This was the case at present, for the sea was as smooth as a mill-pond. Consequently we endeavoured to avoid them, by steering through the winding channels by which they were separated. We kept the lead continually going, but never struck ground with a line of sixty fathoms. This circumstance increased the danger, as we could not anchor, whatever necessity there might be for it. After running in this manner above an hour, we discovered a lurking rock just even with the surface of the sea. It bore N.E. ½ E., distant three or four miles, and lay in the middle of one of these large beds of weeds. This was a sufficient warning to make us use every precaution to prevent our coming upon them.

We were now across the mouth of a large bay, that lies about eight miles to the southward of Howe's Foreland. In and before the entrance of this bay are several low islands, rocks, and those beds of sea-weed. But there seemed to be winding channels between them. After continuing our course half an hour longer, we were so much embarrassed with these shoals, that I resolved to haul off to the eastward, as the likeliest means of extricating ourselves from the danger that threatened us. But so far was this from answering the intended purpose, that it brought us into more. I therefore found it absolutely necessary to secure the ships, if possible, in some place before night, especially as the weather had now become hazy, and a fog was apprehended. And seeing some inlets to the south-west of us, I ordered Captain Clerke, as the Discovery drew less water than the Resolution, to lead in for the shore; which was accordingly done.

In standing in, it was not possible to avoid running over the edges of some of the shoals, on which we found from ten to twenty fathoms water; and the moment we were over, had no ground at the depth of fifty fathoms. After making a few boards to weather a spit that ran out from an island on our lee, Captain Clerke made the signal for having discovered a harbour; in which, about five o'clock, we anchored in fifteen fathoms water, over a bottom of fine dark sand, about three-quarters of a mile from the shore; the north point of the harbour bearing N. by E. ½ E., one mile distant; and the small islands in the entrance, within which we anchored, extending from E. to S.E. Scarcely were the ships secured, when it began to blow very strong; so that we thought it prudent to strike top-gallant yards. The weather, however, continued fair; and the wind dispersing the fog that had settled on the hills, it was tolerably clear also. The moment, therefore, we had anchored, I hoisted out two boats; in one of which I sent Mr. Bligh, the master, to survey the upper part of the harbour, and look for wood; for not a shrub was to be seen from the ship. I also desired Captain Clerke to send his master to sound the channel that is on the south side of the small isles, between them and a pretty large island which lies near the south point of the harbour. Having given these directions, I went myself, in my other boat, accompanied by Mr. Gore, my first lieutenant, and Mr. Bailey, and landed on the north point, to see what I could discover from thence.

From the highest hill over the point, we had a pretty good view of the sea-coast, as far as Howe's Foreland. It is much indented, and several rocky points seemed to shoot out from it, with coves and inlets of unequal extent. One of the latter, the end of which I could not see, was disjoined from that in which the ships were at anchor, by the point we

then stood upon. A great many small islands, rocks, and breakers appeared scattered along the coast, as well to the southward as northward; and I saw no better channel to get out of the harbour than by the one through which we had entered it.

While Mr. Bailey and I were making the observations, Mr. Gore encompassed the hill, and joined us by a different route, at the place where I had ordered the boat to wait for us. Except the craggy precipices, we met with nothing to obstruct our walk. For the country was, if possible, more barren and desolate than about Christmas Harbour. And yet, if there be the least fertility in any part of this land, we ought to have found it in this, which is completely sheltered from the predominating bleak southerly and westerly winds. I observed, with regret, that there was neither food nor covering for cattle of any sort; and that if I left any, they must inevitably perish. In the little cove where the boat waited for us (which I called Penguin Cove, as the beach was covered with these birds), is a fine rivulet of fresh water, that may be easily come at. Here were also some large seals, shags, and a few ducks; and Mr. Bailey had a transient sight of a very small land-bird; but it flew amongst the rocks, and we lost it. About nine o'clock we got on board. Soon after, Mr. Bligh returned, and reported that he had been four miles up the harbour, and, as he judged, not far from the head of it. He found that its direction was W.S.W.; and that its breadth, a little above the ships, did not exceed a mile, but grew narrower towards the head. The soundings were very irregular, being from thirty-seven to ten fathoms; and, except under the beds of sea-weed, which in many places extended from the shore near half channel over, the bottom was a fine sand. He landed on both shores, which he found barren and rocky, without the least signs of tree or shrub, and with very little verdure of any kind. Penguins, and other oceanic birds and seals, occupied part of the coast, but not in such numbers as at Christmas Harbour.

Finding no encouragement to continue our researches, and the next morning both wind and weather being favourable, I weighed anchor and put to sea. To this harbour I gave the name of Port Palliser, in honour of my worthy friend Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser. It is situated in the latitude of 49° 3′ S., in the longitude of 69° 37′ E., and five leagues from Howe's Foreland, in the direction of S. 25° E. There are several islands, rocks, and breakers lying in and without the entrance, for which the annexed chart* of the coast and sketch of the harbour may be consulted. We went in and out between them and the north head; but I have no doubt that there are other channels.

As we were standing out of Port Palliser, we discovered a round hill, like a sugar-loaf, in the direction of S. 72° E., about nine leagues distant. It had the appearance of an island lying at some distance from the coast; but we afterwards found it was upon the mainland. In getting out to sea, we had to steer through the winding channels amongst the shoals. However, we ventured to run over some of them, on which we never found less than eighteen fathoms, and often did not strike ground with twenty-four; so that, had it not been for the sea-weed growing upon all of them, they would not have been discovered. After we had got about three or four leagues from the coast, we found a clear sea, and then steered east till nine o'clock, when the Sugar-loaf hill, above mentioned, which I named Mount Campbell, bore S.E., and a small island that lies to the northward of it, S.S.E., distant four leagues. I now steered more southerly, in order to get in with the land. At noon, the latitude by double altitudes was 49° 8′ S.; and we had made eighty miles of E. longitude from Cape St. Louis †. Mount Campbell bore S. 47° W., distant about four leagues; a low point, beyond which no land was to be seen, bore S.S.E., at the distance of about twenty miles; and we were about two leagues from the shore.

The land here is low and level ‡. The mountains ending about five leagues from the low point, a great extent of low land is left, on which Mount Campbell is situated, about four miles from the foot of the mountains, and one from the sea-coast. These mountains have a considerable elevation, as also most of the inland ones. They seemed to be composed of naked

* See the quarto edition. † Cap François.

‡ This part of the coast seems to be what the French saw on the 5th of January, 1774. Monsieur de Pagés speaks of it thus. "Nous reconnumes une nouvelle côte étendue de toute vue dans l'est, et dans le ouest. Les terres de cette côte étoient moins élevées que celles que nous avions vues jusques ici; elles étoient aussi d'un aspect moins rude."—De Pagés, tom. ii. p. 68.

rocks, whose summits were capped with snow. Nor did the valleys appear to greater advantage. To whatever quarter we directed our glasses, nothing but sterility was to be seen.

We had scarcely finished taking the bearings at noon, before we observed low land opening off the low point just mentioned, in the direction of S.S.E., and eight miles beyond it. This new point proved to be the very eastern extremity of this land, and it was named Cape Digby. It is situated in the latitude of 49° 23′ S., and in the longitude of 70° 34′ E. Between Howe's Foreland and Cape Digby, the shore forms (besides the several lesser bays and harbours) one great bay that extends several leagues to the south-west, where it seemed to lose itself in various arms running in between the mountains. A prodigious quantity of sea-weed grows all over it, which seemed to be the same sort of weed that Mr. Banks distinguished by the name of *Fucus giganteus* *. Some of this weed is of a most enormous length, though the stem is not much thicker than a man's thumb. I have mentioned, that on some of the shoals upon which it grows, we did not strike ground with a line of twenty-four fathoms. the depth of water, therefore, must have been greater. And as this weed does not grow in a perpendicular direction, but makes a very acute angle with the bottom, and much of it afterwards spreads many fathoms on the surface of the sea, I am well warranted to say, that some of it grows to the length of sixty fathoms and upward.

At one o'clock (having run two leagues upon a S.E. ½ E. course, from noon) we sounded, and found eighteen fathoms water, and a bottom of fine sand. Seeing a small bending in the coast, on the north side of Cape Digby, I steered for it. It was my intention to anchor there, if I should find it might be done with safety, and to land on the Cape, to examine what the low land within it produced. After running in one league, we sounded again, and found thirteen fathoms; and, immediately after, saw a shoal right before us, that seemed to extend off from the shore, from which we were distant about two miles. This discovery obliged us to haul off, E. by S., one league, where our depth of water increased to twenty-five fathoms. We then steered along shore, and continued in the same depth, over a bottom of fine sand, till Cape Digby bore west, two leagues distant, when we found twenty-six fathoms.

After this we did not strike ground, though we tried several times; but the ship having a good deal of way, ran the line out before the lead could reach the bottom; and being disappointed in my views, both of anchoring and of landing, I would not shorten sail, but pushed forward, in order to see as much of the coast as possible before night. From Cape Digby, it trends nearly S.W. by S. for about four or five leagues, or to a low point, to which, in honour of her Majesty, I gave the name of Point Charlotte; and it is the southernmost on the low coast. Six leagues from Cape Digby, in the direction of S.S.W. ½ W., is a pretty high projecting point, which was called Prince of Wales's Foreland; and six leagues beyond that, in the same direction, and in the latitude of 49° 54′ S., and the longitude of 70° 13′ E., is the most southerly point of the whole coast, which I distinguished by the name of Cape George, in honour of his Majesty.

Between Point Charlotte and Prince of Wales's Foreland, where the country to the south-west began again to be hilly, is a deep inlet, which was called Royal Sound. It runs in west, quite to the foot of the mountains which bound it on the south-west, as the low land before mentioned does on the north. There are islands lying in the entrance, and others higher up, as far as we could distinguish. As we advanced to the south, we observed, on the south-west side of Prince of Wales's Foreland, another inlet into Royal Sound; and it then appeared that the Foreland was the east point of a large island lying in the mouth of it. There are several small islands in this inlet, and one about a league to the southward of Prince of Wales's Foreland. All the land on the south-west side of Royal Sound, quite to Cape George, is composed of elevated hills, that rise directly from the sea, one behind another, to a considerable height. Most of the summits were capped with snow, and they appeared as naked and barren as any we had seen. The smallest vestige of a tree or shrub was not discoverable, either inland or on the coast; and I think I may venture to pronounce that the country produces none. The low land about Cape Digby, when examined through our glasses, resembled the rest of the low land we had before met with; that is, it appeared to

* See vol. i. p. 20.

be partly naked and partly covered with a green turf, a description of which shall be given in its proper place. The shore is composed of sandy beaches, on which were many penguins and other oceanic birds; and an immense number of shags kept perpetually flying about the ships as we sailed along.

Being desirous of getting the length of Cape George, to be assured whether or not it was the most southerly point of the whole land, I continued to stretch to the south, under all the sail we could carry, till half an hour past seven o'clock; when, seeing no likelihood of accomplishing my design, as the wind had, by this time, shifted to W.S.W., the very direction in which we wanted to go, I took the advantage of the shifting of the wind, and stood away from the coast. At this time Cape George bore south 53° W. distant about seven leagues. A small island that lies off the pitch of the Cape was the only land we could see to the south of it; and we were farther confirmed that there was no more in that quarter, by a south-west swell which we met as soon as we brought the Cape to bear in this direction. But we have still a stronger proof that no part of this land can extend much, if at all, to the southward of Cape George; and that is, Captain Furneaux's tract in February 1773, after his separation from me during my late voyage. His log-book is now lying before me; and I find from it, that he crossed the meridian of this land only about seventeen leagues to the southward of Cape George; a distance at which it may very well be seen in clear weather. This seems to have been the case when Captain Furneaux passed it. For his log-book makes no mention of fogs or hazy weather; on the contrary, it expressly tells us, that, when in this situation, they had it in their power to make observations, both for latitude and longitude, on board his ship; so that, if this land extends farther south than Cape George, it would have been scarcely possible that he should have passed without seeing it. From these circumstances we are able to determine, within a very few miles, the quantity of latitude that this land occupies; which does not much exceed one degree and a quarter. As to its extent from east to west, that still remains undecided. We only know, that no part of it can reach so far to the west as the meridian of 65°; because, in 1773, under that meridian I searched for it in vain*. The French discoverers, with some reason, imagined Cape St. Louis† to be the projecting point of a southern continent. The English have since proved that no such continent exists, and that the land in question is an island of no great extent‡; which, from its sterility, I should, with great propriety, call the Island of Desolation, but that I would not rob Monsieur de Kerguelen of the honour of its bearing his name§.

* If the French observations, as marked upon Captain Cook's chart, and still more authentically upon that published by their own discoverers, may be depended upon, this land doth not reach so far to the west as the meridian of 68°; Cap Louis, which is represented as its most westerly point, being laid down by them to the east of that meridian.

† The idea of Cap Louis being this projecting point of a southern continent, must have soon vanished, as Cap François, within a year after, was found, by the same discoverer, to lie above one third of a degree farther north upon the same land. But if Kerguelen entertained any such imagination at first, we are sure that at present he thinks very differently. This appears from the following explicit declaration of his sentiments, which deserves to be transcribed from his late publication, as it does equal honour to his candour, and to Captain Cook's abilities. "La terre que j'ai découverte est certainement une isle; puisque le célèbre Capitaine Cook a passé au sud, lors de son premier voyage, sans rien rencontrer. Je juge même, que cette isle n'est pas bien grande. Il y a aussi apparence, d'après le Voyage de Monsieur Cook, que toute cette étendue de mers méridionales est semée d'isles ou de rochers, mais qu'il n'y a ni continent ni grande terre."—Kerguelen, p. 92.

‡ Kerguelen, as we see in the last note, concurs with Captain Cook as to this. However, he tells us, that he has reason to believe that it is about two hundred leagues in circuit; and that he was acquainted with about four-score leagues of its coast. "J'en connois environs quatre vingt lieues des côtes; et j'ai lieu de croire, qu'elle a environs deux cents lieues de circuit."—Kerguelen, ibid.

§ Some of Monsieur de Kerguelen's own countrymen seem more desirous than we are, to rob him of this honour. It is very remarkable that Monsieur de Pagés never once mentions the name of his commander. And, though he takes occasion to enumerate the several French explorers of the southern hemisphere, from Gonneville down to Crozet, he affects to preserve an entire silence about Kerguelen, whose first voyage, in which the discovery of this considerable tract of land was made, is kept as much out of sight as if it never had taken place. Nay, not satisfied with refusing to acknowledge the right of another, he almost assumes it to himself. For, upon a map of the World, annexed to his book, at the spot where the new land is delineated, we read this inscription: "Isles nouvelles Australes vues par Monsieur de Pagès, en 1774." He could scarcely have expressed himself in stronger terms, if he had meant to convey an idea that he was the conductor of the discovery. And yet we know, that he was only a lieutenant [enseigne de vaisseau] on board one of the three ships commanded by Kerguelen; and that the discovery had been already made in a former voyage, undertaken while he was actually engaged in his singular journey round the world.

After all, it cannot but be remarked that Kerguelen was peculiarly unfortunate, in having done so little to

Mr. Anderson, my surgeon, who, as I have already mentioned, had made natural history a part of his studies, lost no opportunity, during the short time we lay in Christmas Harbour, of searching the country in every direction. He afterwards communicated to me the observations he made on its natural productions; and I shall insert them here in his own words:—"Perhaps no place, hitherto discovered in either hemisphere, under the same parallel of latitude, affords so scanty a field for the naturalist as this barren spot. The verdure which appears, when at a little distance from the shore, would flatter one with the expectation of meeting with some herbage; but in this we were much deceived. For on landing, we saw that this lively colour was occasioned only by one small plant, not much unlike some sorts of *Saxifrage*, which grows in large spreading tufts, to a considerable way up the hills. It forms a surface of a pretty large texture, and grows on a kind of rotten turf, into which one sinks a foot or two at every step. This turf, dried, might in cases of necessity serve for fuel, and is the only thing we met with here that could possibly be applied to this use.

"There is another plant, plentifully enough scattered about the boggy declivities, which grows to near the height of two feet, and not much unlike a small cabbage, when it has shot into seeds. The leaves about the root are numerous, large, and rounded; narrower at the base, and ending in a small point. Those on the stalks are much smaller, oblong, and pointed. The stalks, which are often three or four, all rise separately from the root, and run into long cylindrical heads, composed of small flowers. It has not only the appearance, but the watery acrid taste of the antiscorbutic plants, and yet differs materially from the whole tribe; so that we looked upon it as a production entirely peculiar to the place. We ate it frequently raw, and found it almost like the New Zealand scurvy-grass. But it seemed to acquire a rank flavour by being boiled; which, however, some of our people did not perceive, and esteemed it good. If it could be introduced into our kitchen-gardens, it would, in all probability, improve so far by cultivation as to be an excellent pot-herb. At this time, none of its seeds were ripe enough to be preserved, and brought home, to try the experiment. Two other small plants were found near the brooks and boggy places, which were eaten as salad; the one almost like garden cresses, and very fiery; and the other very mild. This last, though but small, is in itself a curiosity; having not only male and female, but what the botanists call *androgynous* plants.

"A coarse grass, which we cut down for the cattle, grows pretty plentifully in a few small spots about the sides of the harbour, with a smaller sort which is rarer; and, upon the flat ground, a sort of goose-grass, and another small plant much like it. In short, the whole catalogue of plants does not exceed sixteen or eighteen, including some sorts of moss, and a beautiful species of *lichen*, which grows upon the rocks, higher up than the rest of the vegetable productions. Nor is there even the least appearance of a shrub in the whole country.

"Nature has rather been more bountiful in furnishing it with animals; though, strictly speaking, they are not inhabitants of the place, being all of the marine kind; and, in general, only using the land for breeding, and for a resting-place. The most considerable are seals, or (as we used to call them) sea-bears; being that sort called the ursine seal. These come ashore to rest or breed; but they were not very numerous, which is not to be wondered at, as it is known that these animals rather frequent out-rocks, and little islands lying off coasts, than bays or inlets. They were, at this time, shedding their hair, and so tame, that we killed what number we chose. No other quadruped, either of the sea or of the land kind, was seen; but a great number of birds, viz., ducks, petrels, albatrosses, shags, gulls, and sea-swallows.

"The ducks are about the size of a teal or widgeon, but somewhat different in colour from either. They were in tolerable plenty about the sides of the hills, or even lower; and we killed a considerable number, which were good, and without the least fishy taste. We met with some of the same sort at the island of Georgia, in our late voyage. The Cape

complete what he had begun. He discovered a new land indeed; but, in two expeditions to it, he could not once bring the ships to an anchor upon any part of its coasts. Captain Cook, as we have seen in this, and in the foregoing chapter, had either fewer difficulties to struggle with, or was more successful in surmounting them.

petrel, or Pintado bird; the small blue one, which is always seen at sea, and the small black one, or Mother Carey's chicken, are not here in great numbers. But we found a nest of the first with an egg in it, about the size of a pullet's; and the second, though scarce, was met with in some holes like rabbit-burrows. Another sort, which is the largest of all the petrels, and called by the seamen Mother Carey's goose, is in greater numbers, and so tame, that at first we could kill them with a stick upon the beach. They are not inferior in size to an albatross, and are carnivorous, feeding on the dead carcasses of seals or birds that were thrown into the sea. Their colour is a sooty brown, with a greenish bill and feet; and, doubtless, they are the same that the Spaniards call *quebrantahuessos*, whose head is figured in Pernetty's Voyage to Falkland Islands.

"Of the albatrosses, none were found on shore except the grey one, which is commonly met with at sea in the higher southern latitudes. Once I saw one of these sitting in the cliff of a rock, but they were frequently flying about the harbour; and the common large sort, as well as a smaller with a black face, were seen farther out.

"Penguins form, by far, the greatest number of birds here, and are of three sorts: The first, or largest, I have seen formerly at the island of Georgia*. It is also mentioned by Bougainville†; but it does not seem to be so solitary as he represents it, for we found considerable numbers flocking together. The head is black, the upper part of the body a leaden grey, and the under part white, with black feet. It has two broad stripes of fine yellow, that begin on the sides of the head, and descending by each side of the neck, meet above its breast. The bill is partly reddish, and longer than in the other sorts. The second sort of penguin scarcely exceeds half the size of the former. The upper part of the body is a blackish grey, with a white spot on the upper part of the head, growing broader at each side. The bill and feet are yellowish. A very accurate figure and description, both of this and of the preceding, is given by M. Sonnerat‡. The third sort of penguin met with here had never been seen by any of us before. Its length is twenty-four inches, and its breadth twenty. The upper part of the body and throat are black; the rest white, except the upper part of the head, which has a fine yellow arch, looking backward, and ending on each side in long soft feathers, which it can erect as two crests. The two first sorts were found together on the beach; the large ones keeping by themselves, and walking in small flocks amongst the others, which were more numerous, and were sometimes seen a considerable way up the sides of the hills. The third sort were only found by themselves, but in great numbers, on the outer shores of the harbour. They were breeding at this time; and they lay, on the bare stones, only one white egg, larger than that of a duck. All the three sorts of penguins were so tame, that we took as many as we pleased with our hands.

"The shags of this place are of two sorts; the lesser cormorant or water-crow, and another, which is black above, with a white belly; the same that is found in New Zealand, Terra del Fuego, and the island of Georgia. We also met with here the common sea-gull, sea-swallow, tern, and Port Egmont hen; the last of which were tame and numerous. Another sort of white bird, flocks of which flew about the bay, is very singular, having the base of the bill covered with a horny crust §. It is larger than a pigeon, with the bill black and the feet white, made like those of a curlew. Some of our people put it in competition with the duck as food.

"The seine was hauled once; but we found only a few fish about the size of a small haddock, though quite different from any we knew. The snout is lengthened, the head armed with some strong spines, the rays of the back fin long, and very strong; the belly is large, and the body without scales. The only shell-fish are a few limpets and muscles; and amongst the stones a few small star-fish and sea-anemones were found.

"The hills are of a moderate height; yet many of their tops were covered with snow at this time, though answering to our June. Some of them have large quantities of stones, irregularly heaped together at their foot, or on their sides. The sides of others, which form steep cliffs towards the sea, are rent from the top downward, and seem ready to fall off,

* Pennant's Patagonian penguin. See his Genera of Birds, tab. 14, p. 66.

† Voyage autour du Monde, p. 69.

‡ Voyage à la Nouvelle Guinée, p. 181, 182; tab. 113. 115.

§ The sheath-bill.—See Pennant's Genera of Birds, p. 43.

and the small
ve found a nest
though scarce,
largest of all
numbers, and
are not inferior
of seals or birds
reenish bill and
sos, whose head

ch is commonly
se sitting in the
e common large

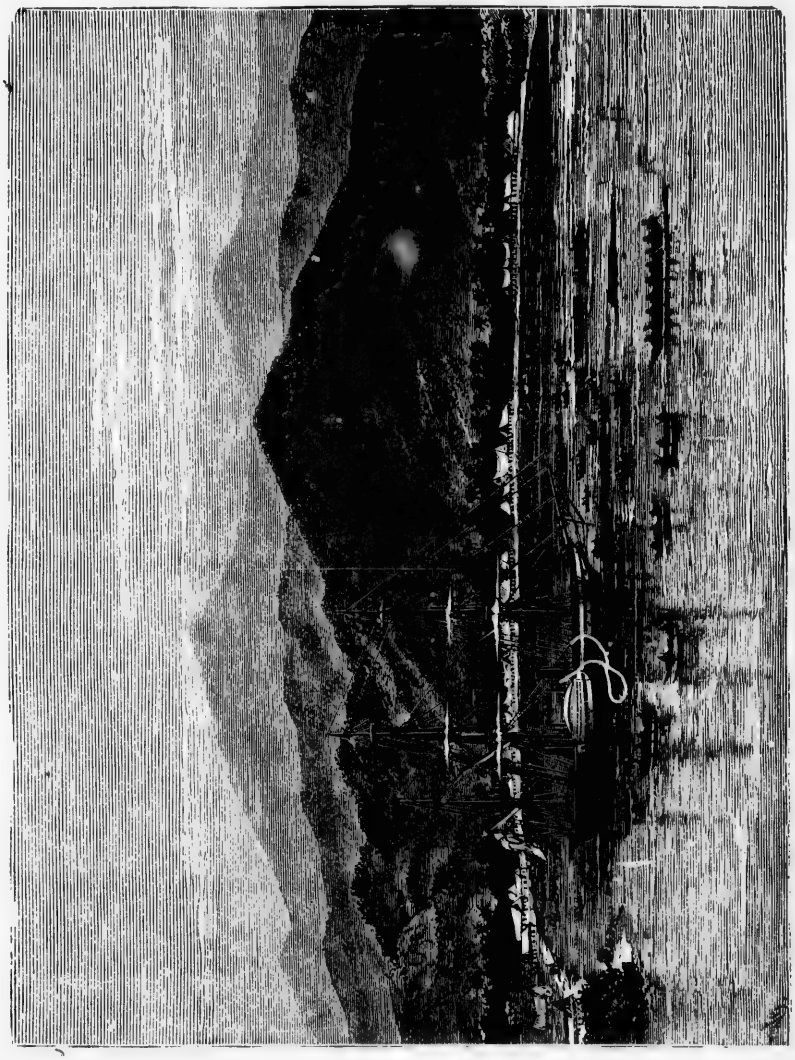
ree sorts: The
mentioned by
t, for we found
art of the body
d stripes of fine
f the neck, meet
ts. The second
rt of the body is
broader at each
ion, both of this
n met with here
, and its breadth
white, except the
d ending on each
sorts were found
g in small flocks
en a considerable
ves, but in great
time; and they
. All the three
ur hands.
row, and another,
v Zealand, Terra
non sea-gull, sea-
merous. Another
ving the base of
he bill black and
competition with

a small haddock,
head armed with
elly is large, and
es; and amongst

red with snow at
ntities of stones,
hers, which form
ready to fall off,

ée, p. 181, 182; tab.

Genera of Birds, p. 43.



DISCOVERY BAY, NEW GUINEA.

[*Cook's Voyages.*

Plate XV.]

having stones of a considerable size lying in the fissures. Some were of opinion that frost might be the cause of these fissures, which I shall not dispute; but how others of the appearances could be effected, but by earthquakes, or some such severe shocks, I cannot say. It appears that rain must be almost constant here, not only from the marks of large torrents having rushed down, but from the disposition of the country, which, even on the hills, is almost an entire bog or swamp, the ground sinking at every step.

"The rocks, or foundations of the hills, are composed chiefly of a dark blue, and very hard stone, intermixed with small particles of glimmer or quartz. This seems to be one of the most universal productions of nature, as it constitutes whole mountains in Sweden, in Scotland, at the Canary Islands, the Cape of Good Hope, and at this place. Another brownish, brittle stone forms here some considerable rocks; and one which is blacker, and found in detached pieces, incloses bits of coarse quartz. A red, a dull yellow, and a purplish sandstone, are also found in small pieces; and pretty large lumps of semi-transparent quartz, disposed irregularly in polyedral pyramidal crystals of long shining fibres. Some small pieces of the common sort are met with in the brooks, made round by attrition, but none hard enough to resist a file. Nor were any of the other stones acted on by aqua fortis, or attracted by the magnet. Nothing that had the least appearance of an ore or metal was seen."

CHAPTER VI. — PASSAGE FROM KERGUELEN'S TO VAN DIEMEN'S LAND. — ARRIVAL IN ADVENTURE BAY. — INCIDENTS THERE. — INTERVIEWS WITH THE NATIVES. — THEIR PERSONS AND DRESS DESCRIBED. — ACCOUNT OF THEIR BEHAVIOUR. — TABLE OF THE LONGITUDE, LATITUDE, AND VARIATION. — MR. ANDERSON'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE NATURAL PRODUCTIONS OF THE COUNTRY, ON THE INHABITANTS, AND THEIR LANGUAGE.

After leaving Kerguelen's Land, I steered E. by N., intending, in obedience to my instructions, to touch next at New Zealand, to recruit our water, to take in wood, and to make hay for the cattle. Their number, by this time, had been considerably diminished; two young bulls, one of the heifers, two rams, and several of the goats, having of late died, while we were employed in exploring this desolate coast. The 31st, in the morning, being the day after we stood out to sea, we had several observations of the sun and moon. Their results gave the longitude 72° 33′ 36″ E. The time-keeper, in this situation, gave 72° 38′ 15″. These observations were the more useful, as we had not been able to get any for some time before, and they now served to assure us that no material error had crept into the time-keeper.

On the 1st of January, being then in the latitude of 48° 41′ S., longitude 76° 50′ E., the variation was 30° 39′ W.; and the next day, in the latitude of 48° 22′ S., longitude 80° 22′ E., it was 30° 47′ 18″ W. This was the greatest variation we found in this passage; for afterward it began to decrease, but so slowly, that on the 3d, in the evening, being then in the latitude of 48° 16′ S., longitude 85° E., it was 29° 38′ W.

Thus far we had fresh gales from the W. and S.W., and tolerably clear weather. But now the wind veered to the N., where it continued eight days, and was attended with a thick fog. During this time we ran above three hundred leagues in the dark. Now and then the weather would clear up, and give us a sight of the sun; but this happened very seldom, and was always of short continuance. On the 7th, I hoisted out a boat, and sent an order to Captain Clerke, appointing Adventure Bay, in Van Diemen's Land, as our place of rendezvous, in case of separation, before we arrived in the meridian of that land. But we were fortunate enough, amidst all this foggy weather, by frequently firing guns as signals, though we seldom saw each other, not to lose company.

On the 12th, being in the latitude of 48° 40′ S., longitude 110° 26′ E., the northerly winds ended in a calm, which, after a few hours, was succeeded by a wind from the southward. This, with rain, continued for twenty-four hours, when it freshened, and veered to the west and north-west, and brought on fair and clear weather. We continued our course to the

eastward, without meeting with anything worthy of notice, till four o'clock in the morning of the 19th, when, in a sudden squall of wind, though the Discovery received no damage, our fore-top-mast went by the board, and carried the main-top-gallant-mast with it. This occasioned some delay, as it took us up the whole day to clear the wreck, and to fit another topmast. The former was accomplished without losing any part of it, except a few fathoms of small rope. Not having a spare main-top-gallant-mast on board, the fore-top-gallant-mast was converted into one for our immediate use.

The wind continued westerly, blew a fresh gale, and was attended with clear weather; so that scarcely a day passed without being able to get observations for fixing the longitude and the variation of the compass. The latter decreased in such a manner, that in the latitude of 44° 18′ S., longitude 132° 2′ E., it was no more than 5° 34′ 18″ W.; and on the 22d, being then in the latitude of 43° 27′ S., longitude 141° 50′ E., it was 1° 24′ 15″ E. So that we had crossed the line where the compass has no variation.

On the 24th, at three o'clock in the morning, we discovered the coast of Van Diemen's Land, bearing N. ½ W. At four o'clock, the south-west Cape bore N.N.W. ½ W.; and the Mewstone, N.E. by E. three leagues distant. There are several islands and high rocks lying scattered along this part of the coast, the southernmost of which is the Mewstone. It is a round, elevated rock, five or six leagues distant from the south-west Cape, in the direction of S. 55° E. At noon, our latitude was 43° 47′ S., longitude 147° E.; and the situation of the lands round us, as follows: An elevated round-topped hill bore N. 17° W.; the south-west Cape, N. 74° W.; the Mewstone, W. ½ N.; Swilly Isle or Rock, S. 49° E.; and the south-east or South Cape, N. 40° E., distant near three leagues. The land between the south-west and the south capes is broken and hilly, the coast winding, with points shooting out from it; but we were too far off to be able to judge whether the bays formed by these points were sheltered from the sea-winds. The bay, which appeared to be the largest and deepest, lies to the westward of the peaked hill above mentioned The variation of the compass here was 5° 15′ E.

At six o'clock in the afternoon we sounded, and found sixty fathoms water, over a bottom of broken coral and shells. The South Cape then bore N. 75° W., two or three leagues distant; Tasman's Head, N.E.; and Swilly Rock, S. by W. ½ W. About a league to the eastward of Swilly is another elevated rock, that is not taken notice of by Captain Furneaux. I called it the Eddystone, from its very great resemblance to that lighthouse. Nature seems to have left these two rocks here for the same purpose that the Eddystone lighthouse was built by man, viz., to give navigators notice of the dangers around them: for they are the conspicuous summits of a ledge of rocks under water, on which the sea in many places breaks very high. Their surface is white with the dung of sea-fowls, so that they may be seen at some distance, even in the night. On the north-east side of Storm Bay, which lies between the South Cape and Tasman's Head, there are some coves or creeks, that seemed to be sheltered from the sea-winds; and I am of opinion, that were this coast examined, there would be found some good harbours.

Soon after we had sight of land, the westerly winds left us, and were succeeded by variable light airs and alternate calms till the 26th at noon. At that time a breeze sprung up and freshened at south-east, which put it in my power to carry into execution the design I had, upon due consideration, formed, of carrying the ships into Adventure Bay, where I might expect to get a supply of wood, and of grass for the cattle; of both which articles we should, as I now found, have been in great want, if I had waited till our arrival in New Zealand. We therefore stood for the bay, and anchored in it at four o'clock in the afternoon, in twelve fathoms water, over a bottom of sand and ooze. Penguin Island, which lies close to the east point of the bay, bore N. 84° E.; the southernmost point of Maria's Islands bore N. 76° ½ E; and Cape Frederic Henry, or the north point of the bay, bore N. 33° E. Our distance from the nearest shore was about three quarters of a mile.

As soon as we had anchored, I ordered the boats to be hoisted out. In one of them I went myself, to look for the most commodious place for furnishing ourselves with the necessary supplies; and Captain Clerke went in his boat upon the same service. Wood and water we found in plenty, and in situations convenient enough, especially the first: but grass, of which

we stood most in need, was scarce, and also very coarse. Necessity, however, obliged us to take such as we could get.

Next morning early, I sent Lieutenant King to the east side of the bay, with two parties one to cut wood, and the other to cut grass, under the protection of the marines, whom I judged it prudent to land as a guard. For although, as yet, none of the natives had appeared, there could be no doubt that some were in our neighbourhood, as we had seen columns of smoke from the time of our approaching the coast, and some now was observed at no great distance up in the woods. I also sent the launch for water, and afterwards visited all the parties myself. In the evening we drew the seine at the head of the bay, and, at one haul, caught a great quantity of fish. We should have got many more, had not the net broken in drawing it ashore: most of them were of that sort known to seamen by the name of elephant fish. After this, every one repaired on board with what wood and grass we had cut, that we might be ready to sail whenever the wind should serve. This not happening next morning, the people were sent on shore again, on the same duty as the day before. I also employed the carpenter, with part of his crew, to cut some spars for the use of the ship; and despatched Mr. Roberts, one of the mates, in a small boat, to survey the bay.

In the afternoon, we were agreeably surprised, at the place where we were cutting wood, with a visit from some of the natives; eight men and a boy. They approached us from the woods, without betraying any marks of fear, or rather with the greatest confidence imaginable; for none of them had any weapons, except one, who held in his hand a stick about two feet long, and pointed at one end. They were quite naked, and wore no ornaments; unless we consider as such, and as a proof of their love of finery, some large punctures or ridges raised on different parts of their bodies, some in straight, and others in curved lines. They were of the common stature, but rather slender. Their skin was black, and also their hair, which was as woolly as that of any native of Guinea; but they were not distinguished by remarkably thick lips nor flat noses. On the contrary, their features were far from being disagreeable. They had pretty good eyes; and their teeth were tolerably even, but very dirty. Most of them had their hair and beards smeared with a red ointment; and some had their faces also painted with the same composition.

They received every present we made to them without the least appearance of satisfaction. When some bread was given, as soon as they understood that it was to be eaten, they either returned it, or threw it away, without even tasting it. They also refused some elephant fish, both raw and dressed, which we offered to them. But upon giving some birds to them, they did not return these, and easily made us comprehend that they were fond of such food. I had brought two pigs ashore, with a view to leave them in the woods. The instant these came within their reach, they seized them, as a dog would have done, by the ears, and were for carrying them off immediately; with no other intention, as we could perceive, but to kill them. Being desirous of knowing the use of the stick which one of our visitors carried in his hand, I made signs to them to show me; and so far succeeded, that one of them set up a piece of wood as a mark, and threw at it, at the distance of about twenty yards. But we had little reason to commend his dexterity; for after repeated trials, he was still very wide

HEAD OF MAN OF VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

from the object. Omai, to show them how much superior our weapons were to theirs, then fired his musket at it; which alarmed them so much, that notwithstanding all we could do or say, they ran instantly into the woods. One of them was so frightened, that he let drop an axe and two knives, that had been given to him. From us, however, they went to the place where some of the Discovery's people were employed in taking water into their boat. The officer of that party, not knowing that they had paid us so friendly a visit, nor what their intent might be, fired a musket in the air, which sent them off with the greatest precipitation.

Thus ended our first interview with the natives. Immediately after their final retreat, judging that their fears would prevent their remaining near enough to observe what was passing, I ordered the two pigs, being a boar and sow, to be carried about a mile within the woods, at the head of the bay. I saw them left there by the side of a fresh-water brook. A young bull and a cow, and some sheep and goats, were also, at first, intended to have been left by me as an additional present to Van Diemen's Land. But I soon laid aside all thoughts of this, from a persuasion that the natives, incapable of entering into my views of improving their country, would destroy them. If ever they should meet with the pigs, I have no doubt this will be their fate. But as that race of animals soon becomes wild, and is fond of the thickest cover of the woods, there is great probability of their being preserved. An open place must have been chosen for the accommodation of the other cattle; and in such a situation, they could not possibly have remained concealed many days.

The morning of the 29th was ushered in with a dead calm, which continued all day, and effectually prevented our sailing. I therefore sent a party over to the east point of the bay to cut grass; having been informed that some of a superior quality grew there. Another party, to cut wood, was ordered to go to the usual place, and I accompanied them myself. We had observed several of the natives this morning sauntering along the shore, which assured us, that though their consternation had made them leave us so abruptly the day before, they were convinced that we intended them no mischief, and were desirous of renewing the intercourse. It was natural that I should wish to be present on the occasion. We had not been long landed, before about twenty of them, men and boys, joined us, without expressing the least sign of fear or distrust. There was one of this company conspicuously deformed; and who was not more distinguishable by the hump upon his back, than by the drollery of his gestures, and the seeming humour of his speeches; which he was very fond of exhibiting, as we supposed, for our entertainment. But, unfortunately, we could not understand him; the language spoken here being wholly unintelligible to us. It appeared to me to be different from that spoken by the inhabitants of the more northern parts of this country, whom I met with in my first voyage; which is not extraordinary, since those we now saw, and those we then visited, differ in many other respects *. Nor did they seem to be such miserable wretches as the natives whom Dampier mentions to have seen on its western coast †.

* The most striking difference seems to be with regard to the texture of the hair. The natives whom Captain Cook met with at Endeavour River in 1770 are said, by him, to have "naturally long and black hair, though it be universally cropped short. In general it is straight, but sometimes it has a slight curl. We saw none that was not matted and filthy. Their beards were of the same colour with the hair, and bushy and thick." See vol. i. p. 262, of this edition of Cook's Voyages.

It may be necessary to mention here, on the authority of Captain King, that Captain Cook was very unwilling to allow that the hair of the natives now met with in Adventure Bay was woolly, fancying that his people, who first observed this, had been deceived, from its being clotted with grease and red ochre. But Captain King prevailed upon him afterward to examine carefully the hair of the boys, which was generally, as well as that of the women, free from this dirt; and then he owned himself satisfied that it was naturally woolly. Perhaps we may suppose it possible that he himself had been deceived when he was in Endeavour River, from this very circumstance; as he expressly says, that "they saw none that was not matted and filthy."

† And yet Dampier's New Hollanders, on the western coast, bear a striking resemblance to Captain Cook's at Van Diemen's Land, in many remarkable instances:—

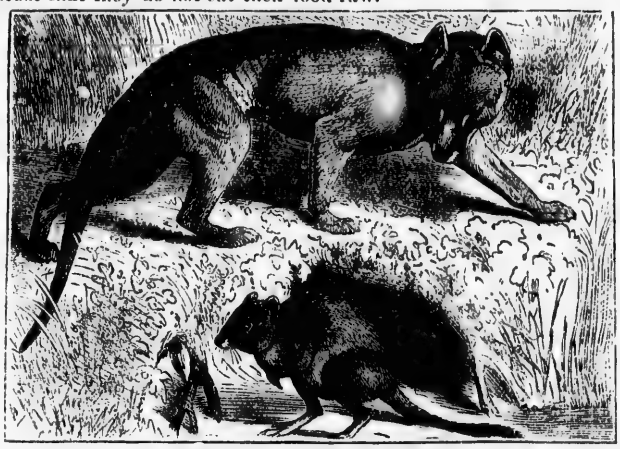
1st, As to their becoming familiar with the strangers.

2dly, As to their persons; being straight-bodied and thin; their skin black; and black, short, curled hair, like the negroes of Guinea; with wide mouths.

3dly, As to their wretched condition; having no houses, no garment, no canoes, no instrument to catch large fish; feeding on broiled muscles, cockles, and periwinkles; having no fruits of the earth; their weapons a straight pole, sharpened and hardened at the end, &c. &c.

The chief peculiarities of Dampier's "miserable wretches" are, 1st, Their eyelids being always half closed, to keep the flies out, which were excessively troublesome there: and, 2dly, Their wanting the two fore-teeth of the upper

Some of our present group wore loose round their necks three or four folds of small cord made of the fur of some animal; and others of them had a narrow slip of the *kangooroo* skin tied round their ankles. I gave to each of them a string of beads and a medal; which I thought they received with some satisfaction. They seemed to set no value on iron, or on iron tools. They were even ignorant of the use of fish-hooks, if we might judge from their manner of looking at some of ours which we showed to them. We cannot, however, suppose it to be possible that a people who inhabit a sea-coast, and who seem to derive no part of their sustenance from the productions of the ground, should not be acquainted with some mode of catching fish, although we did not happen to see any of them thus employed; nor observe any canoe or vessel in which they could go upon the water. Though they absolutely rejected the sort of fish that we offered to them, it was evident that shell-fish, at least, made a part of their food, from the many heaps of muscle-shells we saw in different parts near the shore, and about some deserted habitations near the head of the bay. These were little sheds or hovels built of sticks, and covered with bark. We could also perceive evident signs of their sometimes taking up their abode in the trunks of large trees, which had been hollowed out by fire, most probably for this very purpose. In or near all these habitations, and wherever there was a heap of shells, there remained the marks of fire; an indubitable proof that they do not eat their food raw.



OPOSSUM RAT AND TASMANIAN WOLF.

After staying about an hour with the wooding party and the natives, as I could now be pretty confident that the latter were not likely to give the former any disturbance, I left them, and went over to the grass-cutters on the east point of the bay, and found that they had met with a fine patch. Having seen the boats loaded, I left that party, and returned on board to dinner; where, some time after, Lieutenant King arrived. From him I learned that I had but just left the shore, when several women and children made their appearance, and were introduced to him by some of the men who attended them. He gave presents to all of them, of such trifles as he had about him. These females wore a *kangooroo* skin (in the same shape as it came from the animal) tied over the shoulders and round the waist. But its only use seemed to be, to support their children when carried on their backs; for it did not cover those parts which most nations conceal; being in all other respects as naked as the men, and as black, and their bodies marked with scars in the same manner. But in this they differed from the men, that though their hair was of the same colour and texture, some of them had their heads completely shorn or shaved; in others this operation had been performed only on one side, while the rest of them had all the upper part of the head shorn close, leaving a circle of hair all round, somewhat like the tonsure of the Romish ecclesiastics. Many of the children had fine features, and were thought pretty; but of the persons of the women, especially those advanced in years, a less favourable report was made.

jaw, and their having no beards. See Dampier's reason for supposing that Dampier was mistaken in the Voyages, vol. i. p. 464, &c There seems to be no above account of what he saw.

In the afternoon I went again to the grass-cutters, to forward their work. I found them then upon Penguin Island, where they had met with a plentiful crop of excellent grass. We laboured hard till sunset, and then repaired on board, satisfied with the quantity we had collected, and which I judged sufficient to last till our arrival in New Zealand.

During our whole stay, we had either calms or light airs from the eastward. Little or no time, therefore, was lost by my putting in at this place. For if I had kept the sea, we should not have been twenty leagues advanced farther on our voyage. And, short as our continuance was here, it has enabled me to add somewhat to the imperfect acquaintance that hath hitherto been acquired with this part of the globe. Van Diemen's Land has been twice visited before. It was so named by Tasman, who discovered it in November 1642. From that time it had escaped all farther notice by European navigators, till Captain Furneaux touched at it in March 1773. I hardly need say, that it is the southern point of New Holland*, which, if it doth not deserve the name of a continent, is by far the largest island in the world.

The land is, for the most part, of a good height, diversified with hills and valleys, and everywhere of a greenish hue. It is well wooded; and if one may judge from appearances, and from what we met with in Adventure Bay, is not ill supplied with water. We found plenty of it in three or four places in this bay. The best, or what is most convenient for ships that touch here, is a rivulet, which is one of several that fall into a pond that lies behind the beach at the head of the bay. It there mixes with the sea-water; so that it must be taken up above this pond, which may be done without any great trouble. Fire-wood is to be got with great ease in several places. The only wind to which this bay is exposed, is the N.E. But as this wind blows from Maria's Islands, it can bring no very great sea along with it; and, therefore, upon the whole, this may be accounted a very safe road. The bottom is clean, good holding-ground, and the depth of water from twelve to five and four fathoms.

Captain Furneaux's sketch of Van Diemen's Land, published with the Narrative of my last Voyage†, appears to me to be without any material error, except with regard to Maria's Islands, which have a different situation from what is there represented. What my idea of them is, will be seen in the sketch of that coast here inserted ‡; and I insert it, not as the result of a more faithful, but merely of a second examination. The longitude was determined by a great number of lunar observations which we had before we made the land, while we were in sight of it, and after we had left it; and reduced to Adventure Bay, and the several principal points, by the time-keeper. The following Table will exhibit both the longitude and latitude at one view:—

	Latitude south.			Longitude east.		
Adventure Bay	43°	21′	20″	147°	29′	0″
Tasman's Head	43	33	0	147	28	0
South Cape	43	42	0	146	56	0
South-west Cape	43	37	0	146	7	0
Swilly Isle	43	55	0	147	6	0

Adventure Bay { Variation of the compass 5° 15′ east.
Dip of the south end of the needle 70° 15½′.

We had high-water on the 29th, being two days before the last quarter of the moon, at nine in the morning. The perpendicular rise then was eighteen inches; and there was no appearance of its having ever exceeded two feet and a half. These are all the memorials useful to navigation, which my short stay has enabled me to preserve, with respect to Van Diemen's Land.

Mr. Anderson, my surgeon, with his usual diligence, spent the few days we remained in Adventure Bay, in examining the country. His account of its natural productions, with which he favoured me, will more than compensate for my silence about them: some of his

* Captain Cook here speaks under the impression that Van Diemen's Land, or Tasmania, as it is now generally called, formed a part of the main land of New Holland.—ED.

† Book III. chap. vii.

‡ See the quarto edition.

remarks on the inhabitants will supply what I may have omitted or represented imperfectly; and his specimen of their language, however short, will be thought worth attending to, by those who wish to collect materials for tracing the origin of nations. I shall only premise, that the tall straight forest-trees which Mr. Anderson describes in the following account, are of a different sort from those which are found in the more northern parts of this coast. The wood is very long and close-grained; extremely tough; fit for spars, oars, and many other uses; and would, on occasion, make good masts (perhaps none better), if a method could be found to lighten it.

"At the bottom of Adventure Bay is a beautiful sandy beach, which seems to be wholly formed by the particles washed by the sea from a very fine white sandstone, that in many places bounds the shore, and of which Fluted Cape, in the neighbourhood, from its appearance, seems to be composed. This beach is about two miles long, and is excellently adapted for hauling a seine, which both ships did repeatedly with success. Behind this, is a plain or flat, with a salt, or rather brackish lake (running in length parallel with the beach), out of which we caught, with angling rods, many whitish bream, and some small trout. The other parts of the country adjoining the bay are quite hilly; and both those and the flat are an entire forest of very tall trees, rendered almost impassible by shrubs, brakes of fern, and fallen trees; except on the sides of some of the hills, where the trees are but thin, and a coarse grass is the only interruption. To the northward of the bay, there is low land, stretching farther than the eye can reach, which is only covered with wood in certain spots; but we had no opportunity to examine in what respects it differed from the hilly country. The soil on the flat land is either sandy, or consists of a yellowish mould, and, in some places, of a reddish clay. The same is found on the lower part of the hills; but farther up, especially where there are few trees, it is of a grey tough cast, to appearance very poor.

"In the valleys between the hills, the water drains down from their sides; and at last, in some places, forms small brooks; such indeed as were sufficient to supply us with water, but by no means of that size we might expect in so extensive a country, especially as it is both hilly and well wooded. Upon the whole, it has many marks of being naturally a very dry country; and perhaps might (independent of its wood) be compared to Africa, about the Cape of Good Hope, though that lies ten degrees farther northward, rather than to New Zealand, on its other side, in the same latitude, where we find every valley, however small, furnished with a considerable stream of water. The heat too appears to be great, as the thermometer stood at 64, 70, and once at 74. And it was remarked, that birds were seldom killed an hour or two, before they were almost covered with small maggots, which I would rather attribute merely to the heat; as we had not any reason to suppose there is a peculiar disposition in the climate to render substances soon putrid. No mineral bodies, nor indeed stones of any other sort, but the white sand one already mentioned, were observed.

"Amongst the vegetable productions, there is not one, that we could find, which afforded the smallest subsistence for man. The forest-trees are all of one sort, growing to a great height, and in general quite straight, branching but little, till towards the top. The bark is white, which makes them appear, at a distance, as if they had been peeled; it is also thick; and within it are sometimes collected pieces of a reddish transparent gum or resin, which has an astringent taste. The leaves of this tree are long, narrow, and pointed; and it bears clusters of small white flowers, whose cups were, at this time, plentifully scattered about the ground, with another sort resembling them somewhat in shape, but much larger; which makes it probable that there are two *species* of this tree. The bark of the smaller branches, the fruit, and leaves, have an agreeable pungent taste, and aromatic smell, not unlike peppermint; and in its nature, it has some affinity to the *myrtus* of botanists. The most common tree, next to this, is a small one about ten feet high, branching pretty much, with narrow leaves, and a large, yellow, cylindrical flower, consisting only of a vast number of filaments; which, being shed, leave a fruit like a pine-top. Both the above-mentioned trees are unknown in Europe. The underwood consists chiefly of a shrub somewhat resembling a myrtle, and which seems to be the *Leptospermum scoparium*, mentioned in Dr. Forster's *Char. Gen. Plant.*; and, in some places, of another, rather smaller, which is a new species of the *Melaleuca* of Linnæus. Of other plants, which are by no means numerous,

there is a species of *Gladiolus*, rush, bell-flower, samphire, a small sort of wood-sorrel, milk-wort, cudweed, and Job's tears; with a few others, peculiar to the place. There are several kinds of fern, as polypody, spleenwort, female fern, and some mosses; but the species are either common, or at least found in some other countries, especially New Zealand.

"The only animal of the quadruped kind we got, was a sort of *opossum*, about twice the size of a large rat; and is, most probably, the male of that species found at Endeavour River, as mentioned in Hawkesworth's Collection of Voyages*. It is of a dusky colour above, tinged with a brown or rusty cast, and whitish below. About a third of the tail, towards its tip, is white, and bare underneath; by which it probably hangs on the branches of trees, as it climbs these, and lives on berries. The *kangooroo*, another animal found farther northward in New Holland, as described in the same voyage†, without all doubt also inhabits here, as the natives we met with had some pieces of their skins; and we several times saw animals, though indistinctly, run from the thickets when we walked in the woods, which, from the size, could be no other. It should seem also, that they are in considerable numbers, from the dung we saw almost everywhere, and from the narrow tracks or paths they have made amongst the shrubbery.

"There are several sorts of birds, but all so scarce and shy, that they are evidently harassed by the natives, who, perhaps, drew much of their subsistence from them. In the woods, the principal sorts are large brown hawks or eagles; crows nearly the same as ours in England; yellowish parroquets; and large pigeons. There are also three or four small birds, one of which is of the thrush kind; and another small one, with a pretty long tail, has part of the head and neck of a most beautiful azure colour; from whence we named it *Motacilla cyanea*. On the shore were several common and sea gulls; a few black oyster-catchers, or sea-pies; and a pretty plover of a stone colour, with a black hood. About the pond or lake behind the beach, a few wild ducks were seen; and some shags used to perch upon the high leafless trees near the shore. Some pretty large blackish snakes were seen in the woods; and we killed a large, hitherto unknown, lizard, fifteen inches long and six round, elegantly clouded with black and yellow; besides a small sort, of a brown gilded colour above, and rusty below.

"The sea affords a much greater plenty, and at least as great a variety as the land. Of these the elephant fish, or *pejegallo*, mentioned in Frezier's Voyage ‡, are the most numerous; and though inferior to many other fish, were very palatable food. Several large rays, nurses, and small leather-jackets, were caught; with some small white bream, which were firmer and better than those caught in the lake. We likewise got a few soles and flounders; two sorts of gurnards, one of them a new species; some small spotted mullet; and, very unexpectedly, the small fish with a silver band on its side, called *Atherina hepsetus* by Hasselquist §. But that next in number, and superior in goodness, to the elephant fish, was a sort none of us recollected to have seen before. It partakes of the nature both of a round and of a flat fish, having the eyes placed very near each other; the fore-part of the body much flattened or depressed, and the rest rounded. It is of a brownish sandy colour, with rusty spots on the upper part, and whitish below. From the quantity of slime it was always covered with, it seems to live after the manner of flat fish, at the bottom.

"Upon the rocks are plenty of muscles, and some other small shell-fish. There are also great numbers of sea-stars; some small limpets; and large quantities of sponge; one sort of which, that is thrown on shore by the sea, but not very common, has a most delicate texture; and another, is the *Spongia dichotoma*. Many pretty *Medusa's heads* were found upon the beach; and the stinking *Laplysia*, or sea-hare, which, as mentioned by some authors, has the property of taking off the hair by the acrimony of its juice; but this sort was deficient in this respect.

"Insects, though not numerous, are here in considerable variety. Amongst them are grasshoppers, butterflies, and several sorts of small moths, finely variegated. There are two sorts of dragon-flies, gad-flies, camel-flies; several sorts of spiders; and some scorpions; but the last are rather rare. The most troublesome, though not very numerous tribe of insects,

* Vol. i. p. 244 of this Edition of Cook's Voyages.
† Ibid. p. 240.
‡ Tom. ii. p. 211. 12mo. Planche xvii.
§ Iter Palæstinum.

are the musquitoes; and a large black ant, the pain of whose bite is almost intolerable, during the short time it lasts. The musquitoes, also, make up the deficiency of their number, by the severity of their venomous proboscis.

"The inhabitants whom we met with here had little of that fierce or wild appearance common to people in their situation; but, on the contrary, seemed mild and cheerful, without reserve or jealousy of strangers. This, however, may arise from their having little to lose or care for. With respect to personal activity or genius, we can say but little of either. They do not seem to possess the first in any remarkable degree; and as for the last, they have, to appearance, less than even the half-animated inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, who have not invention sufficient to make clothing for defending themselves from the rigour of their climate, though furnished with the materials. The small stick, rudely pointed, which one of them carried in his hand, was the only thing we saw that required any mechanical exertion, if we except the fixing on the feet of some of them pieces of kangaroo skin, tied with thongs; though it could not be learned whether these were in use as shoes, or only to defend some sore. It must be owned, however, they are masters of some contrivance, in the manner of cutting their arms and bodies in lines of different lengths and directions, which are raised considerably above the surface of the skin, so that it is difficult to guess the method they use in executing this embroidery of their persons. Their not expressing that surprise which one might have expected from their seeing men so much unlike themselves, and things to which, we were well assured, they had been hitherto utter strangers—their indifference for our presents, and their general inattention, were sufficient proofs of their not possessing any acuteness of understanding.

"Their colour is a dull black, and not quite so deep as that of the African Negroes. It should seem, also, that they sometimes heightened their black colour, by smutting their bodies; as a mark was left behind on any clean substance, such as white paper, when they handled it. Their hair, however, is perfectly woolly, and it is clotted or divided into small parcels, like that of the Hottentots, with the use of some sort of grass, mixed with a red paint or ochre, which they smear in great abundance over their heads. This practice, as some might imagine, has not the effect of changing their hair into the frizzling texture we observed; for, on examining the head of a boy, which appeared never to have been smeared, I found the hair to be of the same kind. Their noses, though not flat, are broad and full. The lower part of the face projects a good deal, as is the case of most Indians I have seen; so that a line let fall from the forehead, would cut off a much larger portion than it would in Europeans. Their eyes are of a middling size, with the white less clear than in us; and though not remarkably quick or piercing, such as give a frank, cheerful cast to the whole countenance. Their teeth are broad, but not equal, nor well set; and either from nature or from dirt, not of so true a white as is usual among people of a black colour. Their mouths are rather wide; but this appearance seems heightened by wearing their beards long, and clotted with paint, in the same manner as the hair on their heads. In other respects, they are well-proportioned; though the belly seems rather projecting. This may be owing to the want of compression there, which few nations do not use, more or less. The posture of which they seem fondest, is to stand with one side forward, or the upper part of the body gently reclined, and one hand grasping (across the back) the opposite arm, which hangs down by the projecting side.

"What the ancient poets tell us of Fauns and Satyrs living in hollow trees, is here realised. Some wretched constructions of sticks, covered with bark, which do not even deserve the name of huts, were indeed found near the shore in the bay; but these seemed only to have been erected for temporary purposes; and many of their largest trees were converted into more comfortable habitations. These had their trunks hollowed out by fire, to the height of six or seven feet; and that they take up their abode in them sometimes, was evident from the hearths, made of clay, to contain the fire in the middle, leaving room for four or five persons to sit round it *. At the same time, these places of shelter are durable; for they take

* Tasman, when in the bay of Frederick Henry, adjoining to Adventure Bay, found two trees, one of which was two fathoms, and the other two fathoms and a half in girth, and sixty or sixty-five feet high, from the root to the branches. See his Voyage, in Harris's Collection. Campbell's Edition, vol. i. p. 326.

care to leave one side of the tree sound, which is sufficient to keep it growing as luxuriantly as those which remain untouched.

IMMENSE TREE OF VAN DIEMAN'S LAND.

"The inhabitants of this place are, doubtless, from the same stock with those of the northern parts of New Holland. Though some of the circumstances mentioned by Dampier, relative to those he met with on the western coast of this country, such as their defective sight, and want of fore-teeth, are not found here; and though Hawkesworth's account of those met with by Captain Cook on the east side shows also that they differ in many respects, yet still, upon the whole, I am persuaded, that distance of place, entire separation, diversity of climate, and length of time, all concurring to operate, will account for greater differences, both as to their persons and as to their customs, than really exist between our Van Diemen's Land natives, and those described by Dampier, and in Captain Cook's first Voyage. This is certain, that the figure of one of those seen in Endeavour River, and represented in Sidney Parkinson's Journal of that voyage, very much resembles our visitors in Adventure Bay. That there is not the like resemblance in their language, is a circumstance that need not create any difficulty. For though the agreement of the languages of people living distant from each other may be assumed as a strong argument for their having sprung from one common source, disagreement of language is by no means a proof of the contrary *.

"However, we must have a far more intimate acquaintance with the languages spoken here and in the more northern parts of New Holland, before we can be warranted to pronounce that they are totally different. Nay, we have good grounds for the opposite opinion; for we found that the animal called kangooroo at Endeavour River was known under the same name here †; and I need not observe that it is scarcely possible to suppose

* The ingenious Author of Recherches sur les Americains illustrates the grounds of this assertion, in the following satisfactory manner:—"C'est quelque chose de surprenant, que la foule des idiomes, tous variés entr'eux, que parlent les naturels de l'Amérique Septentrionale. Qu'on réduise ces idiomes à des racines, qu'on les simplifie, qu'on en sépare les dialectes et les jargons dérivés, il en résulte toujours cinq ou six langues-mères, respectivement incompréhensibles. On a observé la même singularité dans la Sibérie et la Tartarie, où le nombre des idiomes, et des dialectes, est également multiplié; et rien n'est plus commun que d'y voir deux hordes voisines qui ne se comprennent point. On retrouve cette même multiplicité de jargons dans toutes les provinces de l'Amérique Méridionale." [He might also have included Africa.] "Il y a beaucoup d'apparence que la vie sauvage, en dispersant les hommes par petites troupes isolées dans des bois épais, occasione necessairement cette grande diversité des langues, dont le nombre diminue à mesure que la société, en rassemblant les barbares vagabonds, en forme un corps de nation. Alors l'idiome le plus riche, ou le moins pauvre en mots, devient dominant, et absorbe les autres."—Tom. i. p. 159, 160.

[These observations, which are worthy of much consideration in attempting to investigate the origin of "mother-tongues," are supported by the evidence of Mr. Catlin, whose remarkable travels among the Indian tribes of North America have recently excited so much attention. He states, that among the forty-eight tribes he visited, most of them make use of languages wholly distinct from each other.—ED.]

† [That there is no distinction of races among the inhabitants of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land,

that this was not transmitted from one another, but accidentally adopted by two nations, differing in language and extraction. Besides, as it seems very improbable that the Van Diemen's Land inhabitants should have ever lost the use of canoes or sailing vessels if they had been originally conveyed thither by sea, we must necessarily admit that they, as well as the kangooroo itself, have been stragglers by land from the more northern parts of the country. And if there be any force in this observation, while it traces the origin of the people, it will, at the same time, serve to fix another point, if Captain Cook and Captain Furneaux have not already decided it, that New Holland is nowhere totally divided by the sea into islands, as some have imagined *.

"As the New Hollanders seem all to be of the same extraction, so neither do I think there is anything peculiar in them. On the contrary, they much resemble many of the inhabitants whom I have seen at the islands Tanna and Manicola. Nay, there is even some foundation for hazarding a supposition that they may have originally come from the same place with all the inhabitants of the South Sea. For, of only about ten words which we could get from them, that which expresses *cold* differs little from that of New Zealand and Otaheite; the first being *Mallareede*, the second *Makka'reede*, and the third *Ma'reede*. The rest of our very scanty Van Diemen's Land Vocabulary is as follows:—

Quadne,	A woman.	Ka'my,	The teeth, mouth, or tongue.
Eve'rai,	The eye.	Koy'gee,	The ear.
Muldje,	The nose.	No'onga,	Elevated scars on the body.
Lac'renne,	A small bird, a native of the woods here.	Teegera,	To eat.
		Toga'rago,	I must be gone, or I will go.

"Their pronunciation is not disagreeable, but rather quick, though not more so than is that of other nations of the South Sea; and if we may depend upon the affinity of languages as a clue to guide us in discovering the origin of nations, I have no doubt but we shall find, on a diligent inquiry, and when opportunities offer to collect accurately a sufficient number of these words, and to compare them, that all the people from New Holland, eastward to Easter Island, have been derived from the same common root †."

confirmed by the accounts of all writers who have given us descriptions of them; but the habits and customs, and also the languages or dialect, used by various tribes vary considerably. Thus, some tribes use the throwing stick and the boomerang, and others are unacquainted with either of these instruments; some are accustomed to strike out the two fore-teeth, whilst others, as the natives of Van Diemen's Land, do not practise this mutilation; and although the tribe whom Captain Cook found at Endeavour River gave the name Kangaroo to the animal still so called by us, yet Captain King, on visiting the same place, found it distinguished by the natives then dwelling there by another name.—The aborigines of Van Diemen's Land are now no longer denizens of their native soil, having been, after a protracted resistance, all conveyed to Gun Carriage Island, in Bass's Straits, which has been given up to their undisputed possession, but where, as is natural, they are far from being contented: Mr. Darwin states, that it was "the opinion of some that the race will soon become extinct." Their removal appears to have been necessary for the safety of the settlers, but it is one more melancholy proof of the exterminating influence of the step of the white man.—ED.

* Dampier seems to be of this opinion. Vol. iii. p. 104. 125.

[It was not until the year 1797 that this question was set at rest by Captain Flinders, then a lieutenant of H. M.S. Reliance, who, in company with Mr. Bass the surgeon, in a small decked boat or sloop built at Norfolk Island of native fir, and thence called the Norfolk, discovered Port Dalrymple, and passing through the straits, since known as Bass's Straits, circumnavigated the island, and, on its southern extremity, sailed up and examined the river Derwent, on the west bank of which Hobart Town has since been erected. The first European settlement was made in 1804, at Risdon, on the left or eastern bank of the Derwent, about eighteen miles from its northern entrance. Hobart Town was established on the western bank, in the following year.—ED.]

† We find Mr. Anderson's notions on this subject conformable to those of Mr. Marsden, who has remarked "that one general language prevailed (however mutilated and changed in the course of time) throughout all this portion of the world, from Madagascar to the most distant discoveries eastward: of which the Malay is a dialect, much corrupted or refined by a mixture of other tongues. This very extensive similarity of language indicates a common origin of the inhabitants; but the circumstances and progress of their separation are wrapped in the darkest veil of obscurity."—History of Sumatra, p. 35.

See also his very curious paper, read before the Society of Antiquaries, and published in their Archæologia, vol. vi., p. 155; where his sentiments on this subject are explained more at large, and illustrated by two tables of corresponding words.

CHAPTER VII.—THE PASSAGE FROM VAN DIEMEN'S LAND TO NEW ZEALAND.—EMPLOYMENTS IN QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND.—TRANSACTIONS WITH THE NATIVES THERE.—INTELLIGENCE ABOUT THE MASSACRE OF THE ADVENTURE'S BOAT'S CREW.—ACCOUNT OF THE CHIEF WHO HEADED THE PARTY ON THAT OCCASION.—OF THE TWO YOUNG MEN WHO EMBARK TO ATTEND OMAI.—VARIOUS REMARKS ON THE INHABITANTS.—ASTRONOMICAL AND NAUTICAL OBSERVATIONS.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 30th of January, a light breeze springing up at W., we weighed anchor, and put to sea from Adventure Bay. Soon after, the wind veered to the southward, and increased to a perfect storm. Its fury abated in the evening, when it veered to the E. and N.E. This gale was indicated by the barometer, for the wind no sooner began to blow than the mercury in the tube began to fall. Another remarkable thing attended the coming on of this wind, which was very faint at first. It brought with it a degree of heat that was almost intolerable. The mercury in the thermometer rose, as it were, instantaneously, from about 70° to near 90°. This heat was of so short a continuance, that it seemed to be wafted away before the breeze that brought it; so that some on board did not perceive it.

We pursued our course to the eastward, without meeting with anything worthy of note till the night between the 6th and 7th of February, when a marine belonging to the Discovery fell overboard, and was never seen afterward. This was the second misfortune of the kind that had happened to Captain Clerke since he left England. On the 10th, at four in the afternoon, we discovered the land of New Zealand. The part we saw proved to be Rock's Point, and bore S.E. by S., about eight or nine leagues distant. During this run from Van Diemen's Land, the wind, for the first four or five days, was at N.E., N., and N.N.W., and blew, for the most part, a gentle breeze. It afterward veered to S.E., where it remained twenty-four hours. It then came to W. and S.W.; in which points it continued, with very little deviation, till we reached New Zealand. After making the land, I steered for Cape Farewell, which at day-break, the next morning, bore S. by W., distant about four leagues. At eight o'clock it bore S.W. by S., about five leagues distant; and, in this situation, we had forty-five fathoms' water over a sandy bottom. In rounding the Cape we had fifty fathoms, and the same sort of bottom.

I now steered for Stephen's Island, which we came up with at nine o'clock at night; and at ten next morning, anchored in our old station, in Queen Charlotte's Sound. Unwilling to lose any time, our operations commenced that very afternoon, when we landed a number of empty water-casks, and began to clear a place where we might set up the two observatories, and tents for the reception of a guard, and of such of our people whose business might make it necessary for them to remain on shore. We had not been long at anchor before several canoes, filled with natives, came alongside of the ships; but very few of them would venture on board; which appeared the more extraordinary, as I was well known to them all. There was one man in particular amongst them, whom I had treated with remarkable kindness, during the whole of my stay when I was last here. Yet now, neither professions of friendship, nor presents, could prevail upon him to come into the ship. This shyness was to be accounted for only upon this supposition, that they were apprehensive we had revisited their country, in order to revenge the death of Captain Furneaux's people. Seeing Omai on board my ship now, whom they must have remembered to have seen on board the Adventure, when the melancholy affair happened, and whose first conversation with them, as they approached, generally turned on that subject, they must be well assured that I was no longer a stranger to it. I thought it necessary, therefore, to use every endeavour to assure them of the continuance of my friendship, and that I should not disturb them on that account. I do not know whether this had any weight with them; but certain it is that they very soon laid aside all manner of restraint and distrust.

On the 13th we set up two tents, one from each ship, on the same spot where we had pitched them formerly. The observatories were at the same time erected; and Messrs. King and Bayly began their operations immediately, to find the rate of the time-keeper, and

to make other observations. The remainder of the empty water-casks were also sent on shore, with the cooper to trim, and a sufficient number of sailors to fill them. Two men were appointed to brew spruce-beer; and the carpenter and his crew were ordered to cut wood. A boat, with a party of men, under the direction of one of the mates, was sent to collect grass for our cattle; and the people that remained on board were employed in refitting the ship, and arranging the provisions. In this manner, we were all profitably busied during our stay. For the protection of the party on shore, I appointed a guard of ten marines, and ordered arms for all the workmen; and Mr. King, and two or three petty officers, constantly remained with them. A boat was never sent to any considerable distance from the ships without being armed, and under the direction of such officers as I could depend upon, and who were well acquainted with the natives. During my former visits to this country, I had never taken some of these precautions; nor were they, I firmly believe, more necessary now than they had been formerly. But after the tragical fate of the Adventure's boat's crew in this Sound, and of Captain Marion du Fresne, and of some of his people, in the Bay of Islands *, it was impossible totally to divest ourselves of all apprehension of experiencing a similar calamity. If the natives entertained any suspicion of our revenging these acts of barbarity, they very soon laid it aside. For, during the course of this day, a great number of families came from different parts of the coast, and took up their residence close to us, so that there was not a spot in the cove where a hut could be put up, that was not occupied by them, except the place where we had fixed our little encampment. This they left us in quiet possession of; but they came and took away the ruins of some old huts that were there, as materials for their new erections.

It is curious to observe with what facility they build these occasional places of abode. I have seen above twenty of them erected on a spot of ground that, not an hour before, was covered with shrubs and plants. They generally bring some part of the materials with them; the rest they find upon the premises. I was present when a number of people landed, and built one of these villages. The moment the canoes reached the shore, the men leaped out, and at once took possession of a piece of ground, by tearing up the plants and shrubs, or sticking up some part of the framing of a hut. They then returned to their canoes, and secured their weapons, by setting them up against a tree, or placing them in such a position, that they could be laid hold of in an instant. I took particular notice that no one neglected this precaution. While the men were employed in raising the huts, the women were not idle. Some were stationed to take care of the canoes; others to secure the provisions, and the few utensils in their possession; and the rest went to gather dry sticks, that a fire might be prepared for dressing their victuals. As to the children, I kept them, as also some of the more aged, sufficiently occupied in scrambling for beads, till I had emptied my pockets, and then I left them. These temporary habitations are abundantly sufficient to afford shelter from the wind and rain, which is the only purpose they are meant to answer. I observed that, generally, if not always, the same tribe or family, though it were ever so large, associated and built together; so that we frequently saw a village, as well as their larger towns, divided into different districts by low palisades, or some similar mode of separation.

The advantage we received from the natives coming to live with us, was not inconsiderable. For, every day, when the weather would permit, some of them went out to catch fish; and we generally got, by exchanges, a good share of the produce of their labours. This supply, and what our own nets and lines afforded us, were so ample, that we seldom were in want of fish. Nor was there any deficiency of other refreshments. Celery, scurvy-grass, and portable soup, were boiled with the peas and wheat, for both ships' companies, every day during our whole stay; and they had spruce-beer for their drink. So that, if any of our people had contracted the seeds of the scurvy, such a regimen soon removed them. But the truth is, when we arrived here, there were only two invalids (and these on board the Resolution) upon the sick lists in both ships.

Besides the natives who took up their abode close to us, we were occasionally visited

* In 1772.

by others of them, whose residence was not far off; and by some who lived more remote. Their articles of commerce were, curiosities, fish, and women.

Amongst our occasional visitors was a chief named Kahoora, who, as I was informed, headed the party that cut off Captain Furneaux's people, and himself killed Mr. Rowe, the officer who commanded. To judge of the character of Kahoora by what I heard from many of his countrymen, he seemed to be more feared than beloved amongst them. Not satisfied with telling me that he was a very bad man, some of them even importuned me to kill him; and I believe they were not a little surprised that I did not listen to them; for, according to their ideas of equity, this ought to have been done. But if I had followed the advice of all our pretended friends, I might have extirpated the whole race; for the people of each hamlet or village, by turns, applied to me to destroy the other. One would have almost thought it impossible that so striking a proof of the divided state in which this miserable people live, could have been assigned. And yet I was sure that I did not misconceive the meaning of those who made these strange applications to me; for Omai, whose language was a dialect of their own, and perfectly understood all that they said, was our interpreter.

On the 15th I made an excursion in my boat to look for grass, and visited the Hippah, or fortified village, at the south-west point of Motuara, and the places where our gardens had been planted on that island. There were no people at the former; but the houses and palisades had been rebuilt, and were now in a state of good repair; and there were other evident marks of its having been inhabited not long before. It would be unnecessary, at present, to give a particular account of this Hippah, sufficient notice having been taken of it in the Account of my first Voyage, to which I refer *.

When the Adventure arrived first at Queen Charlotte's Sound, in 1773 †, Mr. Bayly fixed upon this place for making his observations; and he and the people with him, at their leisure hours, planted several spots with English garden-seeds. Not the least vestige of these now remained. It is probable that they had been all rooted out to make room for buildings, when the village was re-inhabited; for, at all the other gardens then planted by Captain Furneaux, although now wholly overrun with the weeds of the country, we found cabbages, onions, leeks, purslane, radishes, mustard, &c., and a few potatoes. These potatoes, which were first brought from the Cape of Good Hope, had been greatly improved by change of soil; and, with proper cultivation, would be superior to those produced in most other countries. Though the New Zealanders are fond of this root, it was evident that they had not taken the trouble to plant a single one (much less any other of the articles which we had introduced); and if it were not for the difficulty of clearing ground where potatoes had been once planted, there would not have been any now remaining ‡.

* See vol. I. p. 168. † See vol. I. p. 388.

‡ Potatoes have already been exported to New South Wales, from New Zealand; and Mr. Petrie, who in 1841 published an interesting account of his experience as a colonist, says they are likely to become a very considerable article of exportation. The natives, although they have kept up a stock of potatoes, have hitherto conducted the cultivation in the same slovenly and careless way they did in Captain Cook's time. "In many cases," says Mr. Petrie, "the crop is left on the ground, the natives merely opening the earth about the roots, taking up enough to supply their immediate wants, and covering the root again with earth." This mode, as is well known to all European agriculturists, tends to deteriorate both the land and the produce; but the example of the settlers will, without doubt, soon teach a nation, deficient in no one quality fitting them for high civilization, to adopt a better plan. —Ed.

On the 16th, at daybreak, I set out with a party of men, in five boats, to collect food for our cattle. Captain Clerke, and several of the officers, Omai, and two of the natives, accompanied me. We proceeded about three leagues up the Sound, and then landed on the east side, at a place where I had formerly been. Here we cut as much grass as loaded the two launches. As we returned down the Sound, we visited Grass Cove, the memorable scene of the massacre of Captain Furneaux's people. Here I met with my old friend Pedro, who was almost continually with me the last time I was in this Sound, and is mentioned in my History of that Voyage *. He, and another of his countrymen, received us on the beach, armed with the pa-too and spear. Whether this form of reception was a mark of their courtesy or of their fear, I cannot say; but I thought they betrayed manifest signs of the latter. However, if they had any apprehensions, a few presents soon removed them, and brought down to the beach two or three more of the family; but the greatest part of them remained out of sight.

Whilst we were at this place, our curiosity prompted us to inquire into the circumstances attending the melancholy fate of our countrymen; and Omai was made use of as our interpreter for this purpose. Pedro, and the rest of the natives present, answered all the questions that were put to them on the subject, without reserve, and like men who are under no dread of punishment for a crime of which they are not guilty. For we already knew that none of them had been concerned in the unhappy transaction. They told us, that while our people were sitting at dinner, surrounded by several of the natives, some of the latter stole, or snatched from them, some bread and fish, for which they were beat. This being resented, a quarrel ensued, and two New Zealanders were shot dead, by the only two muskets that were fired. For before our people had time to discharge a third, or to load again those that had been fired, the natives rushed in upon them, overpowered them with their numbers, and put them all to death. Pedro and his companions, besides relating the history of the massacre, made us acquainted with the very spot that was the scene of it. It is at the corner of the cove, on the right hand. They pointed to the place of the sun, to mark to us at what hour of the day it happened; and, according to this, it must have been late in the afternoon. They also showed us the place where the boat lay; and it appeared to be about two hundred yards distant from that where the crew were seated. One of their number, a black servant of Captain Furneaux, was left in the boat to take care of her. We were afterwards told that this black was the cause of the quarrel, which was said to have happened thus: One of the natives stealing something out of the boat, the negro gave him a severe blow with a stick. The cries of the fellow being heard by his countrymen at a distance, they imagined he was killed, and immediately began the attack on our people; who, before they had time to reach the boat, or to arm themselves against the unexpected impending danger, fell a sacrifice to the fury of their savage assailants.

The first of these accounts was confirmed by the testimony of many of the natives, whom we conversed with at different times, and who, I think, could have no interest in deceiving us. The second manner of relating the transaction rests upon the authority of the young New Zealander, who chose to abandon his country and go away with us, and who, consequently, could have no possible view in disguising the truth. All agreeing that the quarrel happened when the boat's crew were sitting at their meal, it is highly probable that both the accounts are true, as they perfectly coincide. For we may very naturally suppose, that while some of the natives were stealing from the man who had been left in the boat, others of them might take the same liberties with the property of our people who were on shore.

Be this as it will, all agree that the quarrel first took its rise from some thefts, in the commission of which the natives were detected. All agree, also, that there was no premeditated plan of bloodshed, and that, if these thefts had not been, unfortunately, too hastily resented, no mischief would have happened. For Kahoora's greatest enemies, those who solicited his destruction most earnestly, at the same time confessed that he had no intention to quarrel, much less to kill, till the fray had actually commenced. It also appears that the unhappy victims were under no sort of apprehension of their fate; otherwise they never

* See vol. I. p. 546.

would have ventured to sit down to a repast at so considerable a distance from their boat, amongst people who were the next moment to be their murderers. What became of the boat I never could learn. Some said she was pulled to pieces and burnt; others told us that she was carried, they knew not whither, by a party of strangers.

We staid here till the evening, when, having loaded the rest of the boats with grass, celery, scurvy-grass, &c., we embarked to return to the ships. We had prevailed upon Pedro to launch his canoe, and accompany us; but we had scarcely put off from the shore, when the wind began to blow very hard at north-west, which obliged him to put back. We proceeded ourselves, but it was with a good deal of difficulty that we could reach the ships; where some of the boats did not arrive till one o'clock the next morning; and it was fortunate that they got on board then, for it afterwards blew a perfect storm, with abundance of rain, so that no manner of work could go forward that day. In the evening the gale ceased, and the wind having veered to the east, brought with it fair weather.

The next day we resumed our works; the natives ventured out to catch fish; and Pedro, with all his family, came and took up his abode near us. This chief's proper name is Matahouah; the other being given him by some of my people during my last voyage, which I did not know till now. He was, however, equally well known amongst his countrymen by both names. On the 20th, in the forenoon, we had another storm from the north-west. Though this was not of so long continuance as the former, the gusts of wind from the hills were far more violent, insomuch that we were obliged to strike the yards and top-masts to the very utmost; and even with all this precaution, it was with difficulty that we rode it out. These storms are very frequent here, and sometimes violent and troublesome. The neighbouring mountains, which at these times are always loaded with vapours, not only increase the force of the wind, but alter its direction in such a manner, that no two blasts follow each other from the same quarter; and the nearer the shore, the more their effects are felt.

The next day we were visited by a tribe or family, consisting of about thirty persons, men, women, and children, who came from the upper part of the Sound. I had never seen them before. The name of their chief was Tomatongeauooranuc; a man of about forty-five years of age, with a cheerful open countenance. And, indeed, the rest of his tribe were, in general, the handsomest of the New Zealand race I had ever met with. By this time more than two-thirds of the inhabitants of the Sound had settled themselves about us. Great numbers of them daily frequented the ships, and the encampment on shore: but the latter became, by far, the most favourite place of resort, while our people there were melting some seal blubber. No Greenlander was ever fonder of train-oil, than our friends here seem to be. They relished the very skimmings of the kettle, and dregs of the casks; but a little of the pure stinking oil was a delicious feast, so eagerly desired, that I supposed it is seldom enjoyed.

Having got on board as much hay and grass as we judged sufficient to serve the cattle till our arrival at Otaheite, and having completed the wood and water of both ships, on the 23rd we struck our tents, and carried everything off from the shore; and next morning we weighed anchor, and stood out of the cove. But the wind not being very fair, and finding that the tide of ebb would be spent before we could get out of the Sound, we cast anchor again a little without the island Motuara, to wait for a more favourable opportunity of putting into the strait. While we were unmooring and getting under sail, Tomatongeauooranuc, Matahouah, and many more of the natives, came to take their leave of us, or rather to obtain, if they could, some additional present from us before we left them. These two chiefs became suitors to me for some goats and hogs. Accordingly, I gave to Matahouah two goats, a male and female with kid; and to Tomatongeauooranuc two pigs, a boar, and a sow. They made me a promise not to kill them; though I must own I put no great faith in this. The animals which Captain Furneaux sent on shore here, and which soon after fell into the hands of the natives, I was now told were all dead; but I could get no intelligence about the fate of those I had left in West Bay, and in Cannibal Cove, when I was here in the course of my last voyage. However, all the natives whom I conversed with agreed, that poultry are now to be met with wild in the woods behind Ship Cove; and

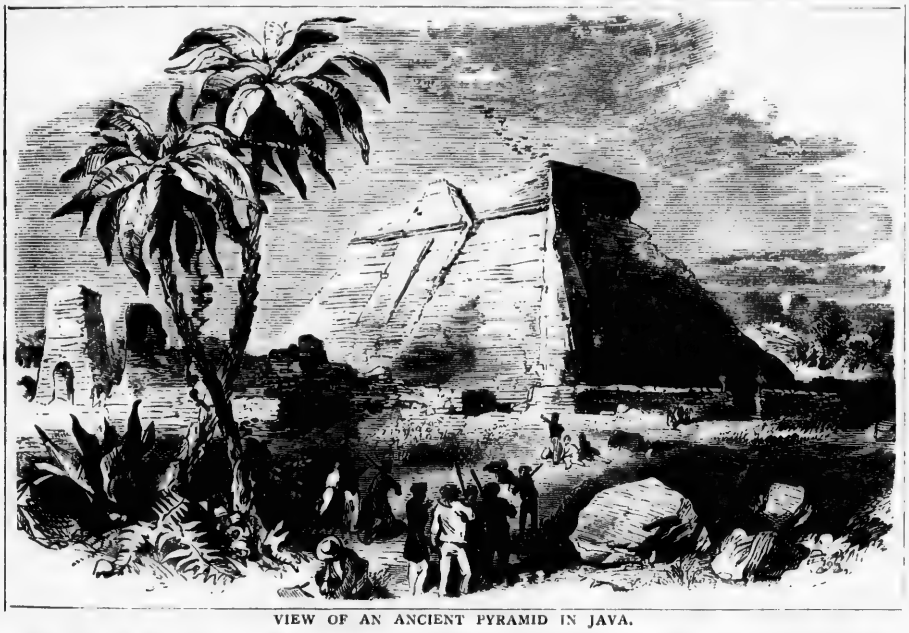
their boat,
came of the
told us that

grass, celery,
on Pedro to
e, when the
Ve proceeded
ships; where
rtunate that
of rain, so
sed, and the

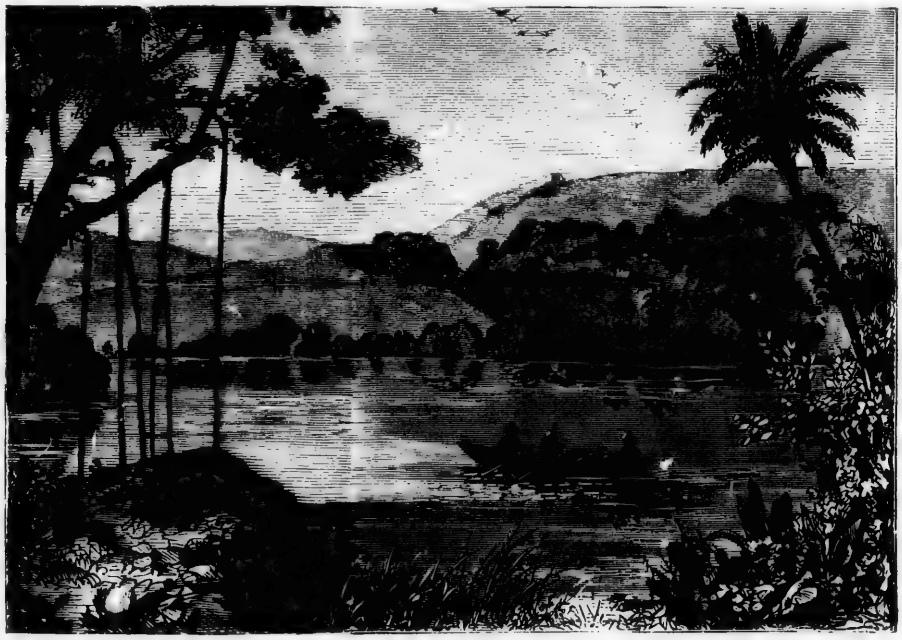
and Pedro,
per name is
yage, which
countrymen
north-west.
om the hills
top-masts to
t we rode it
some. The
rs, not only
o two blasts
their effects

irty persons,
d never seen
about forty-
s tribe were,
By this time
es about us.
ore: but the
e were melt-
friends here
casks; but
supposed it

ve the cattle
ships, on the
morning we
, and finding
anchor again
ty of putting
geauooranuc,
, or rather to
These two
Matahouah
, a boar, and
put no great
ich soon after
get no intelli-
, when I was
nversed with
p Cove; and



VIEW OF AN ANCIENT PYRAMID IN JAVA.



THE ISLAND OF SUMATRA.

I was afterward informed, by the two youths who went away with us, that Tiratou, a popular chief amongst them, had a great many cocks and hens in his separate possession, and one of the sows.

On my present arrival at this place, I fully intended to have left not only goats and hogs, but sheep, and a young bull, with two heifers, if I could have found either a chief powerful enough to protect and keep them, or a place where there might be a probability of their being concealed from those who would ignorantly attempt to destroy them. But neither the one nor the other presented itself to me. Tiratou was now absent; and Tringoboohee, whom I had met with during my last voyage*, and who seemed to be a person of much consequence at that time, had been killed five months ago, with about seventy persons of his tribe; and I could not learn that there now remained in our neighbourhood any tribe whose numbers could secure to them a superiority of power over the rest of their countrymen. To have given the animals to any of the natives who possessed no such power, would not have answered the intention. For, in a country like this, where no man's property is secure, they would soon have fallen a prey to different parties, and been either separated or killed; but most likely both. This was so evident, from what we had observed since our arrival, that I had resolved to leave no kind of animal, till Matahouah and the other chief solicited me for the hogs and goats. As I could spare them, I let them go, to take their chance. I have, at different times, left in New Zealand no less than ten or a dozen hogs, besides those put on shore by Captain Furneaux. It will be a little extraordinary, therefore, if this race should not increase and be preserved here, either in a wild or in a domestic state, or in both†.

We had not been long at anchor near Motuara, before three or four canoes, filled with natives, came off to us from the south-east side of the Sound; and a brisk trade was carried on with them for the curiosities of this place. In one of these canoes was Kahoora, whom I have already mentioned as the leader of the party who cut off the crew of the Adventure's boat. This was the third time he had visited us, without betraying the smallest appearance of fear. I was ashore when he now arrived, but had got on board just as he was going away. Omai, who had returned with me, presently pointed him out, and solicited me to shoot him. Not satisfied with this, he addressed himself to Kahoora, threatening to be his executioner, if ever he presumed to visit us again. The New Zealander paid so little regard to these threats, that he returned, the next morning, with his whole family, men, women, and children, to the number of twenty and upwards. Omai was the first who acquainted me with his being alongside the ship, and desired to know if he should ask him to come on board. I told him he might; and accordingly he introduced the chief into the cabin, saying, "There is Kahoora; kill him!" But, as if he had forgot his former threats, or were afraid that I should call upon him to perform them, he immediately retired. In a short time, however, he returned; and seeing the chief unhurt, he expostulated with me very earnestly, saying, "Why do you not kill him? You tell me, if a man kills another in England, that he is hanged for it. This man has killed ten, and yet you will not kill him; though many of his countrymen desire it, and it would be very good." Omai's arguments, though specious enough, having no weight with me, I desired him to ask the chief, why he had killed Captain Furneaux's people? At this question, Kahoora folded his arms, hung down his head, and looked like one caught in a trap; and, I firmly believe, he expected instant death. But no sooner was he assured of his safety, than he became cheerful. He did not, however, seem willing to give me an answer to the question that had been put to him, till I had, again and again, repeated my promise that he should not be hurt. Then he ventured to tell us, that one of his countrymen having brought a stone hatchet to barter, the man to whom it was offered took it, and would neither return it nor give anything for it; on which the owner of it snatched up the bread as an equivalent; and then the quarrel began.

* See vol. I. p. 546.

† The quantity of food, particularly the fern-root, fitted for the support of swine, which abounds in the forests of New Zealand, would lead us to suppose that at the present day those animals would be found wild; but such does not appear to be the case, although they are bred in large numbers by the natives, who undoubtedly derived their first supply from Cook.—Ed.

The remainder of Kahoora's account of this unhappy affair differed very little from what we had before learned from the rest of his countrymen. He mentioned the narrow escape he had during the fray, a musket being levelled at him, which he avoided by skulking behind the boat; and another man, who stood close to him, was shot dead. As soon as the musket was discharged, he instantly seized the opportunity to attack Mr. Rowe, who commanded the party, and who defended himself with his hanger (with which he wounded Kahoora in the arm) till he was overpowered by numbers.

Mr. Burney, who was sent by Captain Furneaux the next day* with an armed party, to look for his missing people, upon discovering the horrid proofs of their shocking fate, had fired several volleys amongst the crowds of natives who still remained assembled on the spot, and were, probably, partaking of the detestable banquet. It was natural to suppose that he had not fired in vain; and that, therefore, some of the murderers and devourers of our unhappy countrymen had suffered under our just resentment. Upon inquiry, however, into this matter, not only from Kahoora, but from others who had opportunities of knowing, it appeared that our supposition was groundless, and that not one of the shot fired by Mr. Burney's people had taken effect, so as to kill, or even to hurt, a single person.

It was evident, that most of the natives we had met with since our arrival, as they knew I was fully acquainted with the history of the massacre, expected I should avenge it with the death of Kahoora. And many of them seemed not only to wish it, but expressed their surprise at my forbearance. As he could not be ignorant of this, it was a matter of wonder to me that he put himself so often in my power. When he visited us while the ships lay in the Cove, confiding in the number of his friends that accompanied him, he might think himself safe. But his two last visits had been made under such circumstances, that he could no longer rely upon this. We were then at anchor in the entrance of the Sound, and at some distance from any shore; so that he could not have any assistance from thence, nor flatter himself he could have the means of making his escape, had I determined to detain him. And yet, after his first fears, on being interrogated, were over, he was so far from entertaining any uneasy sensations, that, on seeing a portrait of one of his countrymen hanging up in the cabin, he desired to have his own portrait drawn; and sat till Mr. Webber had finished it, without marking the least impatience. I must confess, I admired his courage, and was not a little pleased to observe the extent of the confidence he put in me. For he placed his whole safety in the declarations I had uniformly made to those who solicited his death, that I had always been a friend to them all, and would continue so, unless they gave me cause to act otherwise; that as to their inhuman treatment of our people, I should think no more of it, the transaction having happened long ago, and when I was not present; but that, if ever they made a second attempt of that kind, they might rest assured of feeling the weight of my resentment.

For some time before we arrived at New Zealand, Omai had expressed a desire to take one of the natives with him to his own country. We had not been there many days, before he had an opportunity of being gratified in this; for a youth, about seventeen or eighteen years of age, named Taweiharooa, offered to accompany him, and took up his residence on board. I paid little attention to this at first, imagining that he would leave us when we were about to depart, and after he had got what he could from Omai. At length, finding that he was fixed in his resolution to go with us, and having learnt that he was the only son of a deceased chief, and that his mother, still living, was a woman much respected here, I was apprehensive that Omai had deceived him and his friends, by giving them hopes and assurances of his being sent back. I therefore caused it to be made known to them all, that if the young man went away with us, he would never return. But this declaration seemed to make no sort of impression. The afternoon before we left the cove, Tiratoutou, his mother, came on board, to receive her last present from Omai. The same evening, she and Taweiharooa parted, with all the marks of tender affection that might be expected between a parent and a child who were never to meet again. But she said she would cry no more; and, sure enough, she kept her word. For, when she returned the next morning, to take

* See his Narrative, vol. I. p. 584.

her last farewell of him, all the time she was on board she remained quite cheerful, and went away wholly unconcerned.

That Taweiharooa might be sent away in a manner becoming his birth, another youth was to have gone with him as his servant; and, with this view, as we supposed, he remained on board till we were about to sail, when his friends took him ashore. However, his place was supplied, next morning, by another, a boy of about nine or ten years of age, named Kokoa. He was presented to me by his own father, who, I believe, would have parted with his dog with far less indifference. The very little clothing the boy had, he stripped him of, and left him as naked as he was born. It was to no purpose that I endeavoured to convince these people of the improbability, or rather of the impossibility, of these youths ever returning home. Not one, not even their nearest relations, seemed to trouble themselves about their future fate. Since this was the case, and I was well satisfied that the boys would be no losers by exchange of place, I the more readily gave my consent to their going.

From my own observations, and from the information of Taweiharooa and others, it appears to me that the New Zealanders must live under perpetual apprehensions of being destroyed by each other; there being few of their tribes that have not, as they think, sustained wrongs from some other tribe, which they are continually upon the watch to revenge. And, perhaps, the desire of a good meal may be no small incitement. I am told that many years will sometimes elapse before a favourable opportunity happens, and that the son never loses sight of an injury that has been done to his father. Their method of executing their horrible designs, is by stealing upon the adverse party in the night; and if they find them unguarded (which, however, I believe, is very seldom the case), they kill every one indiscriminately, not even sparing the women and children. When the massacre is completed, they either feast and gorge themselves on the spot, or carry off as many of the dead bodies as they can, and devour them at home, with acts of brutality too shocking to be described. If they are discovered before they can execute their bloody purpose, they generally steal off again; and sometimes are pursued and attacked by the other party in their turn. To give quarter, or to take prisoners, makes no part of their military law; so that the vanquished can only save their lives by flight. This perpetual state of war, and destructive method of conducting it, operates so strongly in producing habitual circumspection, that one hardly ever finds a New Zealander off his guard, either by night or by day. Indeed, no other man can have such powerful motives to be vigilant, as the preservation both of body and of soul depends upon it. For, according to their system of belief, the soul of the man whose flesh is devoured by the enemy is doomed to a perpetual fire; while the soul of the man whose body has been rescued from those who killed him, as well as the souls of all who die a natural death, ascend to the habitations of the gods. I asked whether they ate the flesh of such of their friends as had been killed in war, but whose bodies were saved from falling into the enemy's hands? , seemed surprised at the question, which they answered in the negative, expressing some abhorrence at the very idea. Their common method of disposing of their dead, is by depositing their bodies in the earth; but if they have more of their slaughtered enemies than they can eat, they throw them into the sea.

They have no such thing as *morais*, or other places of public worship; nor do they ever assemble together with this view. But they have priests, who alone address the gods in prayers for the prosperity of their temporal affairs; such as an enterprise against a hostile tribe, a fishing party, or the like. Whatever the principles of their religion may be, of which we remain very ignorant, its instructions are very strongly inculcated into them from their very infancy. Of this I saw a remarkable instance, in the youth who was first destined to accompany Taweiharooa. He refrained from eating, the greatest part of the day, on account of his hair being cut; though every method was tried to induce him to break his resolution, and he was tempted with the offer of such victuals as he was known to esteem the most. He said, if he ate anything that day, the *Eatoua* would kill him. However, towards evening, the cravings of nature got the better of the precepts of his religion, and he ate, though but sparingly. I had often conjectured, before this, that they had some superstitious notions about their hair, having frequently observed quantities of it tied to the branches of trees near some of their habitations; but what these notions are, I never could learn.

Notwithstanding the divided and hostile state in which the New Zealanders live, travelling strangers, who come with no ill design, are well received and entertained during their stay; which, however, it is expected will be no longer than is requisite to transact the business they come upon. Thus it is that a trade for *poenammoo*, or green talc, is carried on throughout the whole northern island. For they tell us, that there is none of this stone to be found, but at a place which bears its name, somewhere about the head of Queen Charlotte's Sound, and not above one or two days' journey, at most, from the station of our ships. I regretted much that I could not spare time sufficient for paying a visit to the place; as we were told a hundred fabulous stories about this stone, not one of which carried with it the least probability of truth, though some of their most sensible men would have us believe them. One of these stories is, that this stone is originally a fish, which they strike with a gig in the water, tie a rope to it, and drag it to the shore, to which they fasten it, and it afterwards becomes stone. As they all agree that it is fished out of a large lake, or collection of waters, the most probable conjecture is, that it is brought from the mountains, and deposited in the water, by the torrents*. This lake is called by the natives *Tavai Poenammoo;* that is, the Water of Green Talc; and it is only the adjoining part of the country, and not the whole southern island of New Zealand, that is known to them by the name which hath been given to it on my chart.

Polygamy is allowed amongst these people; and it is not uncommon for a man to have two or three wives. The women are marriageable at a very early age; and it should seem, that one who is unmarried is but in a forlorn state. She can with difficulty get a subsistence; at least she is, in a great measure, without a protector, though in constant want of a powerful one. The New Zealanders seem to be a people perfectly satisfied with the little knowledge they are masters of, without attempting, in the least, to improve it; nor are they remarkably curious, either in their observations or their inquiries. New objects do not strike them with such a degree of surprise as one would naturally expect; nor do they even fix their attention for a moment. Omai, indeed, who was a great favourite with them, would sometimes attract a circle about him; but they seemed to listen to his speeches like persons who neither understood, nor wished to understand, what they heard.

One day, on our inquiring of Taweiharooa how many ships, such as ours, had ever arrived in Queen Charlotte's Sound, or in any part of its neighbourhood? he began with giving an account of one absolutely unknown to us. This, he said, had put into a port on the north-west coast of Teerawitte, but a very few years before I arrived in the Sound in the Endeavour, which the New Zealanders distinguish by calling Tupia's ship. At first, I thought he might have been mistaken as to the time and place; and that the ship in question might be either Monsieur Surville's, who is said to have touched upon the north-east coast of Eaheinomauwe, the same year I was there in the Endeavour, or else Monsieur Marion du Fresne's, who was in the Bay of Islands, on the same coast, a few years after; but he assured us that he was not mistaken, either as to the time or as to the place of this ship's arrival, and that it was well known to everybody about Queen Charlotte's Sound and Teerawitte. He said, that the Captain of her, during his stay here, cohabited with a woman of the country; and that she had a son by him still living, and about the age of Kokoa; who, though not born then, seemed to be equally well acquainted with the story. We were also informed by Taweiharooa, that this ship first introduced the venereal disease amongst the New Zealanders. I wish that subsequent visiters from Europe may not have their share of guilt, in leaving so dreadful a remembrance of them amongst this unhappy race. The disorder now is but too common here, though they do not seem to regard it, saying, that its effects are not near so pernicious at present as they were at its first appearance. The only method, as far as I ever heard, that they make use of as a remedy, is by giving the patient the use of a sort of hot bath, which they produce by the steam of certain green plants laid over hot stones.

* The situation of this lake is now understood to be in the southern part of the southern island, or New Munster, a site yet unexplored by Europeans, between two and three hundred miles from Queen Charlotte's Sound. The account given to Cook, whose care in procuring and accuracy in reporting information has never been surpassed, may still be correct, as the lake laid down in the maps of the present day as Te-wai-poenamu, or the Water of Green Talc, may not be the only one where that substance is procurable.—Ed.

I regretted much that we did not hear of this ship while we were in the Sound; as, by means of Omai, we might have had full and correct inforr ut her from eye-witnesses. For Taweiharoa's account was only from what he had been , and therefore liable to many mistakes. I have not the least doubt, however, that his testimony may so far be depended upon, as to induce us to believe that a ship really had been at Terrawitte prior to my arrival in the Endeavour, as it corresponds with what I had formerly heard. For in the latter end of 1773, the second time I visited New Zealand, during my last voyage, when we were continually making inquiries about the Adventure, after our separation, some of the natives informed us of a ship's having been in a port on the coast of Teerawitte. But, at that time, we thought we must have misunderstood them, and took no notice of the intelligence. The arrival of this unknown ship has been marked by the New Zealanders with more cause of remembrance than the unhappy one just mentioned. Taweiharoa told us their country was indebted to her people for the present of an animal, which they left behind them. But as he had not seen it himself, no sort of judgment could be formed, from his description, of what kind it was. We had another piece of intelligence from him, more correctly given, though not confirmed by our own observations, that there are snakes and lizards there of an enormous size. He described the latter as being eight feet in length, and as big round as a man's body. He said, they sometimes seize and devour men; that they burrow in the ground; and that they are killed by making fires at the mouths of the holes. We could not be mistaken as to the animal; for with his own hand he drew a very good representation of a lizard on a piece of paper, as also of a snake, in order to show what he meant.*

Though much has been said, in the narratives of my two former voyages, about this country and its inhabitants, Mr. Anderson's remarks, as serving either to confirm or to correct our former accounts, may not be superfluous. He had been three times with me in Queen Charlotte's Sound, during my last voyage; and, after this fourth visit, what he thought proper to record may be considered as the result of sufficient observation. The reader will find it in the next chapter; and I have nothing farther to add, before I quit New Zealand, but to give some account of the astronomical and nautical observations made during our stay there.

The longitude of the Observatory in Ship Cove, by a mean of 103 sets of observations, each set consisting of six or more observed distances, was	174°	25′	15″	east.
By the time-keeper, at Greenwich rate, it was	175	26	30	
By ditto, at the Cape rate, it was	174	56	12	
Variation of the compass, being the mean of six needles, observed on board the ship	12	40	0	east.
By the same needles on shore, it was	13	53	0	
The dip of the south end, observed on shore, was	63	42	0	

By a mean of the results of eleven days' observations, the time-keeper was too slow for mean time, on February 22, at noon, by $11^h\ 50'\ 37''.396$; and she was found to be losing, on mean time, at the rate of $2''.913$ per day. From this rate the longitude will be computed, till some other opportunity offers to ascertain her rate anew. The astronomical clock, with the same length of pendulum as at Greenwich, was found to be losing on sidereal time $40''.239$ per day. It will not be amiss to mention, that the longitude, by lunar observations, as above, differs only 6′ 45″ from what Mr. Wales made it during my last voyage; his being so much more to the W., or 174° 18′ 30″. The latitude of Ship Cove is 41° 6′ 0″, as found by Mr. Wales.

* This man's story still wants confirmation, as neither snakes nor lizards, of the size he mentioned, have yet been met with. Perhaps the animal he mentions as left behind by the strange ship, was the Norway rat, which has nearly exterminated the New Zealand rat, the only indigenous four-footed animal known in the country.—Ed.

CHAPTER VIII.—MR. ANDERSON'S REMARKS ON THE COUNTRY NEAR QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND.—THE SOIL.—CLIMATE.—WEATHER.—WINDS.—TREES.—PLANTS.—BIRDS.—FISH.—OTHER ANIMALS.—OF THE INHABITANTS.—DESCRIPTION OF THEIR PERSONS.—THEIR DRESS.—ORNAMENTS.—HABITATIONS.—BOATS.—FOOD AND COOKERY.—ARTS.—WEAPONS.—CRUELTY TO PRISONERS.—VARIOUS CUSTOMS.—SPECIMEN OF THEIR LANGUAGE.

The land everywhere about Queen Charlotte's Sound is uncommonly mountainous, rising immediately from the sea into large hills with blunted tops. At considerable distances are valleys, or rather impressions on the sides of the hills, which are not deep; each terminating toward the sea in a small cove, with a pebbly or sandy beach; behind which are small flats, where the natives generally build their huts, at the same time hauling their canoes upon the beaches. This situation is the more convenient, as in every cove a brook of very fine water (in which are some small trout) empties itself into the sea. The bases of these mountains, at least toward the shore, are constituted of a brittle, yellowish sandstone, which acquires a bluish cast where the sea washes it. It runs, at some places, in horizontal, and, at other places, in oblique strata; being frequently divided, at small distances, by thin veins of coarse quartz, which commonly follow the direction of the other, though they sometimes intersect it. The mould, or soil, which covers this, is also of a yellowish cast, not unlike marl; and is commonly from a foot to two, or more, in thickness.

The quality of this soil is best indicated by the luxuriant growth of its productions. For the hills (except a few toward the sea, which are covered with smaller bushes) are one continued forest of lofty trees, flourishing with a vigour almost superior to anything that imagination can conceive, and affording an august prospect to those who are delighted with the grand and beautiful works of nature. The agreeable temperature of the climate, no doubt, contributes much to this uncommon strength in vegetation: for at this time, though answering to our month of August, the weather was never disagreeably warm; nor did it raise the thermometer higher than 66°. The winter, also, seems equally mild with respect to cold; for in June 1773, which corresponds to our December, the mercury never fell lower than 48°, and the trees, at that time, retained their verdure as if in the summer season; so that, I believe, their foliage is never shed till pushed off by the succeeding leaves in spring.

The weather in general is good, but sometimes windy, with heavy rain; which, however, never lasts above a day, nor does it appear that it is ever excessive. For there are no marks of torrents rushing down the hills, as in many countries; and the brooks, if we may judge from their channels, seem never to be greatly increased. I have observed, in the four different times of my being here, that the winds from the S. eastward are commonly moderate, but attended with cloudy weather or rain. The S.W. winds blow very strong, and are also attended with rain; but they seldom last long. The N.W. winds are the most prevailing; and though often pretty strong, are almost constantly connected with fine weather. In short, the only obstacle to this being one of the finest countries upon earth is its great hilliness, which, allowing the woods to be cleared away, would leave it less proper for pasturage than flat land, and still more improper for cultivation, which could never be effected here by the plough.

The large trees which cover the hills are chiefly of two sorts. One of them, of the size of our largest firs, grows much after their manner; but the leaves and small berries on their points are much liker the yew. It was this which supplied the place of spruce in making beer; which we did with a strong decoction of its leaves, fermented with treacle or sugar. And this liquor, when well prepared, was acknowledged to be little inferior to the American spruce-beer, by those who had experience of both. The other sort of tree is not unlike a maple, and grows often to a great size; but it only served for fuel, as the wood, both of this and of the preceding, was found to be rather too heavy for masts, yards, and other similar repairs. There is a greater variety of trees on the small flat spots behind the beaches. Amongst these are two that bear a kind of plum of the size of prunes, the one yellow, called *karraca;* and the other black, called *maitao;* but neither of them of a very agreeable taste, though the natives ate both, and our people did the same. Those of the first sort

grow on small trees, always facing the sea; but the others belong to larger trees that stand farther within the wood, and which we frequently cut down for fuel. A species of *Philadelphus* grows on the eminences which jut out into the sea; and also a tree bearing flowers almost like myrtle, with roundish-spotted leaves of a disagreeable smell. We drank the leaves of the *Philadelphus* as tea; and found that they had a pleasant taste and smell, and might make an excellent substitute for the Oriental sort.

Among other plants that were useful to us, may be reckoned wild celery, which grows plentifully in almost every cove, especially if the natives have ever resided here before; and one that we used to call scurvy-grass, though entirely different from the plant to which we give that name. This, however, is far preferable to ours for common use; and may be known by its jagged leaves and small clusters of white flowers on the top. Both sorts were boiled every morning with wheat ground in a mill, and with portable soup for the people's breakfast, and also amongst their pease-soup for dinner. Sometimes they were used as salad, or dressed as greens. In all which ways they are good; and together with the fish, with which we were constantly supplied, they formed a sort of refreshment, perhaps little inferior to what is to be met with in places most noted by navigators for plentiful supplies of animal and vegetable food.

Amongst the known kinds of plants met with here, are common and rough bindweed, nightshade, and nettles, both which grow to the size of small trees; a shrubby speedwell, found near all the beaches; sow-thistles, virgin's bower, vanelloe, French willow, euphorbia, and crane's-bill; also cudweed, rushes, bull-rushes, flax, all-heal, American nightshade, knot-grass, brambles, eye-bright, and groundsel; but the species of each are different from any we have in Europe. There is also polypody, spleenwort, and about twenty other different sorts of ferns, entirely peculiar to the place; with several sorts of mosses, either rare, or produced only here; besides a great number of other plants, whose uses are not yet known, and subjects fit only for botanical books.

Of these, however, there is one which deserves particular notice here, as the natives make their garments of it; and it produces a fine silky flax, superior in appearance to anything we have, and, probably, at least as strong. It grows everywhere near the sea, and in some places a considerable way up the hills, in bunches or tufts, with sedge-like leaves, bearing, on a long stalk, yellowish flowers, which are succeeded by a long roundish pod, filled with very thin shining black seeds *. A species of long pepper is found in great plenty; but it has little of the aromatic flavour that makes spices valuable; and a tree much like a palm at a distance is pretty frequent in the woods, though the deceit appears as you come near it. It is remarkable that, as the greatest part of the trees and plants had, at this time, lost their flowers, we perceived they were generally of the berry-bearing kind; of which, and other seeds, I brought away about thirty different sorts. Of these, one in particular, which bears a red berry, is much like the supple-jack, and grows about the trees, stretching from one to another, in such a manner as to render the woods almost wholly impassable.

The birds, of which there is a tolerable stock, as well as the vegetable productions, are almost entirely peculiar to the place. And though it be difficult to follow them, on account of the quantity of underwood and the climbing plants, that render travelling, for pleasure alone, uncommonly fatiguing, yet a person, by remaining in one place, may shoot as many in a day as would serve six or eight others. The principal sorts are, large brown parrots, with white or greyish heads; green parroquets with red foreheads; large wood-pigeons, brown above, with white bellies, the rest green, and the bill and feet red. Two sorts of cuckoos, one as large as our common sort, of a brown colour, variegated with black; the other not larger than a sparrow, of a splendid green cast above, and elegantly varied with waves

* The *Phormium tenax*, or New Zealand flax. Of this there are several species, and already it has been employed with considerable success as a substitute for hemp, but until a method of dressing it in a better manner than that practised by the natives, which at present is the only one found to answer, is practised, it cannot become, what it is probably eventually destined to be, a large article of commerce, and even the staple of the country. The settlers at Port Nicholson offered a large reward to the inventor of a machine for dressing New Zealand flax; but we have not yet heard that the prize has been gained, although many attempts have been made to obtain it. See the Hon. H. W. Petre's "New Zealand."—Ed.

of golden, green, brown, and white colours below. Both these are scarce; but several others are in greater plenty; one of which, of a black colour, with a greenish cast, is remarkable for having a tuft of white curled feathers hanging under the throat, and was called the *poy* bird by our people. Another sort, rather smaller, is black, with a brown back and wings, and two small gills under the root of the bill. This we called the small wattle-bird, to distinguish it from another, which we called the large one, of the size of a common pigeon, with two large yellow and purple membranes also at the root of the bill. It is black, or rather blue, and has no resemblance of the other but in name; for the bill is thick, short, and crooked, and has altogether an uncommon appearance. A gross-beak, about the size of a thrush, of a brown colour, with a reddish tail, is frequent; as is also a small greenish bird, which is almost the only musical one here, but is sufficient by itself to fill the woods with a melody that is not only sweet, but so varied, that one would imagine he was surrounded by a hundred different sorts of birds, when the little warbler is near. From this circumstance we named it the mocking-bird. There are likewise three or four sorts of smaller birds; one of which, in figure and tameness, exactly resembles our robin, but is black where that is brown, and white where that is red. Another differs but little from this, except in being smaller; and a third sort has a long tail, which it expands as a fan on coming near, and makes a chirping noise when it perches. King-fishers are seen, though rare, and are about the size of our English ones, but with an inferior plumage.

About the rocks are seen black sea-pies with red bills: and crested shags of a leaden colour, with small black spots on the wings and shoulders, and the rest of the upper part of a velvet black tinged with green. We frequently shot both these, and also a more common sort of shags, black above and white underneath, that build their nests upon trees, on which sometimes a dozen or more sit at once. There are also, about the shore, a few sea-gulls; some blue herons; and sometimes, though very rarely, wild ducks; a small sandy-coloured plover, and some sand-larks; and small penguins, black above with a white belly, as well as numbers of little black divers, swim often about the Sound. We likewise killed two or three rails of a brown or yellowish colour, variegated with black, which feed about the small brooks, and are nearly as large as a common fowl. No other sort of game was seen, except a single snipe, which was shot, and differs but little from that of Europe.

The principal fish we caught by the seine were mullets and elephant-fish, with a few soles and flounders; but those that the natives mostly supplied us with, were a sort of sea-bream of a silver colour with a black spot on the neck, large conger-eels, and a fish in shape much like the bream, but so large as to weigh five, six, or seven pounds. It is blackish with thick lips, and called *mogge* by the natives. With hook and line we caught chiefly a blackish fish of the size of a haddock, called cole-fish by the seamen, but differing much from that known by the same name in Europe; and another of the same size, of a reddish colour with a little beard, which we called night-walkers, from the greatest number being caught in the night. Sometimes we got a sort of small salmon, gurnards, skate, and nurses; and the natives, now and then, brought hake, paracutas, a small sort of mackerel, parrot-fish, and leather-jackets; besides another fish which is very rare, shaped almost like a dolphin, of a black colour, with strong bony jaws, and the back-fin, as well as those opposite to it, much lengthened at the end. All these sorts, except the last, which we did not try, are excellent to eat; but the *mogge*, small salmon, and cole-fish, are superior to the rest.

The rocks are abundantly furnished with great quantities of excellent muscles; one sort of which, that is not very common, measures above a foot in length. There are also cockles buried in the sand of the small beaches; and in some places oysters, which, though very small, are well tasted. Of other shell-fish, there are ten or twelve sorts, such as periwinkles, wilks, limpets, and some very beautiful sea-ears; also another sort which stick to the weeds; with some other things, as sea-eggs, star-fish, &c., several of which are peculiar to the place. The natives likewise sometimes brought us very fine cray-fish, equal to our largest lobsters, and cuttle-fish, which they eat themselves.

Insects are very rare. Of these, we only saw two sorts of dragon-flies, some butterflies,

small grasshoppers, several sorts of spiders, some small black ants, and vast numbers of scorpion flies, with whose chirping the woods resound. The only noxious one is the sand-fly, very numerous here, and almost as troublesome as the musquito; for we found no reptile here, except two or three sorts of small harmless lizards *.

It is remarkable that, in this extensive land, there should not even be the traces of any quadruped, only excepting a few rats, and a sort of fox-dog, which is a domestic animal with the natives. Neither is there any mineral worth notice, but a green jasper or serpent-stone, of which the New Zealanders make their tools and ornaments. This is esteemed a precious article by them; and they have some superstitious notions about the method of its generation, which we could not perfectly understand. It is plain, however, that wherever it may be found (which, they say, is in the channel of a large river far to the southward), it is disposed in the earth in thin layers, or, perhaps, in detached pieces, like our flints; for the edges of those pieces, which have not been cut, are covered with a whitish crust like these. A piece of this sort was purchased, about eighteen inches long, a foot broad, and near two inches thick; which yet seemed to be only the fragment of a larger piece.

The natives do not exceed the common stature of Europeans; and, in general, are not so well made, especially about the limbs. This is, perhaps, the effect of sitting, for the most part, on their hams; and of being confined, by the hilly disposition of the country, from using that sort of exercise which contributes to render the body straight and well-proportioned. There are, however, several exceptions to this; and some are remarkable for their large bones and muscles; but few that I have seen are corpulent. Their colour is of different casts, from a pretty deep black to a yellowish or olive tinge; and their features also are various, some resembling Europeans. But, in general, their faces are round, with their lips full, and also their noses towards the point; though the first are not uncommonly thick, nor the last flat. I do not, however, recollect to have seen an instance of the true aquiline nose amongst them. Their teeth are commonly broad, white, and well set; and their eyes large, with a very free motion, which seems the effect of habit. Their hair is black, straight, and strong, commonly cut short on the hind part, with the rest tied on the crown of the head; but some have it of a curling disposition, or of a brown colour. In the young, the countenance is generally free or open; but in many of the men it has a serious cast, and sometimes a sullenness or reserve, especially if they are strangers. The women are, in general, smaller than the men; but have few peculiar graces, either in form or features, to distinguish them.

The dress of both sexes is alike; and consists of an oblong garment about five feet long, and four broad, made from the silky flax already mentioned. This seems to be their most material and complex manufacture, which is executed by knotting; and their work is often ornamented with pieces of dog-skin, or checkered at the corners. They bring two corners of this garment over the shoulders, and fasten it on the breast with the other part, which covers the body; and about the belly, it is again tied with a girdle made of mat. Sometimes they cover it with large feathers of birds (which seem to be wrought into the piece of cloth when it is made), or with dog-skin; and that alone we have seen worn as a covering. Over this garment, many of them wear mats, which reach from the shoulders to near the heels. But the most common outer-covering is a quantity of the above sedgy plant, badly dressed, which they fasten on a string to a considerable length, and, throwing it about the shoulders, let it fall down on all sides, as far as the middle of the thighs. When they sit down with this upon them, either in their boats, or upon the shore, it would be difficult to distinguish them from large grey stones, if their black heads, projecting beyond their coverings, did not engage one to a stricter examination.

By way of ornament, they fix in their heads feathers, or combs of bone, or wood, adorned with pearl shell, or the thin inner skin of some leaf. And in the ears, both of men and women, which are pierced, or rather slit, are hung small pieces of jasper, bits of cloth, or beads when they can get them. A few also have the *septum* of the nose bored in its lower part; but no ornament was worn there that we saw; though one man passed a twig through

* In a separate memorandum-book, Mr. Anderson mentions the monstrous animal of the lizard kind, described by the two boys after they left the island.

it, to show us that it was sometimes used for that purpose. They wear long beards, but are fond of having them shaved. Some are punctured or stained in the face with curious spiral and other figures, of a black or deep blue colour; but it is doubtful whether this be ornamental, or intended as a mark of particular distinction; and the women, who are marked so, have the puncture only on their lips, or a small spot on their chins. Both sexes often besmear their faces and heads with a red paint, which seems to be a martial ochre mixed with grease; and the women sometimes wear necklaces of shark's teeth, or bunches of long beads, which seem to be made of the leg-bones of small birds, or a particular shell. A few also have small triangular aprons adorned with the feathers of parrots, or bits of pearl shells, furnished with a double or treble set of cords to fasten them about the waist. I have sometimes seen caps or bonnets made of the feathers of birds, which may be reckoned as ornaments; for it is not their custom to wear any covering on their heads.

They live in the small coves formerly described, in companies of forty or fifty, or more; and sometimes in single families, building their huts contiguous to each other; which, in general, are miserable lodging-places. The best I ever saw was about thirty feet long, fifteen broad, and six high, built exactly in the manner of one of our country barns. The inside was both strong and regularly made of supporters at the sides, alternately large and small, well fastened by means of withes, and painted red and black. The ridge pole was strong; and the large bulrushes, which composed the inner part of the thatching, were laid with great exactness parallel to each other. At one end was a small square hole, which served as a door to creep in at; and near it another much smaller, seemingly for letting out the smoke, as no other vent for it could be seen. This, however, ought to be considered as one of the best, and the residence of some principal person; for the greatest part of them are not half the above size, and seldom exceed four feet in height; being, besides, indifferently built, though proof against wind and rain.

No other furniture is to be seen in them, than a few small baskets or bags, in which they put their fishing-hooks, and other trifles; and they sit down in the middle round a small fire, where they also probably sleep, without any other covering than what they wear in the day, or perhaps without that; as such confined places must be very warm, though inhabited but by a few persons.

They live chiefly by fishing, making use either of nets of different kinds, or of wooden fish-hooks pointed with bone; but so oddly made, that a stranger is at a loss to know how they can answer such a purpose. It also appears, that they remove their habitations from one place to another when the fish grow scarce, or for some other reason; for we found houses now built in several parts, where there had been none when we were here during our last voyage, and even these have been already deserted. Their boats are well built, of planks raised upon each other, and fastened with strong withes, which also bind a long narrow piece on the outside of the seams to prevent their leaking. Some are fifty feet long, and so broad as to be able to sail without an outrigger; but the smaller sort commonly have one; and they often fasten two together by rafters, which we then call a double canoe. They carry from five to thirty men or more; and have often a large head ingeniously carved, and painted with a figure at the point, which seems intended to represent a man, with his features distorted by rage. Their paddles are about four or five feet long, narrow, and pointed; with which, when they keep time, the boat is pushed along pretty swiftly. Their sail, which is seldom used, is made of a mat of a triangular shape, having the broadest part above.

The only method of dressing their fish, is by roasting, or rather baking, for they are entirely ignorant of the art of boiling. In the same manner they dress the root, and part of the stalk, of the large fern-tree, in a great hole dug for that purpose, which serves as an oven. After which they split it, and find within a fine gelatinous substance, like boiled sago-powder, but firmer. They also use another smaller fern root, which seems to be their substitute for bread, as it is dried and carried about with them, together with dried fish in great quantities, when they remove their families, or go far from home. This they beat with a stick till it becomes pretty soft, when they chew it sufficiently, and spit out the hard fibrous part, the other having a sweetish mealy taste not at all disagreeable. When they dare not venture

to sea, or perhaps from choice, they supply the place of other fish with muscles and sea-ears, great quantities of the shells of which lie in heaps near their houses. And they sometimes, though rarely, find means to kill rails, penguins, and shags, which help to vary their diet. They also breed considerable numbers of the dogs, mentioned before, for food; but these cannot be considered as a principal article of diet. From whence we may conclude, that as there is not the least sign of cultivation of land, they depend principally for their subsistence on the sea, which, indeed, is very bountiful in its supply.

Their method of feeding corresponds with the nastiness of their persons, which often smell disagreeably from the quantity of grease about them, and their clothes never being washed. We have seen them eat the vermin, with which their heads are sufficiently stocked. They also used to devour, with the greatest eagerness, large quantities of stinking train oil, and blubber of seals, which we were melting at the tent, and had kept near two months; and, on board the ships, they were not satisfied with emptying the lamps, but actually swallowed the cotton and fragrant wick with equal voracity. It is worthy of notice, that though the inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land appear to have but a scanty subsistence, they would not even taste our bread, though they saw us eat it; whereas these people devoured it greedily, when both mouldy and rotten. But this must not be imputed to any defect in their sensations; for I have observed them throw away things which we eat, with evident disgust, after only smelling to them.

They show as much ingenuity, both in invention and execution, as any uncivilized nations under similar circumstances. For, without the use of any metal tools, they make everything by which they procure their subsistence, clothing, and warlike weapons, with a degree of neatness, strength, and convenience, for accomplishing their several purposes. Their chief mechanical tool is formed exactly after the manner of our adzes; and is made, as are also the chisel and gouge, of the green serpent-stone or jasper already mentioned; though sometimes they are composed of a black, smooth, and very solid stone. But their masterpiece seems to be carving, which is found upon the most trifling things; and, in particular, the heads of their canoes are sometimes ornamented with it in such a manner, as not only shows much design, but is also an example of their great labour and patience in execution. Their cordage for fishing-lines is equal, in strength and evenness, to that made by us; and their nets not at all inferior. But what must cost them more labour than any other article is the making the tools we have mentioned; for the stone is exceedingly hard, and the only method of fashioning it, we can guess at, is by rubbing one stone upon another, which can have but a slow effect. Their substitute for a knife is a shell, a bit of flint, or jasper. And, as an auger, to bore holes, they fix a shark's tooth in the end of a small piece of wood. It is true, they have a small saw made of some jagged fishes' teeth, fixed on the convex edge of a piece of wood nicely carved. But this, they say, is only used to cut up the bodies of their enemies whom they kill in battle.

No people can have a quicker sense of an injury done to them, and none are more ready to resent it. But, at the same time, they will take an opportunity of being insolent when they think there is no danger of punishment; which is so contrary to the spirit of genuine bravery, that, perhaps, their eagerness to resent injuries is to be looked upon rather as an effect of a furious disposition than of great courage. They also appear to be of a suspicious or mistrustful temper (which, however, may rather be acquired than natural), for strangers never came to our ships immediately, but lay in their boats at a small distance, either to observe our motions, or consult whether or no they should risk their safety with us. To this they join a great degree of dishonesty; for they steal everything they can lay their hands on, if there be the least hope of not being detected; and, in trading, I have little doubt but they would take advantages, if they thought it could be done with safety; as they not only refuse to trust a thing in one's hand for examination, but exult, if they think they have tricked you in the bargain.

Such conduct, however, is in some measure to be expected where there appears to be but little subordination, and consequently few, if any laws, to punish transgressions. For no man's authority seems to extend farther than his own family; and when, at any time, they join for mutual defence, or any other purpose, those amongst them who are eminent for

courage or prudence, are directors. How their private quarrels are terminated is uncertain; but, in the few we saw, which were of little consequence, the parties concerned were clamorous and disorderly. Their public contentions are frequent, or rather perpetual; for it appears, from their number of weapons, and dexterity in using them, that war is their principal profession. These weapons are spears, *patoos*, and halberts, or sometimes stones. The first are made of hard wood pointed, of different lengths, from five to twenty, or even thirty feet long. The short ones are used for throwing as darts. The *patoo* or *emeete* is of an elliptical shape, about eighteen inches long, with a handle made of wood, stone, the bone of some sea animal, or green jasper, and seems to be their principal dependence in battle. The halbert, or long club, is about five or six feet long, tapering at one end with a carved head, and at the other, broad or flat, with sharp edges.

Before they begin the onset, they join in a war-song, to which they all keep the exactest time, and soon raise their passion to a degree of frantic fury, attended with the most horrid distortion of their eyes, mouths, and tongues, to strike terror into their enemies; which, to those who have not been accustomed to such a practice, makes them appear more like demons than men, and would almost chill the boldest with fear. To this succeeds a circumstance, almost foretold in their fierce demeanour, horrid, cruel, and disgraceful to human nature; which is, cutting in pieces, even before being perfectly dead, the bodies of their enemies, and, after dressing them on a fire, devouring the flesh, not only without reluctance, but with peculiar satisfaction.

One might be apt to suppose, that people, capable of such excess of cruelty, must be destitute of every humane feeling, even amongst their own party. And yet we find them lamenting the loss of their friends, with a violence of expression which argues the most tender remembrance of them. For both men and women, upon the death of those connected with them, whether in battle or otherwise, bewail them with the most doleful cries; at the same time cutting their foreheads and cheeks, with shells or pieces of flint, in large gashes, until the blood flows plentifully and mixes with their tears. They also carve pieces of their green stone, rudely shaped as human figures, which they ornament with bright eyes of pearl shell, and hang them about their necks, as memorials of those whom they held most dear; and their affections of this kind are so strong, that they even perform the ceremony of cutting, and lamenting for joy, at the return of any of their friends, who have been absent but for a short time.

The children are initiated, at a very early age, into all the practices, good or bad, of their fathers; so that you find a boy or girl, nine or ten years old, able to perform all the motions, and to imitate the frightful gestures, by which the more aged use to inspire their enemies with terror, keeping the strictest time in their song. They likewise sing, with some degree of melody, the traditions of their forefathers, their actions in war, and other indifferent subjects; of all which they are immoderately fond, and spend much of their time in these amusements, and in playing on a sort of flute. Their language is far from being harsh or disagreeable, though the pronunciation is frequently guttural; and whatever qualities are requisite in any other language to make it musical, certainly obtain to a considerable degree here, if we may judge from the melody of some sorts of their songs. It is also sufficiently comprehensive, though, in many respects, deficient, if compared with our European languages, which owe their perfection to long improvement. But a small specimen is here subjoined, from which some judgment may be formed. I collected a great many of their words, both now and in the course of our former voyage; and being equally attentive, in my inquiries, about the languages of the other islands throughout the South Sea, I have the amplest proof of their wonderful agreement, or rather identity. This general observation has indeed been already made in the accounts of the former voyages*. I shall be enabled, however, to confirm and strengthen it, by a fresh list of words, selected from a large vocabulary in my possession; and by placing in the opposite column the corresponding words as used at Otaheite, the curious reader will, at one view, be furnished with sufficient materials for judging by what subordinate changes the difference of dialect has been effected

* See vol. I. page 321.

ENGLISH.	NEW ZEALAND.	OTAHEITE.	ENGLISH.	NEW ZEALAND.	OTAHEITE.
Water	Ewy	Evy.	White	Ema	Ooama.
A tail of a dog	Wyeroo	Ero.	To reside, or dwell	Nohoanna	Nohonoa.
Death, dead	Kaoo, matte	Matte, roa.	Out, not within	Woho	Woho.
To fly	Ererre	Eraire.	Male kind (of any animal)	Toa	Etoa.
A house	Ewharre	Ewharre.	Female	Eoowha	Fooha.
To sleep	Moea	Moe.	A shark	Mango	Mao.
A fish-hook	Makoee	Matou.	To understand	Geetaia	Eetea.
Shut	Opanee	Opance.	Forgot	Warre	Ooaro.
A bed	Moenga	Moera.	Yesterday	Taeninuahoi	Ninnahoi.
A butterfly	Epaipo	Pepe.	One	Tahaee	Atahay.
To chew or eat	Hekaee	Ey.	Two	Rooa	Erooa.
Cold	Makkareede	Mareede.	Three	Toroo	Toroo.
To-day	Agooanai	Aooanai.	Four	Faa	Ahaa.
The hand	Reenga	Ereema.	Five	Reema	Ereema.
Large	Keeerahoi	Erahoi.	Six	Ono	Aono.
Red	Whairo	Oora, oora.	Seven	Heetoo	Aheitoo.
We	Taooa	Taooa.	Eight	Waroo	Awaroo.
Where is it?	Kahaia	Tehaia.	Nine	Eeva	Aeeva.
A stone	Powhy	Owhy.	Ten	Angahoora	Ahooroo
A man	Tangata	Taata.			
Black	Purra, purra	Ere, ere.			

The New Zealanders to these numerals prefix *Ma;* as,

Eleven	Matahee.
Twelve, &c. &c.	Marooa, &c. &c.
Twenty	Mangahoora.

BOOK II.

FROM LEAVING NEW ZEALAND TO OUR ARRIVAL AT OTAHEITE, OR THE SOCIETY ISLANDS.

CHAPTER I.—PROSECUTION OF THE VOYAGE.—BEHAVIOUR OF THE TWO NEW ZEALANDERS ON BOARD.—UNFAVOURABLE WINDS.—AN ISLAND CALLED MANGEEA DISCOVERED.—THE COAST OF IT EXAMINED.—TRANSACTIONS WITH THE NATIVES.—AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR PERSONS, DRESS, AND CANOE.—DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND.—A SPECIMEN OF THE LANGUAGE.—DISPOSITION OF THE INHABITANTS.

On the 25th, at ten o'clock in the morning, a light breeze springing up at N.W. by W., we weighed, stood out of the Sound, and made sail through the strait, with the Discovery in company. We had hardly got the length of Cape Tierawhitte, when the wind took us aback at S.E. It continued in this quarter till two o'clock the next morning, when we had a few hours' calm. After which we had a breeze at N.; but here it fixed not long, before it veered to the E., and after that to the S. At length, on the 27th at eight o'clock in the morning, we took our departure from Cape Palliser, which, at this time, bore W., seven or eight leagues distant. We had a fine gale, and I steered E. by N.

We had no sooner lost sight of the land than our two New Zealand adventurers, the sea-sickness they now experienced giving a turn to their reflections, repented heartily of the step they had taken. All the soothing encouragement we could think of, availed but little. They wept both in public and in private; and made their lamentations in a kind of song, which, as far as we could comprehend the meaning of the words, was expressive of their praises of their country and people, from which they were to be separated for ever. Thus they continued for many days, till their sea-sickness wore off, and the tumult of their minds began to subside. Then these fits of lamentation became less and less frequent, and at length entirely ceased. Their native country and their friends were, by degrees, forgot, and they appeared to be as firmly attached to us, as if they had been born amongst us.

The wind had not remained many hours at S., before it veered to S.E. and E.; and, with this, we stood to the N., till the 28th at noon. Being then in the latitude of 41° 17′, and

in longitude of 177° 17′ E., we tacked and stood to the S.E., with a gentle breeze at E.N.E It afterwards freshened, and came about to N.E.; in which quarter it continued two days, and sometimes blew a fresh gale with squalls, accompanied with showers of rain. On the 2nd of March at noon, being in the latitude of 42° 35′ 30″, longitude 180° 8′ E., the wind shifted to north-west; afterward to south-west; and between this point and north it continued to blow, sometimes a strong gale with hard squalls, and at other times very moderate. With this wind we steered north-east by east and east, under all the sail we could carry, till the 11th at noon, at which time we were in the latitude of 39° 29′, longitude 196° 4′ E. The wind now veered to north-east and south-east, and I stood to the north, and to the north-east, as the wind would admit, till one o'clock in the morning on the 16th, when having a more favourable gale from the north, I tacked and stood to the east, the latitude being 33° 40′, and the longitude 198° 50′ E. We had light airs and calms by turns, till noon the next day, when the wind began to freshen at east south-east, and I again stood to the north-east. But as the wind often veered to east and east north-east, we frequently made no better than a northerly course; nay sometimes to the westward of north. But the hopes of the wind coming more southerly, or of meeting with it from the westward, a little without the tropic, as I had experienced in my former visits to this ocean, encouraged me to continue this course. Indeed it was necessary that I should run all risks, as my proceeding to the north this year, in prosecution of the principal object of the voyage, depended entirely on my making a quick passage to Otaheite, or the Society Islands.

The wind continued invariably fixed at east south-east, or seldom shifting above two points on either side. It also blew very faint, so that it was the 27th before we crossed the tropic, and then we were only in the longitude of 201° 23′ east, which was nine degrees to the westward of our intended port. In all this run we saw nothing, except now and then a tropic bird, that could induce us to think we had sailed near any land. In the latitude of 34° 20′, longitude 199°, we passed the trunk of a large tree, which was covered with barnacles, a sign that it had been long at sea. On the 29th, at ten in the morning, as we were standing to the north-east, the Discovery made the signal of seeing land. We saw it from the mast-head almost the same moment, bearing north-east by east by compass. We soon discovered it to be an island of no great extent, and stood for it till sunset, when it bore north north-east, distant about two or three leagues.

The night was spent in standing off and on, and at daybreak the next morning, I bore up for the lee or west side of the island, as neither anchorage nor landing appeared to be practicable on the south side, on account of a great surf *, which broke everywhere with violence against the shore, or against the reef that surrounded it. We presently found that the island was inhabited, and saw several people, on a point of the land we had passed, wading to the reef, where, as they found the ship leaving them quickly, they remained. But others, who soon appeared in different parts, followed her course, and sometimes several of them collected into small bodies, who made a shouting noise all together, nearly after the manner of the inhabitants of New Zealand. Between seven and eight o'clock, we were at the west north-west part of the island, and being near the shore, we could perceive with our glasses, that several of the natives, who appeared upon a sandy beach, were all armed with long spears and clubs, which they brandished in the air with signs of threatening, or, as some on board interpreted their attitudes, with invitations to land. Most of them appeared naked, except having a sort of girdle, which being brought up between the thighs, covered that part of the body. But some of them had pieces of cloth of different colours, white, striped, or checkered, which they wore as a garment thrown about their shoulders. And almost all of them had a white wrapper about their heads, not much unlike a turban; or, in some instances, like a high conical cap. We could also perceive that they were of a tawny colour, and in general of a middling stature, but robust, and inclining to corpulency.

At this time, a small canoe was launched in a great hurry from the further end of the beach, and a man getting into it, put off, as with a view to reach the ship. On perceiving this, I brought to, that we might receive the visit; but the man's resolution failing, he soon returned

* A very ingenious and satisfactory account of the cause of the surf, is to be met with in Marsden's History of Sumatra, p. 29, 32.

toward the beach, where, after some time, another man joined him in the canoe; and then they both paddled towards us. They stopped short, however, as if afraid to approach, until Omai, who addressed them in the Otaheite language, in some measure quieted their apprehensions. They then came near enough to take some beads and nails, which were tied to a piece of wood, and thrown into the canoe. They seemed afraid to touch these things, and put the piece of wood aside without untying them. This, however, might arise from superstition; for Omai told us, that when they saw us offering them presents, they asked something for their *Eatooa*, or god. He also, perhaps improperly, put the question to them, whether they ever ate human flesh? which they answered in the negative, with a mixture of indignation and abhorrence. One of them, whose name was Mourooa, being asked how he came by a scar on his forehead, told us that it was the consequence of a wound he had got in fighting with the people of an island which lies to the north-eastward, who sometimes came to invade them. They afterward took hold of a rope. Still, however, they would not venture on board; but told Omai, who understood them pretty well, that their countrymen on shore had given them this caution, at the same time directing them to inquire from whence our ship came, and to learn the name of the captain. On our part, we inquired the name of the island, which they called *Mangya* or *Mangeea;* and sometimes added to it *Nooe, nai, naiwa.* The name of their chief, they said, was Orooaeeka.

Mourooa was lusty and well made, but not very tall. His features were agreeable, and his disposition seemingly no less so; for he made several droll gesticulations, which indicated both good nature and a share of humour. He also made others which seemed of a serious kind, and repeated some words with a devout air, before he ventured to lay hold of the rope at the ship's stern, which was probably to recommend himself to the protection of some divinity. His colour was nearly of the same cast with that common to the most southern Europeans. The other man was not so handsome. Both of them had strong, straight hair, of a jet colour, tied together on the crown of the head with a bit of cloth. They wore such girdles as we had perceived about those on shore, and we found they were a substance made from the *Morus papyrifera*, in the same manner as at the other islands of this ocean. It was glazed like the sort used by the natives of the Friendly Islands; but the cloth on their heads was white, like that which is found at Otaheite. They had on a kind of sandals, made of a grassy substance interwoven, which we also observed were worn by those who stood upon the beach, and, as we supposed, intended to defend their feet against the rough coral rock. Their beards were long; and the inside of their arms, from the shoulder to the elbow, and some other parts, were punctured or tatooed, after the manner of the inhabitants of almost all the other islands in the South Sea. The lobe of their ears was pierced, or rather slit, and to such a length, that one of them stuck there a knife and some beads, which he had received from us; and the same person had two polished pearl shells, and a bunch of human hair, loosely twisted, hanging about his neck, which was the only ornament we observed. The canoe they came in (which was the only one we saw) was not above ten feet long, and very narrow, but both strong and neatly made. The forepart had a flat board fastened over it, and projecting out, to prevent the sea getting in on plunging, like the small *Evaas* at Otaheite; but it had an upright stern, about five feet high, like some in New Zealand, and the upper end of this stern-post was forked. The lower part of the canoe was of white wood, but the upper was black, and their paddles, made of wood of the same colour, not above three feet long, broad at one end, and blunted. They paddled either

HEAD OF MAN OF MANGEEA.

end of the canoe forward indifferently, and only turned about their faces to paddle the contrary way.

We now stood off and on; and as soon as the ships were in a proper station, about ten o'clock I ordered two boats, one of them from the Discovery, to sound the coast, and to endeavour to find a landing-place. With this view, I went in one of them myself, taking with me such articles to give the natives as I thought might serve to gain their good will. I had no sooner put off from the ship than the canoe with the two men, which had left us not long before, paddled towards my boat; and, having come alongside, Mouroa stepped into her without being asked, and without a moment's hesitation. Omai, who was with me, was ordered to inquire of him where we could land, and he directed us to two different places: but I saw, with regret, that the attempt could not be made at either place, unless at the risk of having our boats filled with water, or even staved to pieces. Nor were we more fortunate in our search for anchorage; for we could find no bottom till within a cable's length of the breakers. There we met with from forty to twenty fathoms depth, over sharp coral rocks, so that anchoring would have been attended with much more danger than landing.

While we were thus employed in reconnoitring the shore, great numbers of the natives thronged down upon the reef, all armed as above mentioned. Mouroa, who was now in my boat, probably thinking that this warlike appearance hindered us from landing, ordered them to retire back. As many of them complied, I judged he must be a person of some consequence among them: indeed, if we understood him right, he was the king's brother. So great was the curiosity of several of them, that they took to the water, and swimming off to the boats, came on board them without reserve. Nay, we found it difficult to keep them out, and still more difficult to prevent their carrying off everything they could lay their hands upon. At length, when they perceived that we were returning to the ships, they all left us, except our original visitor Mouroa. He, though not without evident signs of fear, kept his place in my boat, and accompanied me on board the ship.

The cattle, and other new objects that presented themselves to him there, did not strike him with so much surprise as one might have expected. Perhaps his mind was too much taken up about his own safety to allow him to attend to other things. It is certain that he seemed very uneasy; and the ship, on our getting on board, happening to be standing off shore, this circumstance made him the more so. I could get but little new information from him; and, therefore, after he had made a short stay, I ordered a boat to carry him in toward the land. As soon as he got out of the cabin, he happened to stumble over one of the goats: his curiosity now overcoming his fear, he stopped, looked at it, and asked Omai what bird this was; and not receiving an immediate answer from him, he repeated the question to some of the people upon deck. The boat having conveyed him pretty near to the surf, he leaped into the sea and swam ashore. He had no sooner landed, than the multitude of his countrymen gathered round him, as if with an eager curiosity to learn from him what he had seen; and in this situation they remained when we lost sight of them. As soon as the boat returned, we hoisted her in, and made sail from the land to the northward.

Thus were we obliged to leave unvisited this fine island, which seemed capable of supplying all our wants. It lies in the latitude of 21° 57′ S., and in the longitude of 201° 53′ E. Such parts of the coast as fell under our observation are guarded by a reef of coral rock, on the outside of which the sea is of an unfathomable depth. It is full five leagues in circuit, and of a moderate and pretty equal height, though in clear weather it may be certainly seen at the distance of ten leagues; for we had not lost sight of it at night when we had run above seven leagues, and the weather was cloudy In the middle it rises into little hills, from whence there is a gentle descent to the shore, which at the south-west part is steep, though not above ten or twelve feet high; and has several excavations, made by the beating of the waves against a brownish sandstone of which it is composed. The descent here is covered with trees of a deep green colour, very thick, but not high, which seem all of one sort, unless nearest the shore, where there are great numbers of that species of *dracæna* found in the woods of New Zealand, which are also scattered in some other places. On the north-west part, the shore, as we mentioned above, ends in a sandy beach; beyond which the land is broken down into small chasms or gullies, and has a broad border of trees resembling tall willows: which, from its regularity, might be supposed a work of art, did not its extent

forbid us to think so. Farther up on the ascent, the trees were of the deep green mentioned before. Some of us supposed these to be the *rima*, intermixed with low cocoa palms, and a few of some other sorts. They seemed not so thick as on the south-west part, and higher; which appearance might be owing to our nearer approach to the shore. On the little hills were some trees of a taller sort, thinly scattered; but the other parts of them were either bare and of a reddish colour, or covered with something like fern. Upon the whole, the island has a pretty aspect, and might be made a beautiful spot by cultivation.

As the inhabitants seemed to be both numerous and well fed, such articles of provision as the island produces must be in great plenty. It might, however, be a matter of curiosity to know, particularly, their method of subsistence; for our friend Monrooa told us that they had no animals, as hogs and dogs, both which, however, they had heard of; but acknowledged they had plantains, bread-fruit, and taro. The only birds we saw, were some white egg-birds, terns, and noddies, and one white heron on the shore.

The language of the inhabitants of Mangeea is a dialect of that spoken at Otaheite; though their pronunciation, as that of the New Zealanders, be more guttural. Some of their words, of which two or three are perhaps peculiar to this island, are here subjoined, as taken by Mr. Anderson, from Omai, who had learnt them in his conversations with Mouroca. The Otaheite words, where there is any resemblance, are placed opposite.

ENGLISH.	MANGEEA.	OTAHEITE.	ENGLISH	MANGEEA.	OTAHEITE.
A cocoa-nut	Eakkaree	Aree.	A fight, or battle	Etamagee	Tamaee.
Bread-fruit	Kooroo	Ooroo.	A woman	Waheine	Waheine.
A canoe	Ewakka	Evaa.	A daughter	Maheine	Maheine.
Friend	Naoo, mou.		The sun	Heetaia matooa.	
A man	Taata, or Tangata	Taata.	I	Ou	Wou.
Cloth, or cloth-plant	Taia, taia aoutee	Eoute.	The shore	Eata	Euta.
Good	Mata	Myty.	What is that?	Ehataieee?	Owytaieeea?
A club	Pooroohee.		There	Oo.	
Yes	Aee	Ai.	A chief	Ereekee	Eree.
No	Aoure	Aoure.	Great, or powerful	Manna (an adjunct to the last).	
A spear	Heyhey.		To kiss	Ooma.	

The natives of Mangeea seem to resemble those of Otaheite and the Marquesas in the beauty of their persons, more than any other nation I have seen in these seas; having a smooth skin, and not being muscular. Their general disposition also corresponds, as far as we had opportunities of judging, with that which distinguishes the first-mentioned people. For they are not only cheerful, but, as Mourooa showed us, are acquainted with all the lascivious gesticulations which the Otaheiteans practise in their dances. It may also be supposed, that their method of living is similar. For, though the nature of the country prevented our seeing many of their habitations, we observed one house near the beach, which much resembled, in its mode of construction, those of Otaheite. It was pleasantly situated in a grove of trees, and appeared to be about thirty feet long, and seven or eight high, with an open end, which represented an ellipse divided transversely. Before it was spread something white on a few bushes; which we conjectured to be a fishing-net, and, to appearance, of a very delicate texture.

They salute strangers much after the manner of the New Zealanders, by joining noses; adding, however, the additional ceremony of taking the hand of the person to whom they are paying civilities, and rubbing it with a degree of force upon their nose and mouth *.

* The inhabitants of the Palaos, New Philippine, or rather Caroline Islands, at the distance of almost fifteen hundred leagues from Mangeea, have the same mode of salutation. "Leur civilité, et la marque de leur respect, consiste à prendre la main ou le pied de celui à qui ils veulent faire honneur, et s'en frotter doucement tout le visage."—"Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses," tom. p. 208. Edit. 1781.

CHAPTER II.—THE DISCOVERY OF AN ISLAND CALLED WATEEOO.—ITS COASTS EXAMINED.—VISITS FROM THE NATIVES ON BOARD THE SHIPS.—MESSRS. GORE, BURNEY, AND ANDERSON, WITH OMAI, SENT ON SHORE.—MR. ANDERSON'S NARRATIVE OF THEIR RECEPTION.—OMAI'S EXPEDIENT TO PREVENT THEIR BEING DETAINED.—HIS MEETING WITH SOME OF HIS COUNTRYMEN, AND THEIR DISTRESSFUL VOYAGE.—FARTHER ACCOUNT OF WATEEOO, AND OF ITS INHABITANTS.

After leaving Mangeea, on the afternoon of the 30th, we continued our course northward all that night, and till noon on the 31st; when we again saw land, in the direction of N.E. by N., distant eight or ten leagues. Next morning, at eight o'clock, we had got abreast of its north end within four leagues of it, but to leeward; and could now pronounce it to be an island, nearly of the same appearance and extent with that we had so lately left. At the same time, another island, but much smaller, was seen right ahead. We could have soon reached this; but the largest one had the preference, as most likely to furnish a supply of food for the cattle, of which we began to be in great want. With this view I determined to work up to it; but as there was but little wind, and that little was unfavourable, we were still two leagues to leeward at eight o'clock the following morning. Soon after, I sent two armed boats from the Resolution, and one from the Discovery, under the command of Lieutenant Gore, to look for anchoring-ground, and a landing-place. In the meantime, we plied up under the island with the ships.

Just as the boats were putting off, we observed several single canoes coming from the shore. They went first to the Discovery, she being the nearest ship. It was not long after, when three of these canoes came alongside of the Resolution, each conducted by one man. They are long and narrow, and supported by outriggers. The stern is elevated about three or four feet, something like a ship's stern-post. The head is flat above, but prow-like below, and turns down at the extremity, like the end of a violin. Some knives, beads, and other trifles were conveyed to our visitors; and they gave us a few cocoa-nuts, upon our asking for them. But they did not part with them by way of exchange for what they had received from us. For they seemed to have no idea of bartering; nor did they appear to estimate any of our presents at a high rate. With a little persuasion, one of them made his canoe fast to the ship, and came on board; and the other two, encouraged by his example, soon followed him. Their whole behaviour marked that they were quite at their ease, and felt no sort of apprehension of our detaining, or using them ill. After their departure, another canoe arrived, conducted by a man who brought a bunch of plantains as a present to me; asking for me by name, having learnt it from Omai, who was sent before us in the boat with Mr. Gore. In return for this civility, I gave him an axe and a piece of red cloth; and he paddled back to the shore well satisfied. I afterward understood from Omai, that this present had been sent from the king, or principal chief of the island.

Not long after, a double canoe, in which were twelve men, came toward us. As they drew near the ship, they recited some words in concert, by way of chorus *, one of their number first standing up, and giving the word before each repetition. When they had finished their solemn chant, they came alongside, and asked for the chief. As soon as I showed myself, a pig and a few cocoa-nuts were conveyed up into the ship; and the principal person in the canoe made me an additional present of a piece of matting, as soon as he and his companions got on board. Our visitors were conducted into the cabin, and to other parts of the ship. Some objects seemed to strike them with a degree of surprise; but nothing fixed their attention for a moment. They were afraid to come near the cows and horses; nor did they form the least conception of their nature. But the sheep and goats

* Something like this ceremony was performed by the inhabitants of the Marquesas, when Captain Cook visited them in 1774. It is curious to observe, at what immense distances this mode of receiving strangers prevails.—Padillo, who sailed from Manilla in 1710, on a voyage to discover the Palaos Islands, was thus received there. The writer of the relation of his voyage says, "Aussitôt qu'ils approchèrent de notre bord, ils se mirent à chanter. Ils régloient la cadence, en frappant des mains sur leurs cuisses."—"Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses," tom. xv. p. 323.

did not surpass the limits of their ideas; for they gave us to understand that they knew them to be birds. It will appear rather incredible, that human ignorance could ever make so strange a mistake; there not being the most distant similitude between a sheep or goat, and any winged animal. But these people seemed to know nothing of the existence of any other land animals, besides hogs, dogs, and birds. Our sheep and goats, they could see were very different creatures from the two first, and therefore they inferred, that they must belong to the latter class, in which they knew there is a considerable variety of species. I made a present to my new friend of what I thought might be most acceptable to him; but, on his going away, he seemed rather disappointed than pleased. I afterward understood that he was very desirous of obtaining a dog, of which animal this island could not boast, though its inhabitants knew that the race existed in other islands of their ocean. Captain Clerke had received the like present, with the same view, from another man, who met with from him the like disappointment.

The people in these canoes were in general of a middling size, and not unlike those of Mangeea; though several were of a blacker cast than any we saw there. Their hair was tied on the crown of the head, or flowing loose about the shoulders; and though in some it was of a frizzling disposition, yet, for the most part, that, as well as the straight sort, was long. Their features were various, and some of the young men rather handsome. Like those of Mangeea, they had girdles of glazed cloth, or fine matting, the ends of which, being brought betwixt their thighs, covered the adjoining parts. Ornaments, composed of a sort of broad grass, stained with red, and strung with berries of the nightshade, were worn about their necks. Their ears were bored, but not slit; and they were punctured upon the legs, from the knee to the heel, which made them appear as if they wore a kind of boots. They also resembled the inhabitants of Mangeea in the length of their beards, and, like them, wore a sort of sandals upon their feet. Their behaviour was frank and cheerful, with a great deal of good-nature.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Gore returned with the boat, and informed me, that he had examined all the west side of the island, without finding a place where a boat could land, or the ships could anchor, the shore being everywhere bounded by a steep coral rock, against which the sea broke in a dreadful surf. But as the natives seemed very friendly, and to express a degree of disappointment when they saw that our people failed in their attempts to land, Mr. Gore was of opinion, that by means of Omai, who could best explain our request, they might be prevailed upon to bring off to the boats, beyond the surf, such articles as we most wanted; in particular, the stems of plantain-trees, which make good food for the cattle. Having little or no wind, the delay of a day or two was not of any moment; and therefore I determined to try the experiment, and got everything ready against the next morning. Soon after daybreak, we observed some canoes coming off to the ships, and one of them directed its course to the Resolution. In it was a hog, with some plantains and cocoa-nuts, for which the people, who brought them, demanded a dog from us, and refused every other thing that we offered in exchange. One of our gentlemen on board happened to have a dog and a bitch, which were great nuisances in the ship, and might have been disposed of on this occasion for a purpose of real utility, by propagating a race of so useful an animal in this island. But their owner had such views in making them the companions of his voyage. However, to gratify these people, Omai parted with a favourite dog he had brought from England; and with this acquisition they departed highly satisfied.

About ten o'clock I despatched Mr. Gore with three boats, two from the Resolution and one from the Discovery, to try the experiment he had proposed. And, as I could confide in his diligence and ability, I left it entirely to himself, to act as from circumstances he should judge to be most proper. Two of the natives who had been on board accompanied him; and Omai went with him in his boat as an interpreter. The ships being a full league from the island when the boats put off, and having but little wind, it was noon before we could work up to it. We then saw our three boats riding at their grapplings, just without the surf, and a prodigious number of the natives on the shore abreast of them. By this we concluded that Mr. Gore and others of our people had landed, and our impatience to know

the event may be easily conceived. In order to observe their motions, and to be ready to give them such assistance as they might want, and our respective situations would admit of, I kept as near the shore as was prudent. I was sensible, however, that the reef was as effectual a barrier between us and our friends who had landed, and put them as much beyond the reach of our protection, as if half the circumference of the globe had intervened. But the islanders, it was probable, did not know this so well as we did. Some of them now and then came off to the ships in their canoes with a few cocoa-nuts, which they exchanged for whatever was offered to them, without seeming to give the preference to any particular article.

These occasional visits served to lessen my solicitude about our people who had landed Though we could get no information from our visitors; yet their venturing on board seemed to imply, at least, that their countrymen on shore had not made an improper use of the confidence put in them. At length, a little before sun-set, we had the satisfaction of seeing the boats put off. When they got on board, I found that Mr. Gore himself, Omai, Mr. Anderson, and Mr. Burney, were the only persons who had landed. The transactions of the day were now fully reported to me by Mr. Gore; but Mr. Anderson's account of them being very particular, and including some remarks on the island and its inhabitants, I shall give it a place here nearly in his own words.

"We rowed toward a small sandy beach, upon which, and upon the adjacent rocks, a great number of the natives had assembled, and came to an anchor within a hundred yards of the reef, which extends about as far, or a little farther from the shore. Several of the natives swam off, bringing cocoa-nuts; and Omai, with their countrymen, whom we had with us in the boats, made them sensible of our wish to land. But their attention was taken up for a little time by the dog which had been carried from the ship, and was just brought on shore, round whom they flocked with great eagerness. Soon after, two canoes came off; and, to create a greater confidence in the islanders, we determined to go unarmed, and run the hazard of being treated well or ill.

"Mr. Burney, the first lieutenant of the Discovery, and I went in one canoe a little time before the other; and our conductors, watching attentively the motions of the surf, landed us safely upon the reef. An islander took hold of each of us, obviously with an intention to support us in walking over the rugged rocks to the beach, where several of the others met us, holding the green boughs of a species of Mimosa in their hands, and saluted us by applying their noses to ours. We were conducted from the beach by our guides, amidst a great crowd of people, who flocked with very eager curiosity to look at us, and would have prevented our proceeding, had not some men, who seemed to have authority, dealt blows with little distinction amongst them to keep them off. We were then led up an avenue of cocoa-palms, and soon came to a number of men arranged in two rows, armed with clubs, which they held on their shoulders much in the manner we rest a musket. After walking a little way amongst these, we found a person who seemed a chief, sitting on the ground cross-legged, cooling himself with a sort of triangular fan, made from a leaf of the cocoa-palm, with a polished handle of black wood fixed to one corner. In his ears were large bunches of beautiful red feathers which pointed forward. But he had no other mark or ornament to distinguish him from the rest of the people, though they all obeyed him with the greatest alacrity. He either naturally had, or at this time put on, a serious but not severe countenance; and we were desired to salute him as he sat by some people who seemed of consequence. We proceeded still amongst the men armed with clubs, and came to a second chief, who sat fanning himself, and ornamented as the first. He was remarkable for his size and uncommon corpulence, though to appearance not above thirty years of age. In the same manner we were conducted to a third chief, who seemed older than the two former, and, though not so fat as the second, was of a large size. He also was sitting, and adorned with red feathers; and after saluting him as we had done the others, he desired us both to sit down, which we were very willing to do, being pretty well fatigued with walking up, and with the excessive heat we felt amongst the vast crowd that surrounded us.

"In a few minutes the people were ordered to separate; and we saw, at the distance of thirty yards, about twenty young women, ornamented as the chiefs with red feathers,

engaged in a dance, which they performed to a slow and serious air sung by them all. We got up and went forward to see them; and though we must have been strange objects to them, they continued their dance without paying the least attention to us. They seemed to be directed by a man who served as a prompter, and mentioned each motion they were to make. But they never changed the spot as we do in dancing; and though their feet were not at rest, this exercise consisted more in moving the fingers very nimbly, at the same time holding their hands in a prone position near the face, and now and then also clapping them together *. Their motions and song were performed in such exact concert, that it should seem they had been taught with great care; and probably they were selected for this ceremony, as few of those whom we saw in the crowd equalled them in beauty. In general they were rather stout than slender, with black hair flowing in ringlets down the neck, and of an olive complexion. Their features were rather fuller than what we allow to perfect beauties, and much alike; but their eyes were of a deep black, and each countenance expressed a degree of complacency and modesty peculiar to the sex in every part of the world, but perhaps more conspicuous here, where Nature presented us with her productions in the fullest perfection, unbiassed in sentiment by custom, or unrestrained in manner by art. Their shape and limbs were elegantly formed; for, as their dress consisted only of a piece of glazed cloth fastened about the waist, and scarcely reaching so low as the knees, in many we had an opportunity of observing every part. This dance was not finished when we heard a noise as if some horses had been gallopping toward us; and, on looking aside, we saw the people armed with clubs, who had been desired, as we supposed, to entertain us with the sight of their manner of fighting. This they now did, one party pursuing another who fled.

"As we supposed the ceremony of being introduced to the chiefs was at an end, we began to look about for Mr. Gore and Omai; and though the crowd would hardly suffer us to move, we at length found them coming up, as much incommoded by the number of people as we had been, and introduced in the same manner to the three chiefs, whose names were Otteroo, Taroa, and Fatouweera. Each of these expected a present; and Mr. Gore gave them such things as he had brought with him from the ship for that purpose. After this, making use of Omai as his interpreter, he informed the chiefs with what intention we had come on shore; but was given to understand, that he must wait till the next day, and then he should have what was wanted.

"They now seemed to take some pains to separate us from each other; and every one of us had his circle to surround and gaze at him. For my own part, I was at one time above an hour apart from my friends; and when I told the chief, with whom I sat that I wanted to speak to Omai, he peremptorily refused my request. At the same time I found the people began to steal several trifling things which I had in my pocket; and when I took the liberty of complaining to the chief of this treatment, he justified it. From these circumstances, I now entertained apprehensions, that they might have formed the design of detaining us amongst them. They did not, indeed, seem to be of a disposition so savage, as to make us anxious for the safety of our persons; but it was, nevertheless, vexing to think we had hazarded being detained by their curiosity. In this situation I asked for something to eat; and they readily brought me some cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, and a sort of sour pudding, which was presented by a woman. And on my complaining much of the heat, occasioned by the crowd, the chief himself condescended to fan me, and gave me a small piece of cloth, which he had round his waist. Mr. Burney happened to come to the place where I was; I mentioned my suspicions to him, and, to put it to the test, whether they were well-founded, we attempted to get to the beach. But we were stopped when about half way by some men, who told us that we must go back to the place which we had left. On coming up, we found Omai entertaining the same apprehensions. But he had, as he fancied, an additional reason for being afraid, for he had observed that they had dug a hole in the ground for an oven, which they were now heating; and he could assign no other reason for this, than that

* The dances of the inhabitants of the Caroline Islands have a great resemblance to those here described. See *Lettres Edif. et Curieuses*, tom. xv. p. 315. See also, in the same volume, p. 207, what is said of the singing and dancing of the inhabitants of the Palaos Islands, which belong to the same group.

they meant to roast and eat us, as is practised by the inhabitants of New Zealand. Nay, he went so far as to ask them the question; at which they were greatly surprised, asking in return whether that was a custom with us? Mr. Burney and I were rather angry that they should be thus suspected by him, there having as yet been no appearances in their conduct towards us of their being capable of such brutality.

"In this manner we were detained the greatest part of the day, being sometimes together, and sometimes separated; but always in a crowd; who, not satisfied with gazing at us, frequently desired us to uncover parts of our skin, the sight of which commonly produced a general murmur of admiration. At the same time, they did not omit these opportunities of rifling our pockets; and at last one of them snatched a small bayonet from Mr. Gore, which hung in its sheath by his side. This was represented to the chief, who pretended to send some person in search of it. But in all probability, he countenanced the theft; for soon after, Omai had a dagger stolen from his side in the same manner, though he did not miss it immediately. Whether they observed any signs of uneasiness in us, or that they voluntarily repeated their emblems of friendship when we expressed a desire to go, I cannot tell; but, at this time, they brought some green boughs, and sticking their ends in the ground, desired we might hold them as we sat. Upon our urging again the business we came upon, they gave us to understand that we must stay and eat with them; and a pig which we saw soon after lying near the oven, which they had prepared and heated, removed Omai's apprehensions of being put into it himself, and made us think it might be intended for our repast. The chief also promised to send some people to procure food for the cattle, but it was not till pretty late in the afternoon, that we saw them return with a few plantain-trees, which they carried to our boats.

"In the mean time, Mr. Burney and I attempted again to go to the beach, but when we arrived, found ourselves watched by people, who, to appearance, had been placed there for this purpose. For when I tried to wade in upon the reef, one of them took hold of my clothes and dragged me back. I picked up some small pieces of coral, which they required me to throw down again; and on my refusal, they made no scruple to take them forcibly from me. I had gathered some small plants, but these also I could not be permitted to retain; and they took a fan from Mr. Burney, which he had received as a present on coming ashore. Omai said we had done wrong in taking up any thing, for it was not the custom here to permit freedoms of that kind to strangers, till they had in some measure naturalized them to the country, by entertaining them with festivity for two or three days. Finding that the only method of procuring better treatment was to yield implicit obedience to their will, we went up again to the place we had left, and they now promised that we should have a canoe to carry us off to our boats, after we had eaten of a repast which had been prepared for us.

"Accordingly, the second chief, to whom we had been introduced in the morning, having seated himself upon a low broad stool of blackish hard wood, tolerably polished, and directing the multitude to make a pretty large ring, made us sit down by him. A considerable number of cocoa-nuts were now brought; and shortly after, a long green basket with a sufficient quantity of baked plantains to have served a dozen persons. A piece of the young hog that had been dressed, was then set before each of us, of which we were desired to eat. Our appetites, however, had failed from the fatigue of the day; and though we did eat a little to please them, it was without satisfaction to ourselves. It being now near sunset, we told them it was time to go on board. This they allowed; and sent down to the beach the remainder of the victuals that had been dressed, to be carried with us to the ships. But before we set out, Omai was treated with a drink he had been used to in his own country; which, we observed, was made here as at other islands in the South Sea, by chewing the root of a sort of pepper. We found a canoe ready to put us off to our boats; which the natives did with the same caution as when we landed. But even here their thievish disposition did not leave them; for a person of some consequence among them, who came with us, took an opportunity, just as they were pushing the canoe into the surf, to snatch a bag out of her which I had, with the greatest difficulty, preserved all the day, there being in it a small pocket-pistol which I was unwilling to part with. Perceiving him, I called out, expressing as much displeasure as I could; on which he thought proper to return, and swim

with the bag to the canoe, but denied he had stolen it, though detected in the very act. They put us on board our boats, with the cocoa-nuts, plantains, and other provisions which they had brought; and we rowed to the ships very well pleased that we had at last got out of the hands of our troublesome masters.

"We regretted much, that our restrained situation gave us so little opportunity of making observations on the country. For, during the whole day, we were seldom a hundred yards from the place where we were introduced to the chiefs on landing; and, consequently, were confined to the surrounding objects. The first thing that presented itself worthy of our notice was the number of people, which must have been at least two thousand. For those who welcomed us on the shore bore no proportion to the multitude we found amongst the trees, on proceeding a little way up. We could also observe that, except a few, those we had hitherto seen on board were of the lower class; for a great number of those we now met with, had a superior dignity in their air, and were of a much whiter cast. In general they had the hair tied on the crown of the head, long, black, and of a most luxuriant growth. Many of the young men were perfect models in shape, of a complexion as delicate as that of the women, and, to appearance, of a disposition as amiable. Others who were more advanced in years, were corpulent; and all had a remarkable smoothness of the skin. Their general dress was a piece of cloth or mat wrapped about the waist, and covering the parts which modesty conceals. But some had pieces of mats most curiously varied with black and white, made into a sort of jacket without sleeves; and others wore conical caps of cocoa-nut core, neatly interwoven with small beads made of a shelly substance. Their ears were pierced; and in them they hung bits of the membranous part of some plant, or stuck there an odoriferous flower, which seemed to be a species of *gardenia*. Some who were of a superior class, and also the chiefs, had two little balls with a common base, made from the bone of some animal, which was hung round the neck, with a great many folds of small cord. And after the ceremony of introduction to the chiefs was over, they then appeared without their red feathers; which are certainly considered here as a particular mark of distinction, for none but themselves and the young women who danced assumed them.

"Some of the men were punctured all over the sides and back in an uncommon manner; and some of the women had the same ornament on their legs. But this method was confined to those who seemed to be of a superior rank; and the men, in that case, were also generally distinguished by their size and corpulence, unless very young. The women of an advanced age had their hair cropped short; and many were cut in oblique lines all over the fore part of the body; and some of the wounds, which formed rhomboidal figures, had been so lately inflicted, that the coagulated blood still remained in them. The wife of one of the chiefs appeared with her child, laid in a piece of red cloth which had been presented to her husband, and seemed to carry it with great tenderness, suckling it much after the manner of our women. Another chief introduced his daughter, who was young and beautiful, but appeared with all the timidity natural to the sex, though she gazed on us with a kind of anxious concern that seemed to struggle with her fear, and to express her astonishment at so unusual a sight. Others advanced with more firmness, and, indeed, were less reserved than we expected, but behaved with a becoming modesty. We did not observe any personal deformities amongst either sex, except in a few who had scars of broad superficial ulcers remaining on the face and other parts. In proportion to the number of people assembled, there appeared not many old men or women; which may easily be accounted for, by supposing that such as were in an advanced period of life might neither have the inclination nor the ability to come from the more distant parts of the island. On the other hand, the children were numerous; and both these and the men climbed the trees to look at us when we were hid by the surrounding crowd.

"About a third part of the men were armed with clubs and spears; and, probably, these were only the persons who had come from a distance, as many of them had small baskets, mats, and other things, fastened to the ends of their weapons. The clubs were generally about six feet long, made of a hard black wood, lance-shaped at the end, but much broader, with the edge nicely scolloped, and the whole neatly polished. Others of them were narrower at the point, much shorter and plain; and some were even so small as to be used

with one hand. The spears were made of the same wood, simply pointed; and, in general, above twelve feet long; though some were so short, that they seemed intended to be thrown as darts.

"The place where we were all the day was under the shade of various trees, in which they preserved their canoes from the sun. About eight or ten of them were here, all double ones; that is, two single ones fastened together (as is usual throughout the whole extent of the Pacific Ocean), by rafters lashed across. They were about twenty feet long, about four feet deep, and the sides rounded with a plank raised upon them, which was fastened strongly by means of withes. Two of these canoes were most curiously stained or painted all over with black, in numberless small figures, as squares, triangles, &c., and excelled by far any thing of that kind I had ever seen at any other island in this ocean. Our friends here, indeed, seemed to have exerted more skill in doing this than in puncturing their own bodies. The paddles were about four feet long, nearly elliptical, but broader at the upper end than the middle. Near the same place was a hut or shed about thirty feet long, and nine or ten high, in which, perhaps, these boats are built, but at this time it was empty.

"The greatest number of the trees around us were cocoa-palms; some sorts of *hibiscus;* a species of *euphorbia;* and, toward the sea, abundance of the same kind of trees we had seen at Mangeea Nooe Nainaiwa; and which seemed to surround the shores of this island in the same manner. They are tall and slender, not much unlike a cypress; but with bunches of long, round, articulated leaves. The natives call them *etoa.* On the ground we saw some grass; a species of convolvulus; and a good deal of *treacle-mustard.* There are also, doubtless, other fruit-trees and useful plants which we did not see. For, besides several sorts of plantains, they brought, at different times, roots which they call *taro* (the *coccos* of other countries); a bread-fruit; and a basket of roasted nuts, of a kidney-shape, in taste like a chesnut, but coarser. What the soil of the island may be further inland, we could not tell. But, toward the sea, it is nothing more than a bank of coral, ten or twelve feet high, steep and rugged; except where there are small sandy beaches, at some clefts where the ascent is gradual. The coral, though it has, probably, been exposed to the weather for many centuries, has undergone no farther change than becoming black on the surface; which, from its irregularity, is not much unlike large masses of a burnt substance. But on breaking some pieces off, we found that, at the depth of two or three inches, it was just as fresh as the pieces that had been lately thrown upon the beach by the waves. The reef, or rock, that lines the shore entirely, runs to different breadths into the sea, where it ends, all at once, and becomes like a high steep wall. It is nearly even with the surface of the water, and of a brown or brick colour; but the texture is rather porous, yet sufficient to withstand the washing of the surf, which continually breaks upon it."

Though the landing of our gentlemen proved the means of enriching my journal with the foregoing particulars, the principal object I had in view was, in a great measure, unattained; for the day was spent without getting any one thing from the island worth mentioning. The natives, however, were gratified with a sight they never before had; and probably, will never have again. And mere curiosity seems to have been their chief motive for keeping the gentlemen under such restraint, and for using every art to prolong their continuance amongst them.

It has been mentioned that Omai was sent upon this expedition; and perhaps, his being Mr. Gore's interpreter was not the only service he performed this day. He was asked by the natives a great many questions concerning us, our ships, our country, and the sort of arms we used; and, according to the account he gave me, his answers were not a little upon the marvellous. As, for instance, he told them that our country had ships as large as their island, on board which were instruments of war (describing our guns), of such dimensions, that several people might sit within them; and that one of them was sufficient to crush the whole island at one shot. This led them to inquire of him what sort of guns we actually had in our two ships. He said, that though they were but small, in comparison with those he had just described, yet, with such as they were, we could, with the greatest ease, and at the distance the ships were from the shore, destroy the island, and kill every soul in it. They persevered in their inquiries, to know by what means this could be done; and Omai

explained the matter as well as he could. He happened luckily to have a few cartridges in his pocket. These he produced; the balls and the gunpowder which was to set them in motion were submitted to inspection; and to supply the defects of his description, an appeal was made to the senses of the spectators. It has been mentioned above, that one of the chiefs had ordered the multitude to form themselves into a circle. This furnished Omai with a convenient stage for his exhibition. In the centre of this amphitheatre, the inconsiderable quantity of gunpowder, collected from his cartridges, was properly disposed upon the ground, and, by means of a bit of burning wood from the oven, where dinner was dressing, set on fire. The sudden blast and loud report, the mingled flame and smoke, that instantly succeeded, now filled the whole assembly with astonishment; they no longer doubted the tremendous power of our weapons, and gave full credit to all that Omai had said. If it had not been for the terrible ideas they conceived of the guns of our ships, from this specimen of their mode of operation, it was thought that they would have detained the gentlemen all night. For Omai assured them, that if he and his companions did not return on board the same day, they might expect that I would fire upon the island. And as we stood in nearer the land in the evening than we had done any time before, of which position of the ships they were observed to take great notice, they, probably, thought we were meditating this formidable attack, and therefore suffered their guests to depart, under the expectation, however, of seeing them again on shore next morning. But I was too sensible of the risk they had already run, to think of a repetition of the experiment.

This day, it seems, was destined to give Omai more occasions than one of being brought forward to bear a principal part in its transactions. The island, though never before visited by Europeans, actually happened to have other strangers residing in it; and it was entirely owing to Omai's being one of Mr. Gore's attendants that this curious circumstance came to our knowledge. Scarcely had he been landed upon the beach, when he found amongst the crowd there assembled three of his own countrymen, natives of the Society Islands. At the distance of about two hundred leagues from those islands, an immense unknown ocean intervening, with such wretched sea-boats as their inhabitants are known to make use of, and fit only for a passage where sight of land is scarcely ever lost, such a meeting, at such a place, so accidentally visited by us, may well be looked upon as one of those unexpected situations with which the writers of feigned adventures love to surprise their readers, and which, when they really happen in common life, deserve to be recorded for their singularity.

It may easily be guessed with what mutual surprise and satisfaction Omai and his countrymen engaged in conversation. Their story, as related by them, is an affecting one. About twenty persons in number, of both sexes, had embarked on board a canoe at Otaheite, to cross over to the neighbouring island Ulietea. A violent contrary wind arising, they could neither reach the latter nor get back to the former. Their intended passage being a very short one, their stock of provisions was scanty and soon exhausted; the hardships they suffered, while driven along by the storm, they knew not whither, are not to be conceived; they passed many days without having anything to eat or drink; their numbers gradually diminished, worn out by famine and fatigue; four men only survived, when the canoe overset, and then the perdition of this small remnant seemed inevitable. However, they kept hanging by the side of their vessel during some of the last days, till Providence brought them in sight of the people of this island, who immediately sent out canoes, took them off their wreck, and brought them ashore. Of the four who were thus saved, one was since dead; the other three, who lived to have this opportunity of giving an account of their almost miraculous transplantation, spoke highly of the kind treatment they here met with; and so well satisfied were they with their situation, that they refused the offer made to them by our gentlemen, at Omai's request, of giving them a passage on board our ships, to restore them to their native islands. The similarity of manners and language had more than naturalised them to this spot; and the fresh connexions which they had here formed, and which it would have been painful to have broken off, after such a length of time, sufficiently account for their declining to revisit the places of their birth. They had arrived upon this island at least twelve years ago. For I learn from Mr. Anderson that he found they knew nothing of Captain Wallis's visit to Otaheite in 1765, nor of several other memorable occurrences,

such as the conquest of Ulietea by those of Bolabola, which had preceded the arrival of the Europeans. To Mr. Anderson I am also indebted for their names, Orououte, Otirreron, and Tavee; the first, born at Matavai in Otaheite; the second, at Ulietea; and the third, at Huaheine.

The landing of our gentlemen on this island, though they failed in the object of it, cannot but be considered as a very fortunate circumstance. It has proved, as we have seen, the means of bringing to our knowledge a matter of fact, not only very curious, but very instructive. The application of the above narrative is obvious. It will serve to explain, better than a thousand conjectures of speculative reasoners, how the detached parts of the earth, and, in particular, how the islands of the South Sea, may have been first peopled; especially those that lie remote from any inhabited continent, or from each other.*

This island is called Wateeoo by the natives. It lies in the latitude of 20° 1′ S., and in the longitude 201° 45′ E., and is about six leagues in circumference. It is a beautiful spot, with a surface composed of hills and plains, and covered with verdure of many hues. Our gentlemen found the soil where they passed the day to be light and sandy; but farther up the country a different sort perhaps prevails, as we saw from the ship, by the help of our glasses, a reddish cast upon the rising grounds. There the inhabitants have their houses, for we could perceive two or three which were long and spacious. Its produce, with the addition of hogs, we found to be the same as at the last island we had visited, which the people of this, to whom we pointed out its position, called Owhavarouah; a name so different from Mangeea Nooe Nainaiwa, which we learned from its own inhabitants, that it is highly probable Owhavarouah is another island.

From the circumstances already mentioned, it appears, that Wateeoo can be of little use to any ship that wants refreshment, unless in a case of the most absolute necessity. The natives, knowing now the value of some of our commodities, might be induced to bring off fruits and hogs to a ship standing off and on, or to boats lying off the reef, as ours did. It is doubtful, however, if any fresh water could be procured. For, though some was brought in cocoa-nut shells to the gentlemen, they were told that it was at a considerable distance; and probably it is only to be met with in some stagnant pool, as no running stream was anywhere seen.

According to Omai's report of what he learned in conversation with his three countrymen, the manners of these islanders, their method of treating strangers, and their general habits of life, are much like those that prevail at Otaheite, and its neighbouring isles. Their religious ceremonies and opinions are also nearly the same. For upon seeing one man, who was painted all over of a deep black colour, and inquiring the reason, our gentlemen were told that he had lately been paying the last good offices to a deceased friend: and they found that it was upon similar occasions the women cut themselves, as already mentioned. From every

* Such accidents as this, here related, probably happen frequently in the Pacific Ocean. In 1696, two canoes, having on board thirty persons of both sexes, were driven by contrary winds and tempestuous weather on the isle of Samal, one of the Philippines, after being tossed about at sea seventy days, and having performed a voyage from an island called by them Amorsot, 300 leagues to the east of Samal. Five of the number who had embarked died of the hardships suffered during this extraordinary passage. See a particular account of them, and of the islands they belonged to, in "Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses," tom. xv., from p. 196 to p. 215. In the same volume, from p. 282 to p. 320, we have the relation of a similar adventure, in 1721, when two canoes, one containing twenty-four, and the other six persons, men, women, and children, were driven from an island they called Farollep, northward to the isle of Guam, or Guahan, one of the Ladrones or Marianne. But these had not sailed so far as their countrymen, who reached Samai as above, and they had been at sea only twenty days. There seems to be no reason to doubt the general authenticity of these two relations. The information contained in the letters of the Jesuits, about these islands, now known under the name of the Carolines, and discovered to the Spaniards by the arrival of the canoes at Samal and Guam, has been adopted by all our later writers. See President de Brosse's "Voyages aux Terres Australes," tom. ii., from p. 443 to p. 490 See also the "Modern Universal History." — [Many other well-authenticated instances in which the frail canoes of the natives of the South Sea Islands have been drifted many hundred miles across the ocean have been recorded by voyagers, or preserved in the traditions of the natives. It would occupy too much space to particularise them here, but a remark of Mr. Ellis upon them ("Polynesian Researches," vol. i., p. 126, 12mo edit.) is worthy of attention, in relation to the question of the original source of the general population of Polynesia. He states, that "it is a striking fact, that every such voyage related in the accounts of voyagers, preserved in the traditions of the natives, or of recent occurrence, has invariably been from east to west, directly opposite to that in which it must have been had the population been altogether derived from the Malayan archipelago."—Ed.]

circumstance, indeed, it is indubitable, that the natives of Wateeoo sprang, originally, from the same stock, which hath spread itself so wonderfully all over the immense extent of the South Sea. One would suppose, however, that they put in their claim to a more illustrious extraction, for Omai assured us that they dignified their island with the appellation of *Wenooa no to Eatooa*, that is, a land of gods; esteeming themselves a sort of divinities, and possessed with the spirit of the Eatooa. This wild enthusiastic notion Omai seemed much to approve of, telling us there were instances of its being entertained at Otaheite, but that it was universally prevalent amongst the inhabitants of Mataia, or Osnaburg Island. The language spoken at Wateeoo was equally well understood by Omai and by our two New Zealanders. What its peculiarities may be when compared with the other dialects, I am not able to point out; for though Mr. Anderson had taken care to note down a specimen of it, the natives, who made no distinction of the objects of their theft, stole the memorandum-book.

CHAPTER III.—WEENOOA-ETTE, OR OTAKOOTAIA, VISITED.—ACCOUNT OF THAT ISLAND, AND OF ITS PRODUCE.—HERVEY'S ISLAND, OR TEROUGGE MOU ATTOOA, FOUND TO BE INHABITED.—TRANSACTIONS WITH THE NATIVES.—THEIR PERSONS, DRESS, LANGUAGE, CANOES.—FRUITLESS ATTEMPT TO LAND THERE.—REASONS FOR BEARING AWAY FOR THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS.—PALMERSTON'S ISLAND TOUCHED AT.—DESCRIPTION OF THE TWO PLACES WHERE THE BOATS LANDED.—REFRESHMENTS OBTAINED THERE.—CONJECTURES ON THE FORMATION OF SUCH LOW ISLANDS.—ARRIVAL AT THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS.

Light airs and calms having prevailed, by turns, all the night of the 3rd, the easterly swell had carried the ships some distance from Wateeoo, before daybreak. But as I had failed in my object of procuring, at that place, some effectual supply, I saw no reason for staying there any longer. I therefore quitted it, without regret, and steered for the neighbouring island, which, as has been mentioned, we discovered three days before. With a gentle breeze at east, we got up with it before ten o'clock in the morning, and I immediately despatched Mr. Gore, with two boats, to endeavour to land, and get some food for our cattle. As there seemed to be no inhabitants here to obstruct our taking away whatever we might think proper, I was confident of his being able to make amends for our late disappointment, if the landing could be effected. There was a reef here surrounding the land, as at Wateeoo, and a considerable surf breaking against the rocks; notwithstanding which, our boats no sooner reached the lee, or west side of the island, but they ventured in, and Mr. Gore and his party got safe on shore. I could, from the ship, see that they had succeeded so far; and I immediately sent a small boat to know what farther assistance was wanting. She did not return till three o'clock in the afternoon, having waited to take in a lading of what useful produce the island afforded. As soon as she was cleared, she was sent again for another cargo; the jolly-boat was also despatched, and Mr. Gore was ordered to be on board, with all the boats, before night; which was complied with.

The supply obtained here consisted of about a hundred cocoa-nuts for each ship; and besides this refreshment for ourselves, we got for our cattle some grass, and a quantity of the leaves and branches of young cocoa-trees, and of the *wharra* tree, as it is called at Otaheite, the *pandanus* of the East Indies. This latter being of a soft, spongy, juicy nature, the cattle ate it very well, when cut into small pieces; so that it might be said, without any deviation from truth, that we fed them upon billet wood.

This island lies in the latitude of 19° 51′ S., and the longitude of 201° 37′ E., about three or four leagues from Wateeoo, the inhabitants of which called it Otakootaia; and sometimes they spoke of it under the appellation of *Wenooa-ette*, which signifies "little island." Mr. Anderson, who was on shore with our party, and walked round it, guessed that it could not be much more than three miles in circuit. From him I also learned the following particulars. The beach within the reef is composed of a white coral sand; above which, the land within does not rise above six or seven feet, and is covered with a light reddish soil, but is entirely destitute of water. The only common trees found there were cocoa-palms, of which there

were several clusters; and vast numbers of the *wharra*. There were, likewise, the *Callophyllum*, *Suriana*, *Guettarda*, a species of *Tournefortia*, and *Tabernæ montanæ*, with a few other shrubs; and some of the *etoa* tree seen at Wateeoo. A sort of bindweed overran the vacant spaces; except in some places, where was found a considerable quantity of treacle-mustard, a species of spurge, with a few other small plants, and the *Morinda citrifolia*; the fruit of which is eaten by the natives of Otaheite in times of scarcity. Omai, who had landed with the party, dressed some of it for their dinner; but it proved very indifferent.

The only bird seen amongst the trees, was a beautiful cuckoo, of a chesnut brown, variegated with black, which was shot. But, upon the shore, were some egg-birds; a small sort of curlew; blue and white herons; and great numbers of noddies; which last, at this time, laid their eggs, a little farther up, on the ground, and often rested on the *wharra* tree. One of our people caught a lizard of a most forbidding aspect, though small, running up a tree; and many, of another sort, were seen. The bushes, toward the sea, were frequented by infinite numbers of a sort of moth, elegantly speckled with red, black, and white. There were also several other sorts of moths, as well as some pretty butterflies; and a few other insects.

Though there were, at this time, no fixed inhabitants upon the island, indubitable marks remained of its being, at least occasionally, frequented. In particular, a few empty huts were found. There were also several large stones erected, like monuments, under the shade of some trees; and several spaces inclosed with smaller ones, where, probably, the dead had been buried. And, in one place, a great many cockle-shells, of a particular sort, finely grooved, and larger than the first, were to be seen; from which it was reasonable to conjecture, that the island had been visited by persons who feed partly on shell-fish. In one of the huts, Mr. Gore left a hatchet and some nails, to the full value of what we took away.

As soon as the boats were hoisted in, I made sail again to the northward, with a light air of wind easterly; intending to try our fortune at Hervey's Island, which was discovered in 1773, during my last voyage. Although it was not above fifteen leagues distant, yet we did not get sight of it till daybreak in the morning of the 6th, when it bore west-south-west, at the distance of about three leagues. As we drew near it, at eight o'clock, we observed several canoes put off from the shore; and they came directly towards the ships. This was a sight that, indeed, surprised me, as no signs of inhabitants were seen when the island was first discovered, which might be owing to a pretty brisk wind that then blew, and prevented their canoes venturing out, as the ships passed to leeward; whereas now we were to windward. As we still kept on toward the island, six or seven of the canoes, all double ones, soon came near us. There were from three to six men in each of them. They stopped at the distance of about a stone's-throw from the ship; and it was some time before Omai could prevail upon them to come alongside; but no entreaties could induce any of them to venture on board. Indeed, their disorderly and clamorous behaviour by no means indicated a disposition to trust us, or treat us well. We afterward learned that they had attempted to take some oars out of the Discovery's boat, that lay alongside, and struck a man who endeavoured to prevent them. They also cut away, with a shell, a net with meat, which hung over that ship's stern, and absolutely refused to restore it; though we, afterward, purchased it from them. Those who were about our ship behaved in the same daring manner; for they made a sort of hook, of a long stick, with which they endeavoured openly to rob us of several things; and, at last, actually got a frock belonging to one of our people, that was towing overboard. At the same time, they immediately showed a knowledge of bartering, and sold some fish they had (amongst which was an extraordinary flounder, spotted like porphyry; and a cream-coloured eel, spotted with black), for small nails, of which they were immoderately fond, and called them *goore*. But, indeed, they caught, with the greatest avidity, bits of paper, or anything else that was thrown to them; and if what was thrown fell into the sea, they made no scruple to swim after it.

These people seemed to differ as much in person, as in disposition, from the natives of Wateeoo; though the distance between the two islands is not very great. Their colour was of a deeper cast; and several had a fierce, rugged aspect, resembling the natives of New

Zealand; but some were fairer. They had strong black hair, which, in general, they wore either hanging loose about the shoulders, or tied in a bunch on the crown of the head. Some, however, had it cropped pretty short; and, in two or three of them, it was of a brown or reddish colour. Their only covering was a narrow piece of mat, wrapped several times round the lower part of the body, and which passed between the thighs; but a fine cap of red feathers was seen lying in one of the canoes. The shell of a pearl-oyster polished, and hung about the neck, was the only ornamental fashion that we observed amongst them; for not one of them had adopted that mode of ornament, so generally prevalent amongst the natives of this Ocean, of puncturing, or *tatooing* their bodies. Though singular in this, we had the most unequivocal proofs of their being of the same common race. Their language approached still nearer to the dialect of Otaheite, than that of Wateeoo, or Mangeea. Like the inhabitants of these two islands, they inquired from whence our ships came; and whither bound; who was our chief; the number of our men on board; and even the ship's name. And they very readily answered such questions as we proposed to them. Amongst other things, they told us they had seen two great ships, like ours, before; but that they had not spoken with them as they sailed past There can be no doubt, that these were the Resolution and Adventure. We learned from them, that the name of their island is Terouggemou Atooa; and that they were subject to Teerevatooeah, king of Wateeoo *. According to the account that they gave, their articles of food are cocoa-nuts, fish, and turtle; the island not producing plantains, or bread-fruit; and being destitute of hogs and dogs. Their canoes, of which near thirty were at one time in sight, are pretty large and well built. In the construction of the stern, they bear some resemblance to those of Wateeoo; and the head projects out nearly in the same manner; but the extremity is turned up instead of down.

Having but very little wind, it was one o'clock before we drew near the north-west part of the island; the only part where there seemed to be any probability of finding anchorage for our ships, or a landing-place for our boats. In this position, I sent Lieutenant King, with two armed boats, to sound and reconnoitre the coast, while we stood off and on with the ships. The instant the boats were hoisted out, our visitors in the canoes, who had remained alongside all the while, bartering their little trifles, suspended their traffic, and pushing for the shore as fast as they could, came near us no more. At three o'clock, the boats returned; and Mr. King informed me, "That there was no anchorage for the ships; and that the boats could only land on the outer edge of the reef, which lay about a quarter of a mile from the dry land. He said, that a number of the natives came down upon the reef, armed with long pikes and clubs, as if they intended to oppose his landing. And yet when he drew near enough, they threw some cocoa-nuts to our people, and invited them to come on shore; though, at the very same time, he observed, that the women were very busy bringing down a fresh supply of spears and darts. But, as he had no motive to land, he did not give them an opportunity to use them."

Having received this report, I considered, that, as the ships could not be brought to an anchor, we should find that the attempt to procure grass here would occasion much delay, as well as be attended with some danger. Besides, we were equally in want of water; and though the inhabitants had told us that there was water on their island, yet we neither knew in what quantity, nor from what distance we might be obliged to fetch it. And, after all, supposing no other obstruction, we were sure that to get over the reef would be an operation equally difficult and tedious. Being thus disappointed at all the islands we had met with since our leaving New Zealand, and the unfavourable winds, and other unforeseen circumstances, having unavoidably retarded our progress so much, it was now impossible to think of doing anything this year, in the high latitudes of the northern hemisphere, from which we were still at so great a distance, though the season for our operations there was already begun. In this situation, it was absolutely necessary to pursue such measures as were most likely to preserve the cattle we had on board in the first place; and, in the next place (which was still a more capital object), to save the stores and provisions of the ships, that we might

* The reader will observe, that this name bears little affinity to any one of the names of the three chiefs of Wateeoo, as preserved by Mr. Anderson.

be better enabled to prosecute our northern discoveries, which could not now commence till a year later than was originally intended.

If I had been so fortunate as to have procured a supply of water, and of grass, at any of the islands we had lately visited, it was my purpose to have stood back to the south, till I had met with a westerly wind. But the certain consequence of doing this without such a supply, would have been the loss of all the cattle, before we could possibly reach Otaheite, without gaining any one advantage with regard to the great object of our voyage I therefore determined to bear away for the Friendly Islands, where I was sure of meeting with abundance of everything I wanted, and it being necessary to run in the night as well as in the day, I ordered Captain Clerke to keep about a league ahead of the Resolution. I used this precaution, because his ship could best claw off the land, and it was very possible we might fall in with some in our passage.

The longitude of Hervey's Island, when first discovered, deduced from Otaheite, by the time-keeper, was found to be 201° 6′ E., and now, by the same time-keeper, deduced from Queen Charlotte's Sound, 200° 50′ E. Hence I conclude, that the error of the time-keeper, at this time, did not exceed twelve miles in longitude.

When we bore away, I steered west by south, with a fine breeze easterly. I proposed to proceed first to Middleburgh, or Eua, thinking, if the wind continued favourable, that we had food enough on board for the cattle, to last till we should reach that island. But about noon next day, those faint breezes, that had attended and retarded us so long, again returned, and I found it necessary to haul more to the north, to get into the latitude of Palmerston's and Savage Islands, discovered in 1774, during my last voyage, that if necessity required it, we might have recourse to them. This day, in order to save our water, I ordered the still to be kept at work, from six o'clock in the morning to four in the afternoon, during which time we procured from thirteen to sixteen gallons of fresh water. There has been lately made some improvement, as they are pleased to call it, of this machine, which, in my opinion, is much for the worse.

These light breezes continued till the 10th, when we had for some hours the wind blowing fresh from the north, and north-north-west, being then in the latitude of 18° 38′, and longitude 198° 24′ E. In the afternoon, we had some thunder squalls from the south, attended with heavy rain, of which water we collected enough to fill five puncheons. After these squalls had blown over, the wind came round to the north-east and north-west; being very unsettled both in strength and in position, till about noon the next day, when it fixed at north-west and north-north-west, and blew a fresh breeze with fair weather. Thus were we persecuted with a wind in our teeth whichever way we directed our course, and we had the additional mortification to find here those very winds which we had reason to expect 8° or 10° farther south. They came too late; for I durst not trust their continuance, and the event proved that I judged right. At length, at daybreak, in the morning of the 13th, we saw Palmerston Island, bearing west by south, distant about five leagues. However, we did not get up with it till eight o'clock the next morning. I then sent four boats, three from the Resolution, and one from the Discovery, with an officer in each, to search the coast for the most convenient landing-place. For now we were under an absolute necessity of procuring from this island some food for the cattle, otherwise we must have lost them.

What is comprehended under the name of Palmerston's Island is a group of small islets, of which there are, in the whole, nine or ten, lying in a circular direction, and connected together by a reef of coral rocks. The boats first examined the south-easternmost of the islets which compose this group, and failing there, ran down to the second, where we had the satisfaction to see them land. I then bore down with the ships till abreast of the place, and there we kept standing off and on; for no bottom was to be found to anchor upon, which was not of much consequence, as the party who had landed from our boats were the only human beings upon the island. About one o'clock one of the boats came on board, laden with scurvy-grass and young cocoa-nut trees, which at this time was a feast for the cattle. The same boat brought a message from Mr. Gore, who commanded the party informing me that there was plenty of such produce upon the island, as also of the *wharra* tree, and some cocoa-nuts. This determined me to get a good supply of these articles before

I quitted this station; and before evening I went ashore in a small boat, accompanied by Captain Clerke.

We found everybody hard at work, and the landing-place to be in a small creek, formed by the reef, of something more than a boat's length in every direction, and covered from the force of the sea by rocks projecting out on each side of it. The island is scarcely a mile in circuit, and not above three feet higher than the level of the sea. It appeared to be composed entirely of a coral sand, with a small mixture of blackish mould, produced from rotten vegetables. Notwithstanding this poor soil, it is covered with trees and bushes of the same kind as at Wenooa-etto, though with less variety; and amongst these are some cocoa-palms. Upon the trees or bushes that front the sea, or even farther in, we found a great number of men-of-war birds, tropic-birds, and two sorts of boobies, which at this time were laying their eggs, and so tame, that they suffered us to take them off with our hands. Their nests were only a few sticks loosely put together, and the tropic-birds laid their eggs on the ground, under the trees. These differ much from the common sort, being entirely of a most splendid white, slightly tinged with red, and having the two long tail-feathers of a deep crimson or blood colour. Of each sort our people killed a considerable number, and though not the most delicate food, they were acceptable enough to us, who had been long confined on a salt diet, and who, consequently, could not but be glad of the most indifferent variety. We met with vast numbers of red crabs creeping about everywhere amongst the trees, and we caught several fish that had been left in holes upon the reef when the sea retired.

At one part of the reef which looks into or bounds the lake that is within, there was a large bed of coral, almost even with the surface, which afforded, perhaps, one of the most enchanting prospects that nature has anywhere produced. Its base was fixed to the shore, but reached so far in that it could not be seen; so that it seemed to be suspended in the water, which deepened so suddenly, that at the distance of a few yards, there might be seven or eight fathoms. The sea was, at this time, quite unruffled; and the sun, shining bright, exposed the various sorts of coral, in the most beautiful order; some parts branching into the water with great luxuriance; others lying collected in round balls, and in various other figures; all which were greatly heightened by spangles of the richest colours, that glowed from a number of large clams, which were everywhere interspersed. But the appearance of these was still inferior to that of the multitude of fishes that glided gently along, seemingly with the most perfect security. The colours of the different sorts were the most beautiful that can be imagined; the yellow, blue, red, black, &c., far exceeding anything that art can produce. Their various forms, also, contributed to increase the richness of this submarine grotto, which could not be surveyed without a pleasing transport, mixed, however, with regret, that a work so stupendously elegant should be concealed in a place where mankind could seldom have an opportunity of rendering the praises justly due to so enchanting a scene.

There were no traces of inhabitants having ever been here; if we except a small piece of a canoe that was found upon the beach, which, probably, may have drifted from some other island. But what is pretty extraordinary, we saw several small brown rats on this spot; a circumstance, perhaps, difficult to account for, unless we allow that they were imported in the canoe of which we saw the remains. After the boats were laden, I returned on board, leaving Mr. Gore, with a party, to pass the night on shore, in order to be ready to go to work early the next morning. That day, being the 15th, was accordingly spent, as the preceding one had been, in collecting and bringing on board food for the cattle, consisting chiefly of palm-cabbage, young cocoa-nut trees, and the tender branches of the wharra-tree. Having got a sufficient supply of these by sunset, I ordered everybody on board. But having little or no wind, I determined to wait, and to employ the next day, by endeavouring to get some cocoa-nuts for our people, from the next island to leeward, where we could observe that those trees were in much greater abundance, than upon that where we had already landed, and where only the wants of our cattle had been relieved.

With this view, I kept standing off and on, all night; and, in the morning, between eight and nine o'clock, I went with the boats to the west side of the island, and landed with

little difficulty. I immediately set the people with me to work, to gather cocoa-nuts, which we found in great abundance. But to get them to our boats was a tedious operation; for we were obliged to carry them at least half a mile over the reef, up to the middle in water. Omai, who was with me, caught, with a scoop net, in a very short time, as much fish as served the whole party on shore for dinner, besides sending some to both ships. Here were also great abundance of birds, particularly men-of-war and tropic-birds; so that we fared sumptuously. And it is but doing justice to Omai to say, that, in these excursions to the uninhabited islands, he was of the greatest use. For he not only caught the fish, but dressed these, and the birds we killed, in an oven, with heated stones, after the fashion of his country, with a dexterity and good-humour that did him great credit. The boats made two trips before night well laden; with the last I returned on board, leaving Mr. Williamson, my third lieutenant, with a party of men, to prepare another lading for the boats, which I proposed to send next morning. I accordingly despatched them at seven o'clock, and they returned laden by noon. No time was lost in sending them back for another cargo; and they carried orders for everybody to be on board by sunset. This being complied with, we hoisted in the boats, and made sail to the westward, with a light air of wind from the north.

We found this islet near a half larger than the other, and almost entirely covered with cocoa-palms; the greatest part of which abounded with excellent nuts, having often both old and young on the same tree. They were, indeed, too thick in many places to grow with freedom. The other productions were, in general, the same as at the first islet. Two pieces of board, one of which was rudely carved, with an elliptical paddle, were found on the beach. Probably, these had belonged to the same canoe, the remains of which were seen on the other beach, as the two islets are not above half a mile apart. A young turtle had also been lately thrown ashore here, as it was still full of maggots. There were fewer crabs than at the last place; but we found some scorpions, a few other insects, and a greater number of fish upon the reefs. Amongst these were some large eels, beautifully spotted, which, when followed, would raise themselves out of the water, and endeavour, with an open mouth, to bite their pursuers. The other sorts were chiefly parrot-fish, snappers, and a brown spotted rock-fish, about the size of a haddock, so tame, that, instead of swimming away, it would remain fixed, and gaze at us. Had we been in absolute want, a sufficient supply might have been had; for thousands of the clams already mentioned stuck upon the reef, some of which weighed two or three pounds. There were, besides, some other sorts of shell-fish, particularly the large periwinkle. When the tide flowed, several sharks came in over the reef, some of which our people killed; but they rendered it rather dangerous to walk in the water at that time. The party who were left on shore with Mr. Williamson were a good deal pestered (as Mr. Gore's had been) with mosquitoes in the night. Some of them, in their excursions, shot two curlews, exactly like those of England, and saw some plovers or sand-pipers upon the shore; but in the wood, no other bird beside one or two of the cuckoos that were seen at Wenooa-ette.

Upon the whole, we did not spend our time unprofitably at this islet; for we got there about twelve hundred cocoa-nuts, which were equally divided amongst the whole crew; and were, doubtless, of great use to them, both on account of the juice and of the kernel. A ship, therefore, passing this way, if the weather be moderate, may expect to succeed as we did. But there is no water upon either of the islets where we landed. Were that article to be had, and a passage could be got into the lake, as we may call it, surrounded by the reef, where a ship could anchor, I should prefer this to any of the inhabited islands, if the only want were refreshment: for the quantity of fish that might be procured would be sufficient; and the people might roam about unmolested by the petulance of any inhabitants. The nine or ten low islets comprehended under the name of Palmerston's Island, may be reckoned the heads or summits of the reef of coral rock that connects them together, covered only with a thin coat of sand, yet clothed, as already observed, with trees and plants; most of which are of the same sorts that are found on the low grounds of the high islands of this ocean.

There are different opinions amongst ingenious theorists concerning the formation of such

low islands as Palmerston's. Some will have it, that in remote times these little separate heads or islets were joined, and formed one continued and more elevated tract of land, which the sea, in the revolution of ages, has washed away, leaving only the higher grounds, which, in time, also, will, according to this theory, share the same fate. Another conjecture is, that they have been thrown up by earthquakes, and are the effect of internal convulsions of the globe. A third opinion, and which appears to me as the most probable one, maintains that they are formed from shoals, or coral banks, and of consequence increasing. Without mentioning the several arguments made use of in support of each of these systems, I shall only describe such parts of Palmerston's Island as fell under my own observation when I landed upon it.

The foundation is, everywhere, a coral rock; the soil is coral sand, with which the decayed vegetables have, but in a few places, intermixed, so as to form anything like mould. From this a very strong presumption may be drawn, that these little spots of land are not of very ancient date, nor the remains of larger islands now buried in the ocean. For, upon either of these suppositions, more mould must have been formed, or some part of the original soil would have remained. Another circumstance confirmed this doctrine of the increase of these islets. We found upon them, far beyond the present reach of the sea, even in the most violent storms, elevated coral rocks, which, on examination, appeared to have been perforated in the same manner that the rocks are that now compose the outer edge of the reef. This evidently shows that the sea had formerly reached so far; and some of these perforated rocks were almost in the centre of the land.

But the strongest proof of the increase, and from the cause we have assigned, was the gentle gradation observable in the plants round the skirts of the islands; from within a few inches of high-water mark, to the edge of the wood. In many places, the divisions of the plants, of different growths, were very distinguishable, especially on the lee, or west side. This I apprehend to have been the operation of extraordinary high tides, occasioned by violent, accidental gales from the westward; which have heaped up the sand beyond the reach of common tides. The regular and gentle operation of these latter, again, throw up sand enough to form a barrier against the next extraordinary high tide, or storm, so as to prevent its reaching as far as the former had done, and destroying the plants that may have begun to vegetate from cocoa-nuts, roots, and seed brought thither by birds, or thrown up by the sea. This, doubtless, happens very frequently; for we found many cocoa-nuts, and some other things, just sprouting up, only a few inches beyond where the sea reaches at present, in places where, it was evident, they could not have had their origin from those, farther in, already arrived at their full growth. At the same time, the increase of vegetables will add fast to the height of this new-created land; as the fallen leaves and broken branches are, in such a climate, soon converted into a true black mould, or soil*.

Perhaps there is another cause, which, if allowed, will accelerate the increase of these islands as much as any other, and will also account for the sea having receded from those elevated rocks before mentioned. This is, the spreading of the coral bank, or reef, into the sea; which, in my opinion, is continually, though imperceptibly, affected. The waves receding, as the reef grows in breadth and height, leave a dry rock behind, ready for the reception of the broken coral and sand, and every other deposit necessary for the formation of land fit for the vegetation of plants. In this manner, there is little doubt, that, in time, the whole reef will become one island; and, I think, it will extend gradually inward, either from the increase of the islets already formed, or from the formation of new ones, upon the

* Mr. Anderson, in his journal, mentions the following particulars, relative to Palmerston's Island, which strongly confirm Captain Cook's opinion about its formation. "On the last of the two islets, where we landed, the trees being in great numbers, had already formed, by their rotten parts, little risings or eminences, which, in time, from the same cause, may become small hills. Whereas, on the first islet, the trees being less numerous, no such thing had as yet happened. Nevertheless, on that little spot, the manner of formation was more plainly pointed out. For, adjoining to it, was a small isle, which had, doubtless, been very lately formed; as it was not, as yet, covered with any trees, but had a great many shrubs, some of which were growing among pieces of coral, that the sea had thrown up. There was still a more sure proof of this method of formation a little farther on, where two patches of sand, about fifty yards long, and a foot or eighteen inches high, lay upon the reef, but not, as yet, furnished with a single bush or tree."

beds of coral, within the inclosed lake, if once they increase so as to rise above the level of the sea*.

After leaving Palmerston's Island, I steered west, with a view to make the best of my way to Annamooka. We still continued to have variable winds, frequently between the north and west, with squalls, some thunder, and much rain. During these showers, which were generally very copious, we saved a considerable quantity of water; and finding that we could get a greater supply by the rain, in one hour, than we could get by distillation in a month, I laid aside the still, as a thing attended with more trouble than profit. The heat, which had been great for about a month, became now much more disagreeable in this close rainy weather; and, from the moisture attending it, threatened soon to be noxious; as the ships could not be kept dry, nor the skuttles open, for the sea. However, it is remarkable enough, that though the only refreshment we had received, since leaving the Cape of Good Hope, was that at New Zealand, there was not, as yet, a single person on board sick from the constant use of salt food, or vicissitude of climate.

In the night between the 24th and 25th we passed Savage Island, which I had discovered in 1774; and on the 28th, at ten o'clock in the morning, we got sight of the islands which lie to the eastward of Annamooka, bearing north by west, about four or five leagues distant. I steered to the south of these islands, and then hauled up for Annamooka; which, at four in the afternoon, bore north-west by north, Fallafajeea south-west by south, and Komango north by west, distant about five miles. The weather being squally, with rain, I anchored, at the approach of night, in fifteen fathoms deep water, over a bottom of coral, sand, and shells; Komango bearing north-west, about two leagues distant.

CHAPTER IV.—INTERCOURSE WITH THE NATIVES OF KOMANGO, AND OTHER ISLANDS.—ARRIVAL AT ANNAMOOKA.—TRANSACTIONS THERE.—FEENOU, A PRINCIPAL CHIEF, FROM TONGATABOO, COMES ON A VISIT.—THE MANNER OF HIS RECEPTION IN THE ISLAND, AND ON BOARD.—INSTANCES OF THE PILFERING DISPOSITION OF THE NATIVES.—SOME ACCOUNT OF ANNAMOOKA.—THE PASSAGE FROM IT TO HAPAEE.

Soon after we had anchored, two canoes, the one with four, and the other with three men, paddled towards us, and came alongside without the least hesitation. They brought some cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, plantains, and sugar-cane, which they bartered with us for nails. One of the men came on board; and when these canoes had left us, another visited us; but did not stay long, as night was approaching. Komango, the island nearest to us, was at least five miles off; which shows the hazard these people would run, in order to possess a few of our most trifling articles. Besides this supply from the shore, we caught this evening, with hooks and lines, a considerable quantity of fish. Next morning, at four o'clock, I sent Lieutenant King, with two boats, to Komango, to procure refreshments; and, at five,

* Mr. Darwin has offered an explanation of the formation of coral reefs, much more satisfactory than any which has been hitherto attempted. For a full detail of the facts and reasoning by which he supports his theory, we must refer our readers to his very interesting paper, read before the Geological Society, May 1837, and reprinted in the third volume of the Surveying Voyage of the Adventure and the Beagle, p. 554, *et seq.*; we cannot here do more than briefly notice the conclusions which he draws from the observations he made whilst accompanying Captain Fitzroy in his circumnavigation of the globe. The coral insect never works at a greater depth than twenty fathoms, and dies if exposed to the sun and air. The range of its labours then are confined between that depth and the line of low water at neap tides. But the coral reefs sink at once on the side next the ocean to a depth often unfathomable, and invariably very profound, and on the inner side are frequently found almost equally abrupt. Mr. Darwin supposes that these reefs, whether forming Lagoon islands as at the Palmerston Islands, encircling bands as at Tahiti, or barriers as on the north-east coast of New Holland, are occasioned by the gradual sinking of the mainland, during which process the coral insect still builds upward. In the Lagoon islands the land has totally disappeared, but the accumulation of broken fragments and sand on the top of the reef, together with the vegetation which takes place there from seeds cast up by the sea, gradually form a circlet of islands, while the labours of the more delicate coral insect help to fill up the lagoons, and the more vigorous species, who only flourish in the surf, repair the ravages of the never-ceasing waves. In the encircled islands, and in barrier reefs, the distance between the mainland and the reef marks the process of decadence of the former; in stationary coasts the coral is found at precisely that distance from the shore which is most favourable for its growth; while in other cases, coral rock elevated above high-water mark shows that the land there has been raised beyond its former level.—Ed.

made the signal to weigh, in order to ply up to Annamooka, the wind being unfavourable at north-west.

It was no sooner daylight, than we were visited by six or seven canoes from different islands, bringing with them, besides fruits and roots, two pigs, several fowls, some large wood-pigeons, small rails, and large violet-coloured coots. All these they exchanged with us for beads, nails, hatchets, &c. They had also other articles of commerce; such as pieces of their cloth, fish-hooks, small baskets, musical reeds, and some clubs, spears, and bows. But I ordered that no curiosities should be purchased, till the ships should be supplied with provisions, and leave given for that purpose. Knowing, also, from experience, that if all our people might trade with the natives according to their own caprice, perpetual quarrels would ensue, I ordered that particular persons should manage the traffic both on board and on shore, prohibiting all others to interfere. Before mid-day, Mr. King's boat returned with seven hogs, some fowls, a quantity of fruit and roots for ourselves, and some grass for the cattle. His party was very civilly treated at Komango. The inhabitants did not seem to be numerous; and their huts, which stood close to each other, within a plantain walk, were but indifferent. Not far from them, was a pretty large pond of fresh water, tolerably good; but there was not any appearance of a stream. With Mr. King, came on board the chief of the island, named Tooboulangee; and another, whose name was Taipa. They brought with them a hog as a present to me, and promised more the next day.

As soon as the boats were aboard, I stood for Annamooka; and the wind being scant, I intended to go between Annamooka-ette* and the breakers to the south-east of it. But, on drawing near, we met with very irregular soundings, varying every cast, ten or twelve fathoms. This obliged me to give up the design, and to go to the southward of all; which carried us to leeward, and made it necessary to spend the night under sail. It was very dark; and we had the wind, from every direction, accompanied with heavy showers of rain. So that, at daylight the next morning, we found ourselves much farther off than we had been the evening before; and the little wind that now blew was right in our teeth. We continued to ply, all day, to very little purpose; and, in the evening, anchored in thirty-nine fathoms water; the bottom, coral rocks and broken shells; the west point of Annamooka bearing E.N.E., four miles distant. Tooboulangee and Taipa kept their promise, and brought off to me some hogs. Several others were also procured by bartering, from different canoes that followed us; and as much fruit as we could well manage. It was remarkable, that, during the whole day, our visitors from the islands would hardly part with any of their commodities to anybody but me. Captain Clerke did not get above one or two hogs.

At four o'clock next morning, I ordered a boat to be hoisted out, and sent the master to sound the south-west side of Annamooka; where there appeared to be a harbour, formed by the island on the north-east, and by small islets and shoals, to the south-west and south-east. In the mean time the ships were got under sail, and wrought up to the island. When the master returned, he reported, that he had sounded between Great and Little Annamooka, where he found ten and twelve fathoms depth of water, the bottom coral sand; that the place was very well sheltered from all winds; but that there was no fresh water to be found, except at some distance inland; and that, even there, little of it was to be got, and that little not good. For this reason only, and it was a very sufficient one, I determined to anchor on the north side of the island, where, during my last voyage, I had found a place fit both for watering and landing.

It was not above a league distant; and yet we did not reach it till five o'clock in the afternoon, being considerably retarded by the great number of canoes that continually crowded round the ships, bringing to us abundant supplies of the produce of their island. Amongst these canoes, there were some double ones, with a large sail, that carried between forty and fifty men each. These sailed round us apparently with the same ease as if we had been at anchor. There were several women in the canoes, who were, perhaps, incited by curiosity to visit us; though, at the same time, they bartered as eagerly as the men, and used the paddle with equal labour and dexterity. I came to an anchor in eighteen

* That is, Little Annamooka.

fathoms water, the bottom coarse coral sand; the island extending from east to south-west; and the west point of the westernmost cove south-east, about three quarters of a mile distant. Thus I resumed the very same station which I had occupied when I visited Annamooka three years before; and, probably, almost in the same place where Tasman, the first discoverer of this, and some of the neighbouring islands, anchored in 1643*.

The following day, while preparations were making for watering, I went ashore, in the forenoon, accompanied by Captain Clerke, and some of the officers, to fix on a place where the observatories might be set up, and a guard be stationed; the natives having readily given us leave. They also accommodated us with a boat-house, to serve as a tent, and showed us every other mark of civility. Toobou, the chief of the island, conducted me and Omai to his house. We found it situated on a pleasant spot, in the centre of his plantation. A fine grass plot surrounded it, which, he gave us to understand, was for the purpose of cleaning their feet, before they went within doors. I had not before observed such an instance of attention to cleanliness at any of the places I had visited in this ocean; but afterward found that it was very common at the Friendly Islands. The floor of Toobou's house was covered with mats; and no carpet in the most elegant English drawing-room could be kept neater. While we were on shore, we procured a few hogs, and some fruit, by bartering; and, before we got on board again, the ships were crowded with the natives. Few of them coming empty-handed, every necessary refreshment was now in the greatest plenty. I landed again in the afternoon, with a party of marines; and, at the same time, the horses, and such of the

VIEW IN ANNAMOOKA.

cattle as were in a weakly state, were sent on shore. Everything being settled to my satisfaction, I returned to the ship at sunset, leaving the command upon the island to Mr. King. Taipa, who was now become our fast friend, and who seemed to be the only active person about us, in order to be near our party in the night, as well as the day, had a house brought on men's shoulders a full quarter of a mile, and placed close to the shed which our party occupied.

Next day the various operations on shore began. Some were employed in making hay for the cattle; others, in filling our water-casks at the neighbouring stagnant pool; and

* See Tasman's account of this island, in Mr. Dalrymple's valuable Collection of Voyages to the Pacific Ocean, vol. ii. p. 79, 80. The few particulars mentioned by Tasman agree remarkably with Captain Cook's more extended relation.

a third party in cutting wood. The greatest plenty of this last article being abreast of the ships, and in a situation the most convenient for getting it on board, it was natural to make choice of this. But the trees here, which our people erroneously supposed to be manchineel, but were a species of pepper, called *faitanoo* by the natives, yielded a juice of a milky colour, of so corrosive a nature, that it raised blisters on the skin, and injured the eyes of our workmen. They were, therefore, obliged to desist at this place, and remove to the cove, in which our guard was stationed, and where we embarked our water. Other wood, more suitable to our purposes, was there furnished to us by the natives. These were not the only employments we were engaged in, for Messrs. King and Bayly began this day to observe equal altitudes of the sun, in order to get the rate of the time-keepers. In the evening, before the natives retired from our post, Taipa harangued them for some time. We could only guess at the subject; and judged, that he was instructing them how to behave toward us, and encouraging them to bring the produce of the island to market. We experienced the good effects of his eloquence, in the plentiful supply of provisions which, next day, we received.

Nothing worth notice happened on the 4th and 5th, except that, on the former of these days, the Discovery lost her small bower anchor, the cable being cut in two by the rocks. This misfortune made it necessary to examine the cables of the Resolution, which were found to be unhurt. On the 6th we were visited by a great chief from Tongataboo, whose name was Feenou, and whom Taipa was pleased to introduce to us as king of all the Friendly Isles. I was now told, that on my arrival, a canoe had been despatched to Tongataboo with the news; in consequence of which, this chief immediately passed over to Annamooka. The officer on shore informed me, that when he first arrived, all the natives were ordered out to meet him, and paid their obeisance by bowing their heads as low as his feet, the soles of which they also touched with each hand, first with the palm, and then with the back part. There could be little room to suspect that a person, received with so much respect, could be anything less than the king.

In the afternoon, I went to pay this great man a visit, having first received a present of two fish from him, brought on board by one of his servants. As soon as I landed, he came up to me. He appeared to be about thirty years of age, tall but thin, and had more of the European features than any I had yet seen here. When the first salutation was over, I asked if he was the king; for, notwithstanding what I had been told, finding he was not the man whom I remembered to have seen under that character during my former voyage, I began to entertain doubts. Taipa officiously answered for him, and enumerated no less than one hundred and fifty-three islands, of which, he said, Feenou was the sovereign. After a short stay, our new visitor, and five or six of his attendants, accompanied me on board. I gave suitable presents to them all, and entertained them in such a manner as I thought would be most agreeable.

In the evening, I attended them on shore in my boat, into which the chief ordered three hogs to be put, as a return for the presents he had received from me. I was now informed of an accident which had just happened, the relation of which will convey some idea of the extent of the authority exercised here over the common people. While Feenou was on board my ship, an inferior chief, for what reason our people on shore did not know, ordered all the natives to retire from the post we occupied. Some of them having ventured to return, he took up a large stick and beat them most unmercifully. He struck one man, on the side of the face, with so much violence, that the blood gushed out of his mouth and nostrils; and, after lying some time motionless, he was at last removed from the place in convulsions. The person who had inflicted the blow, being told that he had killed the man, only laughed at it; and it was evident that he was not in the least sorry for what had happened. We heard, afterward, that the poor sufferer recovered. The Discovery having found again her small bower anchor, shifted her berth on the 7th; but not before her best bower cable had shared the fate of the other. This day, I had the company of Feenou at dinner; and also the next day, when he was attended by Taipa, Toobou, and some other chiefs. It was remarkable, that none but Taipa was allowed to sit at table with him, or even to eat in his presence. I own that I considered Feenou as a very convenient guest, on account of this etiquette. For

before his arrival, I had generally a larger company than I could well find room for, and my table overflowed with crowds of both sexes. For it is not the custom at the Friendly Islands, as it is at Otaheite, to deny to their females the privilege of eating in company with the men.

The first day of our arrival at Annamooka, one of the natives had stolen out of the ship a large junk axe. I now applied to Feenou to exert his authority to get it restored to me; and so implicitly was he obeyed, that it was brought on board while we were at dinner. These people gave us very frequent opportunities of remarking what expert thieves they were. Even some of their chiefs did not think this profession beneath them. On the 9th, one of them was detected carrying out of the ship, concealed under his clothes, the bolt belonging to the spun-yarn winch, for which I sentenced him to receive a dozen lashes, and kept him confined till he paid a hog for his liberty. After this we were not troubled with thieves of rank. Their servants, or slaves however, were still employed in this dirty work; and upon them a flogging seemed to make no greater impression than it would have done upon the mainmast. When any of them happened to be caught in the act, their masters, far from interceding for them, would often advise us to kill them. As this was a punishment we did not choose to inflict, they generally escaped without any punishment at all; for they appeared to us to be equally insensible of the shame and of the pain of corporal chastisement. Captain Clerke at last hit upon a mode of treatment which we thought had some effect. He put them under the hands of the barber, and completely shaved their heads; thus pointing them out as objects of ridicule to their countrymen, and enabling our people to deprive them of future opportunities for a repetition of their rogueries, by keeping them at a distance.

Feenou was so fond of associating with us, that he dined on board every day, though sometimes he did not partake of our fare. On the 10th, some of his servants brought a mess which had been dressed for him on shore. It consisted of fish, soup, and yams. Instead of common water to make the soup, cocoa-nut liquor had been made use of, in which the fish had been boiled or stewed, probably in a wooden vessel with hot stones; but it was carried on board in a plantain leaf. I tasted of the mess, and found it so good, that I afterwards had some fish dressed in the same way. Though my cook succeeded tolerably well, he could produce nothing equal to the dish he imitated.

Finding that we had quite exhausted the island of almost every article of food that it afforded, I employed the 11th in moving off from the shore the horses, observatories, and other things that we had landed, as also the party of marines who had mounted guard at our station, intending to sail as soon as the Discovery should have recovered her best bower anchor. Feenou understanding that I meant to proceed directly to Tongataboo, importuned me strongly to alter this plan, to which he expressed as much aversion as if he had some particular interest to promote by diverting me from it. In preference to it, he warmly recommended an island, or rather a group of islands, called Hapaee, lying to the north-east. There he assured us we could be supplied plentifully with every refreshment in the easiest manner; and to add weight to his advice, he engaged to attend us thither in person. He carried his point with me; and Hapaee was made choice of for our next station. As it had never been visited by any European ships, the examination of it became an object with me. The 12th and the 13th were spent in attempting the recovery of Captain Clerke's anchor, which, after much trouble, was happily accomplished; and on the 14th in the morning we got under sail, and left Annamooka.

This island is somewhat higher than the other small isles that surround it; but still it cannot be admitted to the rank of those of a moderate height, such as Mangeea and Wateeoo. The shore, at that part where our ships lay, is composed of a steep, rugged coral rock, nine or ten feet high, except where there are two sandy beaches, which have a reef of the same sort of rock extending across their entrance to the shore, and defending them from the sea. The salt-water lake that is in the centre of the island is about a mile and a half broad; and round it the land rises like a bank, with a gradual ascent. But we could not trace its having any communication with the sea; and yet the land that runs across to it from the largest sandy beach being flat and low, and the soil sandy, it is most likely that it may have formerly

communicated that way. The soil on the rising parts of the island, and especially toward the sea, is either of a reddish clayey disposition, or a black loose mould; but there is nowhere any stream of fresh water.

The island is very well cultivated, except in a few places; and there are some others which, though they appear to lie waste, are only left to recover the strength exhausted by constant culture; for we frequently saw the natives at work upon these spots to plant them again. The plantations consist chiefly of yams and plantains. Many of them are very extensive, and often inclosed with neat fences of reed, disposed obliquely across each other, about six feet high. Within these we often saw other fences of less compass surrounding the houses of the principal people. The bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees are interspersed with little order, but chiefly near the habitations of the natives; and the other parts of the island, especially toward the sea, and about the sides of the lake, are covered with trees and bushes of a most luxuriant growth; the last place having a great many mangroves, and the first a vast number of the *faitanoo* trees already mentioned. There seem to be no rocks or stones of any kind about the island that are not coral, except in one place to the right of the sandy beach, where there is a rock twenty or thirty feet high, of a calcareous stone of a yellowish colour, and a very close texture. But even about that place, which is the highest part of the land, are large pieces of the same coral rock that composes the shore.

Besides walking frequently up into the country, which we were permitted to do without interruption, we sometimes amused ourselves in shooting wild ducks, not unlike the widgeon, which are very numerous upon the salt lake and the pool where we got our water. In these excursions we found the inhabitants had often deserted their houses to come down to the trading place, without entertaining any suspicion that strangers rambling about would take away or destroy anything that belonged to them. But though, from this circumstance, it might be supposed that the greater part of the natives were sometimes collected at the beach, it was impossible to form any accurate computation of their number, as the continual resort of visitors from other islands mixing with them might easily mislead one. However, as there was never to appearance above a thousand persons collected at one time, it would perhaps be sufficient to allow double that number for the whole island.

To the north and north-east of Annamooka, and in the direct track to Hapaee, whither we were now bound, the sea is sprinkled with a great number of small isles. Amidst the shoals and rocks adjoining to this group, I could not be assured that there was a free or safe passage for such large ships as ours, though the natives sailed through the intervals in their canoes. For this substantial reason, when we weighed anchor from Annamooka, I thought it necessary to go to the westward of the above islands, and steered north-north-west, towards Kao and Toofoa, the two most westerly islands in sight, and remarkable for their great height. Feenou and his attendants remained on board the Resolution till near noon, when he went into the large sailing canoe which had brought him from Tongataboo, and stood in amongst the cluster of islands above mentioned, of which we were now almost abreast, and a tide or current from the westward had set us, since our sailing in the morning, much over toward them.

They lie scattered at unequal distances, and are in general nearly as high as Annamooka, but only from two or three miles to half a mile in length, and some of them scarcely so much. They have either steep rocky shores like Annamooka, or reddish cliffs; but some have sandy beaches extending almost their whole length. Most of them are entirely clothed with trees, amongst which are many cocoa-palms, and each forms a prospect like a beautiful garden placed in the sea. To heighten this, the serene weather we now had contributed very much; and the whole might supply the imagination with an idea of some fairy land realised. It should seem, that some of them at least may have been formed as we supposed Palmerston's Island to have been; for there is one which as yet is entirely sand, and another on which there is only one bush or tree.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, being the length of Kotoo, the westernmost of the above cluster of small islands, we steered to the north, leaving Toofoa and Kao on our larboard, keeping along the west side of a reef of rocks which lie to the westward of Kotoo, till we came to their northern extremity, round which we hauled in for the island. It was our

intention to have anchored for the night, but it came upon us before we could find a place in less than fifty-five fathoms water; and rather than come to in this depth, I chose to spend the night under sail. We had in the afternoon been within two leagues of Toofoa, the smoke of which we saw several times in the day. The Friendly Islanders have some superstitious notions about the volcano upon it, which they call *Kollofeea*, and say it is an *Otooa*, or divinity. According to their account, it sometimes throws up very large stones; and they compare the crater to the size of a small islet, which has never ceased smoking in their memory, nor have they any tradition that it ever did. We sometimes saw the smoke rising from the centre of the island while we were at Annamooka, though at the distance of at least ten leagues. Toofoa, we were told, is but thinly inhabited, but the water upon it is good.

At daybreak the next morning, being then not far from Kao, which is a vast rock of a conic figure, we steered to the east for the passage between the islands Footooha and Hafaiva, with a gentle breeze at south-east. About ten o'clock, Feenou came on board, and remained with us all day. He brought with him two hogs and a quantity of fruit; and, in the course of the day, several canoes from the different islands round us came to barter quantities of the latter article, which was very acceptable, as our stock was nearly expended. At noon, our latitude was 19° 49′ 45′ S., and we had made seven miles of longitude from Annamooka; Toofoa bore north, 88° W.; Kao, north, 71° W.; Footooha, north, 89° W.; and Hafaiva, south, 12° W.

After passing Footooha, we met with a reef of rocks, and, as there was but little wind, it cost us some trouble to keep clear of them. This reef lies between Footooha and Neeneeva, which is a small low isle in the direction of east-north-east from Footooha, at the distance of seven or eight miles. Footooha is a small island of middling height, and bounded all round by a steep rock. It lies south 67° E., distant six leagues from Kao, and three leagues from Kotoo, in the direction of north 33° E. Being past the reef of rocks just mentioned, we hauled up for Neeneeva, in hopes of finding anchorage, but were again disappointed, and obliged to spend the night in making short boards: for, although we had land in every direction, the sea was unfathomable. In the course of this night we could plainly see flames issuing from the volcano upon Toofoa, though to no great height.

At daybreak in the morning of the 16th, with a gentle breeze at south-east, we steered north-east for Hapaee, which was now in sight, and we could judge it to be low land from the trees only appearing above the water. About nine o'clock, we could see it plainly forming three islands nearly of an equal size; and soon after, a fourth to the southward of these, as large as the others. Each seemed to be about six or seven miles long, and of a similar height and appearance. The northernmost of them is called Haanno, the next Foa, the third Lefooga, and the southernmost Hoolaiva; but all four are included by the natives under the general name Hapaee.

The wind scanting upon us, we could not fetch the land, so that we were forced to ply to windward. In doing this we once passed over some coral rocks, on which we had only six fathoms water; but the moment we were over them, found no ground with eighty fathoms of line. At this time, the isles of Hapaee bore from north, 50° E., to south, 9° W. We got up with the northernmost of these isles by sunset, and there found ourselves in the very same distress for want of anchorage that we had experienced the two preceding evenings; so that we had another night to spend under sail, with land and breakers in every direction. Toward the evening, Feenou, who had been on board all day, went forward to Hapaee, and took Omai in the canoe with him. He did not forget our disagreeable situation, and kept up a good fire all night, by way of a land-mark.

As soon as the daylight returned, being then close in with Foa, we saw it was joined to Haanno by a reef running even with the surface of the sea, from the one island to the other. I now despatched a boat to look for anchorage. A proper place was soon found, and we came-to abreast of a reef, being that which joins Lefooga to Foa (in the same manner that Foa is joined to Haanno), having twenty-four fathoms depth of water, the bottom coral sand. In this station, the northern point of Hapaee, or the north end of Haanno, bore north, 13° E. The southern point of Hapaee, or the south end of Hoolaiva, south, 29° W.; and the north end of Lefooga, south, 65° E. Two ledges of rocks lay without us; the one bearing south,

50° W.; and the other west by north one-half north, distant two or three miles. We lay before a creek in the reef, which made it convenient landing at all times, and we were not above three quarters of a mile from the shore.

CHAPTER V.—ARRIVAL OF THE SHIPS AT HAPAEE, AND FRIENDLY RECEPTION THERE.—PRESENTS AND SOLEMNITIES ON THE OCCASION.—SINGLE COMBATS WITH CLUBS.—WRESTLING AND BOXING MATCHES.—FEMALE COMBATANTS.—MARINES EXERCISED.—A DANCE PERFORMED BY MEN.—FIREWORKS EXHIBITED.—THE NIGHT ENTERTAINMENTS OF SINGING AND DANCING PARTICULARLY DESCRIBED.

By the time we had anchored, the ships were filled with the natives, and surrounded by a multitude of canoes, filled also with them. They brought from the shore hogs, fowls, fruit, and roots, which they exchanged for hatchets, knives, nails, beads, and cloth. Feenou and Omai having come on board after it was light, in order to introduce me to the people of the island, I soon accompanied them on shore for that purpose, landing at the north part of Lefooga, a little to the right of the ship's station.

The chief conducted me to a house, or rather a hut, situated close to the sea-beach, which I had seen brought thither but a few minutes before for our reception. In this Feenou, Omai, and myself were seated. The other chiefs and the multitude composed a circle on the outside, fronting us, and they also sat down. I was then asked, how long I intended to stay? On my saying five days, Taipa was ordered to come and sit by me, and proclaim this to the people. He then harangued them in a speech mostly dictated by Feenou. The purport of it, as I learned from Omai, was, that they were all, both old and young, to look upon me as a friend, who intended to remain with them a few days; that during my stay they must not steal anything, nor molest me any other way; and that it was expected they should bring hogs, fowls, fruits, &c. to the ships, where they would receive in exchange for them, such and such things, which he enumerated. Soon after Taipa had finished this address to the assembly, Feenou left us. Taipa then took occasion to signify to me, that it was necessary I should make a present to the chief of the island, whose name was Earoupa. I was not unprepared for this, and gave him such articles as far exceeded his expectation. My liberality to him brought upon me demands of the same kind from two chiefs of other isles who were present, and from Taipa himself. When Feenou returned, which was immediately after I had made the last of these presents, he pretended to be angry with Taipa for suffering me to give away so much; but I looked upon this as a mere finesse, being confident that he acted in concert with the others. He now took his seat again, and ordered Earoupa to sit by him, and to harangue the people as Taipa had done, and to the same purpose; dictating, as before, the heads of the speech.

These ceremonies being performed, the chief, at my request, conducted me to three stagnant pools of fresh water, as he was pleased to call it; and, indeed, in one of these the water was tolerable, and the situation not inconvenient for filling our casks. After viewing the watering-place, we returned to our former station, where I found a baked hog and some yams, smoking hot, ready to be carried on board for my dinner. I invited Feenou and his friends to partake of it, and we embarked for the ship; but none but himself sat down with us at the table. After dinner I conducted them on shore, and before I returned on board, the chief gave me a fine large turtle and a quantity of yams. Our supply of provisions was copious, for, in the course of the day, we got by barter alongside the ship about twenty small hogs, beside fruit and roots. I was told that, on my first landing in the morning, a man came off to the ships and ordered every one of the natives to go on shore. Probably this was done with a view to have the whole body of inhabitants present at the ceremony of my reception, for when that was over, multitudes of them returned again to the ships.

Next morning early, Feenou and Omai, who scarcely ever quitted the chief, and now slept on shore, came on board. The object of the visit was to require my presence upon the island. After some time I accompanied them, and upon landing was conducted to the same

place where I had been seated the day before, and where I saw a large concourse of people already assembled. I guessed that something more than ordinary was in agitation, but could not tell what, nor could Omai inform me. I had not been long seated, before near a hundred of the natives appeared in sight, and advanced laden with yams, bread-fruit, plantains, cocoa-nuts, and sugar-canes. They deposited their burdens in two heaps or piles upon our left, being the side they came from. Soon after, arrived a number of others from the right, bearing the same kind of articles; which were collected into two piles upon that side. To these were tied two pigs and six fowls, and to those upon the left six pigs and two turtles. Earoupa seated himself before the several articles upon the left, and another chief before those upon the right; they being, as I judged, the two chiefs who had collected them, by order of Feenou, who seemed to be as implicitly obeyed here as he had been at Annamooka; and, in consequence of his commanding superiority over the chiefs of Hapaee, had laid his tax upon them for the present occasion.

As soon as this munificent collection of provisions was laid down in order, and disposed to the best advantage, the bearers of it joined the multitude, who formed a large circle round the whole. Presently after a number of men entered this circle or area before us, armed with clubs, made of the green branches of the cocoa-nut-tree. These paraded about for a few minutes, and then retired, the one-half to one side, and the other half to the other side; seating themselves before the spectators. Soon after they successively entered the lists, and entertained us with single combats. One champion, rising up and stepping forward from one side, challenged those of the other side, by expressive gestures more than by words, to send one of their body to oppose him. If the challenge was accepted,

BOXING-MATCH AT HAPAEE.

which was generally the case, the two combatants put themselves in proper attitudes, and then began the engagement, which continued till one or other owned himself conquered, or till their weapons were broken. As soon as each combat was over, the victor squatted himself down facing the chief, then rose up and retired. At the same time some old men, who seemed to sit as judges, gave their plaudit in a few words; and the multitude, especially those on the side to which the victor belonged, celebrated the glory he had acquired in two or three huzzas.

This entertainment was now and then suspended for a few minutes. During these intervals

there were both wrestling and boxing matches. The first were performed in the same manner as at Otaheite, and the second differed very little from the method practised in England. But what struck us with most surprise, was to see a couple of lusty wenches step forth and begin boxing, without the least ceremony, and with as much art as the men. This contest, however, did not last above half a minute before one of them gave it up. The conquering heroine received the same applause from the spectators, which they bestowed upon the successful combatants of the other sex. We expressed some dislike at this part of the entertainment, which, however, did not prevent two other females from entering the lists. They seemed to be girls of spirit, and would certainly have given each other a good drubbing, if two old women had not interposed to part them. All these combats were exhibited in the midst of at least three thousand people; and were conducted with the greatest good humour on all sides, though some of the champions, women as well as men, received blows, which, doubtless, they must have felt for some time after.

As soon as these diversions were ended, the chief told me that the heaps of provisions on our right hand were a present to Omai, and that those on our left hand, being about two-thirds of the whole quantity, were given to me. He added, that I might take them on board whenever it was convenient; but that there would be no occasion to set any of our people as guards over them, as I might be assured that not a single cocoa-nut would be taken away by the natives. So it proved, for I left everything behind, and returned to the ship to dinner, carrying the chief with me; and when the provisions were removed on board in the afternoon, not a single article was missing. There was as much as loaded four boats; and I could not but be struck with the munificence of Feenou; for this present far exceeded any I had ever received from any of the sovereigns of the various islands I had visited in the Pacific Ocean. I lost no time in convincing my friend that I was not insensible of his liberality; for before he quitted my ship, I bestowed upon him such of our commodities as I guessed were most valuable in his estimation. And the return I made was so much to his satisfaction, that as soon as he got on shore, he left me still indebted to him, by sending me a fresh present, consisting of two large hogs, a considerable quantity of cloth, and some yams.

Feenou had expressed a desire to see the marines go through their military exercise. As I was desirous to gratify his curiosity, I ordered them all ashore from both ships in the morning of the 20th. After they had performed various evolutions, and fired several volleys, with which the numerous body of spectators seemed well pleased, the chief entertained us, in his turn, with an exhibition which, as was acknowledged by us all, was performed with a dexterity and exactness far surpassing the specimen we had given of our military manœuvres. It was a kind of dance, so entirely different from anything I had ever seen, that I fear I can give no description that will convey any tolerable idea of it to my readers. It was performed by men, and one hundred and five persons bore their parts in it. Each of them had in his hand an instrument neatly made, shaped somewhat like a paddle, of two feet and a half in length, with a small handle and a thin blade, so that they were very light. With these instruments they made many and various flourishes, each of which was accompanied with a different attitude of the body, or a different movement. At first the performers ranged themselves in three lines; and, by various evolutions, each man changed his station in such a manner, that those who had been in the rear came into the front. Nor did they remain long in the same position, but these changes were made by pretty quick transitions. At one time they extended themselves in one line; they then formed into a semicircle; and, lastly, into two square columns. While this last movement was executing, one of them advanced, and performed an antic dance before me, with which the whole ended.

The musical instruments consisted of two drums, or rather two hollow logs of wood, from which some varied notes were produced by beating on them with two sticks. It did not, however, appear to me that the dancers were much assisted or directed by these sounds, but by a chorus of vocal music in which all the performers joined at the same time. Their song was not destitute of pleasing melody; and all their corresponding motions were executed with so much skill, that the numerous body of dancers seemed to act as if they were one

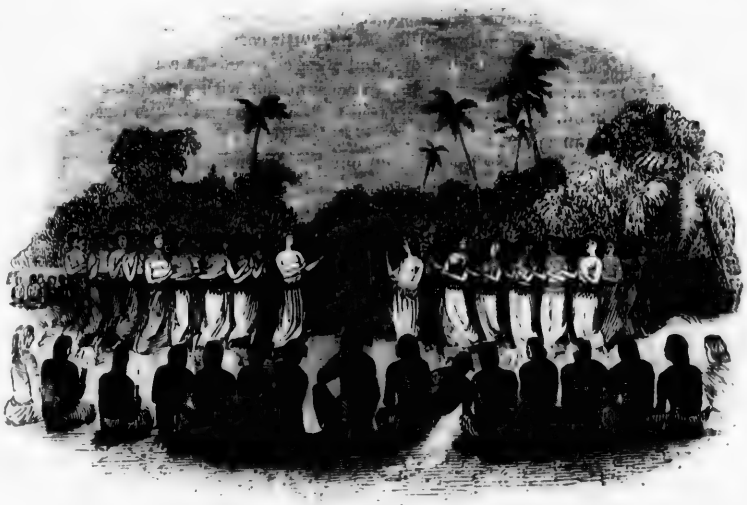
great machine. It was the opinion of every one of us, that such a performance would have met with universal applause on a European theatre, and it so far exceeded any attempt we had made to entertain them, that they seemed to pique themselves upon the superiority they had over us. As to our musical instruments, they held none of them in the least esteem, except the drum; and even that they did not think equal to their own. Our French horns, in particular, seemed to be held in great contempt; for neither here, nor at any other of the islands, would they pay the smallest attention to them. In order to give a more favourable opinion of English amusements, and to leave their minds fully impressed with the deepest sense of our superior attainments, I directed some fireworks to be got ready; and, after it was dark, played them off in the presence of Feenou, the other chiefs, and a vast concourse of their people. Some of the preparations we found damaged; but others of them were in excellent order, and succeeded so perfectly, as to answer the end I had in view. Our water and sky-rockets, in particular, pleased and astonished them beyond all conception; and the scale was now turned in our favour.

This, however, seemed only to furnish them with an additional motive to proceed to fresh exertions of their very singular dexterity; and our fireworks were no sooner ended, than a succession of dances, which Feenou had got ready for our entertainment, began. As* a prelude to them, a band of music, or chorus of eighteen men, seated themselves before us, in the centre of the circle composed by the numerous spectators, the area of which was to be the scene of the exhibitions. Four or five of this band had pieces of large bamboo, from three to five or six feet long, each managed by one man, who held it nearly in a vertical position, the upper end open, but the other end closed by one of the joints. With this close end the performers kept constantly striking the ground, though slowly, thus producing different notes, according to the different lengths of the instruments, but all of them of the hollow or base sort; to counteract which, a person kept striking quickly, and with two sticks, a piece of the same substance, split, and laid along the ground, and, by that means, furnishing a tone as acute as those produced by the others were grave. The rest of the band, as well as those who performed upon the bamboos, sung a slow and soft air, which so tempered the harsher notes of the above instruments, that no bystander, however accustomed to hear the most perfect and varied modulation of sweet sounds, could avoid confessing the vast power, and pleasing effect, of this simple harmony.

The concert having continued about a quarter of an hour, twenty women entered the circle. Most of them had, upon their heads, garlands of the crimson flowers of the China rose, or others; and many of them had ornamented their persons with leaves of trees, cut with a great deal of nicety about the edges. They made a circle round the chorus, turning their faces toward it, and began by singing a soft air, to which responses were made by the chorus in the same tone; and these were repeated alternately. All this while, the women accompanied their song with several very graceful motions of their hands toward their faces, and in other directions at the same time, making constantly a step forward, and then back again, with one foot, while the other was fixed. They then turned their faces to the assembly, sung some time, and retreated slowly in a body, to that part of the circle which was opposite the hut where the principal spectators sat. After this, one of them advanced from each side, meeting and passing each other in the front, and continuing their progress round, till they came to the rest. On which two advanced from each side, two of whom also passed each other, and returned as the former; but the other two remained, and to these came one from each side, by intervals, till the whole number had again formed a circle about the chorus. Their manner of dancing was now changed to a quicker measure, in which they made a kind of half turn by leaping, and clapped their hands, and snapped their fingers, repeating some words in conjunction with the chorus. Toward the end, as the quickness of the music increased, their gestures and attitudes were varied with wonderful vigour and dexterity; and some of their motions, perhaps, would, with us, be reckoned rather indecent; though this part of the performance, most probably, was not meant to convey any wanton ideas, but merely to display the astonishing variety of their movements.

* Mr. Anderson's account of the night dances being much fuller than Captain Cook's, the reader will not be displeased that it has been adopted.

To this grand female ballet, succeeded one performed by fifteen men. Some of them were old; but their age seemed to have abated little of their agility or ardour for the dance. They were disposed in a sort of circle, divided at the front, with their faces not turned out toward the assembly, nor inward to the chorus; but one half of their circle faced forward as they had advanced, and the other half in a contrary direction. They sometimes sung slowly, in concert with the chorus; and, while thus employed, they also made several very fine motions with their hands, but different from those made by the women, at the same time



GRAND FEMALE BALLET AT HAPAEE.

inclining the body to either side alternately, by raising one leg, which was stretched outward and resting on the other; the arm of the same side being also stretched fully upward. At other times, they recited sentences in a musical tone, which were answered by the chorus; and, at intervals, increased the measure of the dance by clapping the hands, and quickening the motions of the feet, which, however, were never varied. At the end, the rapidity of the music, and of the dancing, increased so much, that it was scarcely possible to distinguish the different movements; though one might suppose the actors were now almost tired, as their performance had lasted near half an hour.

After a considerable interval, another act, as we may call it, began. Twelve men now advanced, who placed themselves in double rows fronting each other, but on opposite sides of the circle; and, on one side, a man was stationed, who, as if he had been a prompter, repeated several sentences, to which the twelve new performers, and the chorus, replied. They then sung slowly; and afterwards danced and sung more quickly, for about a quarter of an hour, after the manner of the dancers whom they had succeeded. Soon after they had finished, nine women exhibited themselves, and sat down fronting the hut where the chief was. A man then rose, and struck the first of these women on the back, with both fists joined. He proceeded, in the same manner, to the second and third; but when he came to the fourth, whether from accident or design I cannot tell, instead of the back, he struck her on the breast. Upon this, a person rose instantly from the crowd, who brought him to the ground with a blow on the head; and he was carried off without the least noise or disorder. But this did not save the other five women from so odd a discipline, or perhaps necessary ceremony; for a person succeeded him, who treated them in the same manner. Their disgrace did not end here; for when they danced, they had the mortification to find their

performance twice disapproved of, and were obliged to repeat it. This dance did not differ much from that of the first women, except in this one circumstance, that the present set sometimes raised the body upon one leg, by a sort of double motion, and then upon the other alternately, in which attitude they kept snapping their fingers; and, at the end, they repeated, with great agility, the brisk movements in which the former group of female dancers had shown themselves so expert.

In a little time, a person entered unexpectedly, and said something in a ludicrous way about the fireworks that had been exhibited, which extorted a burst of laughter from the multitude. After this, we had a dance composed of the men who attended or had followed Feenou. They formed a double circle (*i. e.* one within another) of twenty-four each, round the chorus, and began a gentle soothing song, with corresponding motions of the hands and head. This lasted a considerable time, and then changed to a much quicker measure, during which they repeated sentences, either in conjunction with the chorus, or in answer to some spoken by that band. They then retreated to the back part of the circle, as the women had done, and again advanced, on each side, in a triple row, till they formed a semicircle, which was done very slowly, by inclining the body on one leg, and advancing the other a little way, as they put it down. They accompanied this with such a soft air as they had sung at the beginning; but soon changed it to repeat sentences in a harsher tone, at the same time quickening the dance very much, till they finished with a general shout and clap of the hands. The same was repeated several times; but at last they formed a double circle, as at the beginning, danced, and repeated very quickly, and finally closed with several very dextrous transpositions of the two circles.

The entertainments of this memorable night concluded with a dance, in which the principal people present exhibited. It resembled the immediately preceding one in some respects, having the same number of performers, who began nearly in the same way; but their ending, at each interval, was different. For they increased their motions to a prodigious quickness, shaking their heads from shoulder to shoulder with such force, that a spectator, unaccustomed to the sight, would suppose that they ran a risk of dislocating their necks. This was attended with a smart clapping of the hands, and a kind of savage holla, or shriek, not unlike what is sometimes practised in the comic dances on our European theatres. They formed the triple semicircle, as the preceding dancers had done; and a person who advanced at the head on one side of the semicircle, began by repeating something in a truly musical recitative, which was delivered with an air so graceful, as might put to the blush our most applauded performers. He was answered in the same manner by the person at the head of the opposite party. This being repeated several times, the whole body on one side joined in the responses to the whole corresponding body on the opposite side, as the semicircle advanced to the front; and they finished, by singing and dancing as they had begun.

These two last dances were performed with so much spirit, and so great exactness, that they met with universal approbation. The native spectators, who no doubt were perfect judges whether the several performances were properly executed, could not withhold their applauses at some particular parts; and even a stranger, who never saw the diversion before, felt similar satisfaction, at the same instant. For though, through the whole, the most strict concert was observed, some of the gestures were so expressive, that it might be said they spoke the language that accompanied them, if we allow that there is any connexion between motion and sound. At the same time, it should be observed, that though the music of the chorus and that of the dancers corresponded, constant practice in these favourite amusements of our friends seems to have a great share in effecting the exact time they keep in their performances. For we observed, that if any of them happened accidentally to be interrupted, they never found the smallest difficulty in recovering the proper place of the dance or song. And their perfect discipline was, in no instance, more remarkable, than in the sudden transitions they so dextrously made, from the ruder exertions, and harsh sounds, to the softest airs and gentlest movements*.

* In a former note, at p. 70, it was observed, that the songs and dances of the Caroline Islanders, in the north Pacific, bear a great resemblance to those of the inhabitants of Wateeoo. The remark may now be extended to those of the Friendly Islanders, described at large in this chapter. That the reader may judge for himself, I have selected

The place where the dances were performed was an open space amongst the trees, just by the sea, with lights at small intervals placed round the inside of the circle. The concourse of people was pretty large, though not equal to the number assembled at the forenoon, when the marines exercised. At that time, some of our gentlemen guessed there might be present about five thousand persons; others thought there were more; but they who reckoned that there were fewer, probably came nearer to the truth

---

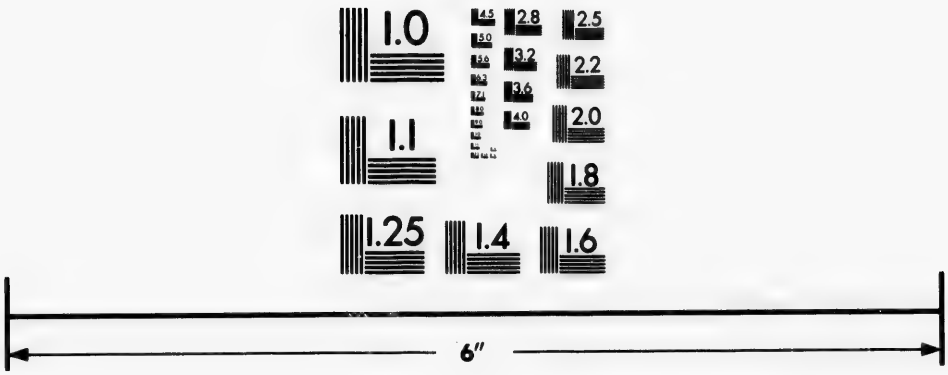
CHAPTER VI.—DESCRIPTION OF LEFOOGA.—ITS CULTIVATED STATE.—ITS EXTENT.—TRANSACTIONS THERE.—A FEMALE OCULIST.—SINGULAR EXPEDIENTS FOR SHAVING OFF THE HAIR.—THE SHIPS CHANGE THEIR STATION.—A REMARKABLE MOUNT AND STONE.—DESCRIPTION OF HOOLAIVA.—ACCOUNT OF POULAHO, KING OF THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS.—RESPECTFUL MANNER IN WHICH HE IS TREATED BY HIS PEOPLE.—DEPARTURE FROM THE HAPAEE ISLANDS.—SOME ACCOUNT OF KOTOO.—RETURN OF THE SHIPS TO ANNAMOOKA.—POULAHO AND FEENOU MEET.—ARRIVAL AT TONGATABOO.

Curiosity on both sides being now sufficiently gratified, by the exhibition of the various entertainments I have described, I began to have time to look about me. Accordingly, next day, I took a walk into the island of Lefooga, of which I was desirous to obtain some knowledge. I found it to be in several respects superior to Annamooka. The plantations were both more numerous and more extensive. In many places, indeed, toward the sea, especially on the east side, the country is still waste, owing perhaps to the sandy soil; as it is much lower than Annamooka, and its surrounding isles. But toward the middle of the island, the soil is better; and the marks of considerable population, and of improved cultivation, were very conspicuous. For we met here with very large plantations, inclosed in such a manner that the fences running parallel to each other form fine spacious public roads, that would appear ornamental in countries where rural conveniences have been carried to the greatest perfection. We observed large spots covered with the paper-mulberry-trees; and the plantations in general were well stocked with such roots and fruits as are the natural produce of the island. To these I made some addition, by sowing the seeds of Indian corn, melons, pumpkins, and the like. At one place was a house four or five times as large as those of the common sort, with a large area of grass before it; and I take it for granted, the people resort thither on certain public occasions. Near the landing-place we saw a mount two or three feet high, covered with gravel; and on it stood four or five small huts, in which the natives told us the bodies of some of their principal people had been interred. The island is not above seven miles long, and in some places not above two or three broad. The east side of it, which is exposed to the trade-wind, has a reef running to a considerable breadth from it, on which the sea breaks with great violence. It is a continuation of this reef that joins Lefooga to Foa, which is not above half a mile distant, and at low water the natives can walk upon this reef, which is then partly dry, from the one island to the other. The shore itself is either a coral rock, six or seven feet high, or a sandy beach; but higher than the west side, which in general is not more than three or four feet from the level of the sea, with a sandy beach its whole length.

When I returned from my excursion into the country and went on board to dinner, I found a large sailing canoe fast to the ship's stern. In this canoe was Latooliboula, whom I had seen at Tongataboo, during my last voyage, and who was then supposed by us to be the king of that island. He sat in the canoe with all that gravity by which, as I have

the following particulars from Father Cantova's account. "Pendant la nuit, au clair de la lune, ils s'assemblent, de temps en temps, pour chanter et danser devant la maison de leur *Tamole*. Leurs danses se font au son de la voix, car ils n'ont point d'instrument de musique. La beauté de la danse consiste dans l'exacte uniformité des mouvemens du corps. Les hommes, séparés des femmes, se postent vis-à-vis les uns des autres; après quoi, ils remuent la tête, les bras, les mains, les pieds, en cadence. Leur tête est couverte de plumes, ou de fleurs; et l'on voit, attachées à leurs oreilles, des feuilles de palmier tissues avec assez d'art. Les femmes, de leur côté, se regardant les unes les autres, commencent un chant pathétique et langoureux, accompagnant le son de leur voix du mouvement cadencé de la tête et des bras."—*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, tom. xv. p. 314, 315.

IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)



Photographic
Sciences
Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

2.8
3.2
3.6
4.0
2.5
2.2
2.0
1.8
1.1
1.0

mentioned in my journal *, he was so remarkably distinguished at that time; nor could I by any entreaties prevail upon him now to come into the ship. Many of the islanders were present, and they all call him *Arekee*, which signifies king. I had never heard any one of them give this title to Feenou, however extensive his authority over them, both here and at Annamooka, had appeared to be; which had all along inclined me to suspect that he was not the king, though his friend Taipa had taken pains to make me believe he was. Latooliboula remained under the stern till the evening, when he retired in his canoe to one of the islands. Feenou was on board my ship at the same time; but neither of these great men took the least notice of the other. Nothing material happened the next day, except that some of the natives stole a tarpaulin, and other things, from off the deck. They were soon missed and the thieves pursued, but a little too late. I applied, therefore, to Feenou, who, if he was not king, was at least vested with the highest authority here, to exert it, in order to have my things restored. He referred me to Earoupa, who put me off from time to time; and at last nothing was done.

In the morning of the 23rd, as we were going to unmoor, in order to leave the island, Feenou and his prime-minister Taipa came alongside in a sailing canoe, and informed me that they were setting out for Vavaoo, an island which, they said, lies about two days' sail to the northward of Hapaee. The object of their voyage, they would have me believe, was to get for me an additional supply of hogs, and some red-feathered caps for Omai, to carry to Otaheite, where they are in high esteem. Feenou assured me that he should be back in four or five days; and desired me not to sail till his return, when he promised he would accompany me to Tongataboo. I thought this a good opportunity to get some knowledge of Vavaoo, and proposed to him to go thither with the ships. But he seemed not to approve of the plan; and, by way of diverting me from it, told me that there was neither harbour nor anchorage about it. I, therefore, consented to wait in my present station for his return, and he immediately set out. The next day our attention was for some time taken up with a report, industriously spread about by some of the natives, that a ship like ours had arrived at Annamooka since we left it, and was now at anchor there. The propagators of the report were pleased to add, that Toobou, the chief of that island, was hastening thither to receive these new-comers; and as we knew that he had actually left us, we were the more ready to believe there might be some foundation for the story of this unexpected arrival. However, to gain some further information, I went on shore with Omai, in quest of the man who, it was said, had brought the first account of this event from Annamooka. We found him at the house of Earoupa, where Omai put such questions to him as I thought necessary; and the answers he gave were so clear and satisfactory, that I had not a doubt remaining. But just about this time, a chief of some note, whom we well knew, arrived from Annamooka, and declared that no ship was at that island, nor had been since our leaving it. The propagator of the report, finding himself detected in a falsehood, instantly withdrew, and we saw no more of him. What end the invention of this tale could answer, it was not easy to conjecture; unless we suppose it to have been artfully contrived, to get us removed from the one island to the other.

In my walk on the 25th, I happened to step into a house, where a woman was dressing the eyes of a young child, who seemed blind; the eyes being much inflamed, and a thin film spread over them. The instruments she used were two slender wooden probes, with which she had brushed the eyes so as to make them bleed. It seems worth mentioning, that the

* See Second Voyage, book ii. ch. 2. The name of this extraordinary personage is there said to be *Kohageetoo Fallangou*; which cannot, by the most skilful etymologist, be tortured into the least most distant resemblance of *Latooliboula*. It is remarkable, that Captain Cook should not take any notice of his having called the same person by two names so very different. Perhaps we may account for this by supposing one to be the name of the person, and the other the description of his title or rank. This supposition seems to be well founded, when we consider, that *Latoo*, in the language of these people, is sometimes used to signify a great chief; and Dr. Foster, in his *Observations*, p. 378, 379, and elsewhere, speaks of the sovereign of Tongataboo, under the title of their *Latoo*. This very person is called by Dr. Foster, p. 370, *Latoo-Nipooroo*; which furnishes a very striking instance of the variations of our people in writing down the same word as pronounced by the natives. However, we can easily trace the affinity between *Nipooroo* and *Liboula*, as the changes of the consonants are such as are perpetually made, upon hearing a word pronounced to which our ears have not been accustomed. Mr. Anderson here agrees with Captain Cook in writing Latooliboula.

natives of these islands should attempt an operation of this sort; though I entered the house too late, to describe exactly how this female oculist employed the wretched tools she had to work with.

I was fortunate enough to see a different operation going on in the same house, of which I can give a tolerable account. I found there another woman shaving a child's head with a shark's tooth stuck into the end of a piece of stick. I observed, that she first wet the hair with a rag dipped in water, applying her instrument to that part which she had previously soaked. The operation seemed to give no pain to the child, although the hair was taken off as close as if one of our razors had been employed. Encouraged by what I now saw, I soon after tried one of these singular instruments upon myself, and found it to be an excellent succedaneum. However, the men of these islands have recourse to another contrivance when they shave their beards. The operation is performed with two shells, one of which they place under a small part of the beard, and with the other applied above, they scrape that part off. In this manner they are able to shave very close. The process is, indeed, rather tedious, but not painful; and there are men amongst them who seem to profess this trade. It was as common while we were here, to see our sailors go ashore to have their beards scraped off, after the fashion of Hapaee, as it was to see their chiefs come on board to be shaved by our barbers.

Finding that little or nothing of the produce of the island was now brought to the ships, I resolved to change our station, and to wait Feenou's return from Vavaoo, in some other convenient anchoring-place, where refreshments might still be met with. Accordingly, in the forenoon of the 26th, we got under sail, and stood to the southward along the reef of the island; having fourteen and thirteen fathoms water, with a sandy bottom. However, we met with several detached shoals. Some of them were discovered by breakers; some by the water upon them appearing discoloured; and others by the lead. At half-past two in the afternoon, having already passed several of these shoals, and seeing more of them before us, I hauled into a bay that lies between the south end of Lefooga and the north end of Hoolaiva, and there anchored in seventeen fathoms water, the bottom a coral sand; the point of Lefooga bearing south-east by east, a mile and a half distant. The Discovery did not get to an anchor till sunset. She had touched upon one of the shoals, but backed off again without receiving any damage. As soon as we had anchored, I sent Mr. Bligh to sound the bay where we were now stationed; and myself, accompanied by Mr. Gore, landed on the southern part of Lefooga, to examine the country, and to look for fresh water; not that we now wanted a supply of this article, having filled all the casks at our late station; but I had been told, that this part of the island could afford us some, preferable to any we had got at the former watering-place. This will not be the only time I shall have occasion to remark, that these people do not know what good water is. We were conducted to two wells; but the water in both of them proved to be execrable; and the natives, our guides, assured us that they had none better.

Near the south end of the island, and on the west side, we met with an artificial mount. From the size of some trees that were growing upon it, and from other appearances, I guessed that it had been raised in remote times. I judged it to be about forty feet high, and the diameter of its summit measured fifty feet. At the bottom of this mount stood a stone, which must have been hewn out of coral rock. It was four feet broad, two and a half thick, and fourteen high; and we were told by the natives present, that not above half its length appeared above ground. They called it *Tangata Arekee**; and said that it had been set up, and the mount raised, by some of their forefathers, in memory of one of their kings; but how long since they could not tell.

Night coming on, Mr. Gore and I returned on board; and, at the same time, Mr. Bligh got back from sounding the bay, in which he found from fourteen to twenty fathoms water; the bottom for the most part sand, but not without some coral rocks. The place where we now anchored is much better sheltered than that which we had lately come from; but between the two is another anchoring station, much better than either. Lefooga and Hoolaiva are divided from each other by a reef of coral rocks, which is dry at low water;

* *Tangata*, in their language, is man; *Arekee*, king.

so that one may walk, at that time, from the one to the other without wetting a foot. Some of our gentlemen, who landed in the latter island, did not find the least mark of cultivation, or habitation upon it, except a single hut, the residence of a man employed to catch fish and turtle. It is rather extraordinary that it should be in this deserted state, communicating so immediately with Lefooga, which is so perfectly cultivated; for though the soil is quite sandy, all the trees and plants found in a natural state on the neighbouring islands, are produced here with the greatest vigour. The east side of it has a reef like Lefooga; and the west side has a bending at the north part, where there seems to be good anchorage. Uninhabited as Poolaiva is, an artificial mount, like that at the adjoining island, has been raised upon it, as high as some of the surrounding trees.

At daybreak next morning I made the signal to weigh; and as I intended to attempt a passage to Annamooka, in my way to Tongataboo, by the south-west, amongst the intervening islands, I sent the master in a boat to sound before the ships. But before we could get under sail, the wind became unsettled; which made it unsafe to attempt a passage in this way, till we were better acquainted with it. I therefore lay fast, and made the signal for the master to return; and afterward sent him and the master of the Discovery, each in a boat, with instructions to examine the channels as far as they could, allowing themselves time to get back to the ships before the close of the day.

About noon a large sailing canoe came under our stern, in which was a person named Futtafaihe, or Poulaho, or both; who, as the natives then on board told us, was king of Tongataboo, and of all the neighbouring islands that we had seen or heard of. It was a matter of surprise to me to have a stranger introduced under this character, which I had so much reason to believe really belonged to another. But they persisted in their account of the supreme dignity of this new visitor; and now, for the first time, they owned to me that Feenou was not the king, but only a subordinate chief, though of great power, as he was often sent from Tongataboo to the other islands on warlike expeditions, or to decide differences. It being my interest as well as my inclination to pay court to all the great men, without making inquiry into the validity of their assumed titles, I invited Poulaho on board, as I understood he was very desirous to come. He could not be an unwelcome guest; for he brought with him, as a present to me, two good fat hogs, though not so fat as himself. If weight of body could give weight in rank or power, he was certainly the most eminent man in that respect we had seen; for, though not very tall, he was very unwieldy, and almost shapeless with corpulence. He seemed to be about forty years of age, had straight hair, and his features differed a good deal from those of the bulk of his people. I found him to be a sedate, sensible man. He viewed the ship and the several new objects with uncommon attention; and asked many pertinent questions, one of which was, what could induce us to visit these islands? After he had satisfied his curiosity in looking at the cattle, and other novelties which he met with upon deck, I desired him to walk down into the cabin. To this some of his attendants objected, saying, that if he were to accept of that invitation, it must happen that people would walk over his head, which could not be permitted. I directed my interpreter Omai to tell them, that I would obviate their objection, by giving orders that no one should presume to walk upon that part of the deck which was over the cabin. Whether this expedient would have satisfied them was far from appearing; but the chief himself, less scrupulous in this respect than his attendants, waved all ceremony, and walked down without any stipulation. He now appeared to be as solicitous himself, as his people were, to convince us that he was king, and not Feenou, who had passed with us as such, for he soon perceived that we had some doubts about it; which doubts Omai was not very desirous of removing. The closest connexion had been formed between him and Feenou, in testimony of which they had exchanged names; and, therefore, he was not a little chagrined that another person now put in his claim to the honours which his friend had hitherto enjoyed.

Poulaho sat down with us to dinner; but he ate little and drank less. When we arose from the table, he desired me to accompany him ashore. Omai was asked to be of the party; but he was too faithfully attached to Feenou to show any attention to his competitor, and therefore excused himself. I attended the chief in my own boat, having first made

presents to him of such articles as I could observe he valued much, and were even beyond his expectation to receive. I was not disappointed in my view of thus securing his friendship; for the moment the boat reached the beach, and before he quitted her, he ordered two more hogs to be brought and delivered to my people to be conveyed on board. He was then carried out of the boat by some of his own people upon a board resembling a hand-barrow, and went and seated himself in a small house near the shore, which seemed to have been erected there for his accommodation. He placed me at his side; and his attendants, who were not numerous, seated themselves in a semicircle before us on the outside of the house. Behind the chief, or rather on one side, sat an old woman with a sort of fan in her hand, whose office it was to prevent his being pestered with the flies.

The several articles which his people had got by trading on board the ships were now displayed before him. He looked over them all with attention, inquired what they had given in exchange, and seemed pleased with the bargains they had made. At length he ordered everything to be restored to the respective owners, except a glass bowl, with which he was so much pleased that he reserved it for himself. The persons who brought these things to him first squatted themselves down before him, then they deposited their several purchases, and immediately rose up and retired. The same respectful ceremony was observed in taking them away; and not one of them presumed to speak to him standing. I staid till several of his attendants left him, first paying him obeisance, by bowing the head down to the sole of his foot, and touching or tapping the same with the upper and under side of the fingers of both hands. Others who were not in the circle came, as it seemed, on purpose, and paid him this mark of respect, and then retired without speaking a word. I was quite charmed with the decorum that was observed. I had no where seen the like, not even amongst more civilised nations.

I found the master returned from his expedition when I got on board. He informed me, that, as far as he had proceeded, there was anchorage and a passage for the ships; but that towards the south and south-east he saw a number of small isles, shoals, and breakers. Judging from this report that my attempting a passage that way would be attended with some risk, I now dropped all thoughts of it, thinking it better to return toward Annamooka by the same route, which we had so lately experienced to be a safe one. Having come to this resolution, I should have sailed next morning, if the wind had not been too far southerly, and, at the same time, very unsettled. Poulaho, the king, as I shall now call him, came on board betimes, and brought as a present to me, one of their caps, made, or at least covered, with red feathers. These caps were much sought after by us, for we knew they would be highly valued at Otaheite. But though very large prices were offered, not one was ever brought for sale; which showed that they were no less valuable in the estimation of the people here; nor was there a person in either ship that could make himself the proprietor of one, except myself, Captain Clerke, and Omai. These caps, or rather bonnets, are composed of the tail feathers of the tropic bird, with the red feathers of the parroquets wrought upon them, or jointly with them. They are made so as to tie upon the forehead without any crown, and have the form of a semicircle, whose radius is eighteen or twenty inches. The chief stayed on board till the evening, when he left us; but his brother, whose name was also Futtafaihe, and one or two or more of his attendants, continued in the ship all night.

At daybreak the next morning, I weighed with a fine breeze at east-north-east, and stood to the westward, with a view to return to Annamooka, by the track we had already experienced. We were followed by several sailing canoes, in one of which was the king. As soon as he got on board the Resolution he inquired for his brother, and the others who had remained with us all night. It now appeared that they had staid without his leave; for he gave them, in a very few words, such a reprimand as brought tears from their eyes; and yet they were men not less than thirty years of age. He was, however, soon reconciled to their making a longer stay; for, on quitting us, he left his brother and five of his attendants on board. We had also the company of a chief just then arrived from Tongataboo, whose name was Toboueitoa. The moment he arrived, he sent his canoe away, and declared that he and five more who came with him would sleep on board; so that I had now

my cabin filled with visitors. This, indeed, was some inconvenience; but I bore with it more willingly, as they brought plenty of provisions with them as presents to me, for which they always had suitable returns.

About one o'clock in the afternoon, the easterly wind was succeeded by a fresh breeze at south-south-east. Our course now being south-south-west, or more southerly, we were obliged to ply to windward, and did but just fetch the north side of Footooha by eight o'clock, where we spent the night, making short boards. The next morning, we plied up to Lofanga, where, according to the information of our friends, there was anchorage. It was one o'clock, in the afternoon, before we got soundings, under the lee or north-west side, in forty fathoms water, near half a mile from the shore; but the bank was steep, and the bottom rocky, and a chain of breakers lay to leeward. All these circumstances being against us, I stretched away for Kotoo, with the expectation of finding better anchoring ground under that island. But so much time had been spent in plying up to Lofanga, that it was dark before we reached the other; and, finding no place to anchor in, the night was spent as the preceding one.

At daybreak on the 31st, I stood for the channel which is between Kotoo, and the reef of rocks that lie to the westward of it; but on drawing near, I found the wind too scant to lead us through. I, therefore, bore up on the outside of the reef, and stretched to the south-west, till near noon, when perceiving that we made no progress to windward, and being apprehensive of losing the islands, with so many of the natives on board, I tacked and stood back, intending to wait till some more favourable opportunity. We did but just fetch in with Fotooha, between which and Kotoo we spent the night, under reefed topsails and foresail. The wind blew fresh, and by squalls, with rain; and we were not without apprehensions of danger. I kept the deck till midnight, when I left it to the master, with such directions as, I thought, would keep the ships clear of the shoals and rocks that lay round us. But, after making a trip to the north, and standing back again to the south, our ship, by a small shift of the wind, fetched farther to the windward than was expected. By this means she was very near running full upon a low sandy isle, called Pootoo Pootooa, surrounded with breakers. It happened very fortunately that the people had just been ordered upon the deck, to put the ship about, and the most of them were at their stations; so that the necessary movements were not only executed with judgment, but also with alertness; and this alone saved us from destruction. The Discovery being astern, was out of danger. Such hazardous situations are the unavoidable companions of the man who goes upon a voyage of discovery.

This circumstance frightened our passengers so much, that they expressed a strong desire to get ashore. Accordingly, as soon as daylight returned, I hoisted out a boat, and ordered the officer who commanded her, after landing them at Kotoo, to sound along the reef that spits off from that island, for anchorage. For I was full as much tired as they could be, with beating about amongst the surrounding isles and shoals, and determined to get to an anchor somewhere or other if possible. While the boat was absent, we attempted to turn the ships through the channel, between the sandy isle and the reef of Kotoo, in expectation of finding a moderate depth of water behind them to anchor in. But, meeting with a tide or current against us, we were obliged to desist, and anchor in fifty fathoms water, with the sandy isle bearing east by north, one mile distant.

We lay here till the 4th. While in this station we were, several times, visited by the king, by Tooboueitoa, and by people from the neighbouring islands, who came off to trade with us, though the wind blew very fresh most of the time. The master was now sent to sound the channels between the islands that lie to the eastward; and I landed on Kotoo, to examine it, in the forenoon of the 2nd.

This island is scarcely accessible by boats, on account of coral reefs that surround it. It is not more than a mile and half, or two miles long; and not so broad. The north-west end of it is low, like the islands of Hapaee; but it rises suddenly in the middle, and terminates in reddish clayey cliffs, at the south-east end, about thirty feet high. The soil, in that quarter, is of the same sort as in the cliffs; but, in the other parts, it is a loose, black mould. It produces the same fruits and roots which we found at the other islands: is

tolerably cultivated, but thinly inhabited. While I was walking all over it, our people were employed in cutting some grass for the cattle; and we planted some melon seeds, with which the natives seemed much pleased, and inclosed them with branches. On our return to the boat, we passed by two or three ponds of dirty water, which was more or less brackish in each of them; and saw one of their burying-places, which was much neater than those that were met with at Hapaee.

On the 4th, at seven in the morning, we weighed; and, with a fresh gale at east-south-east, stood away for Annamooka, where we anchored, next morning, nearly in the same station which we had so lately occupied. I went on shore soon after, and found the inhabitants very busy in their plantations, digging up yams to bring to market; and, in the course of the day, about two hundred of them had assembled on the beach, and traded with as much eagerness as during our late visit. Their stock appeared to have been recruited much, though we had returned so soon; but, instead of bread-fruit, which was the only article we could purchase on our first arrival, nothing was to be seen now but yams, and a few plantains. This shows the quick succession of the seasons, at least of the different vegetables produced here, at the several times of the year. It appeared also that they had been very busy, while we were absent, in cultivating; for we now saw several large plantain fields, in places which we had so lately seen lying waste. The yams were now in the greatest perfection; and we procured a good quantity, in exchange for pieces of iron. These people in the absence of Toobou, whom we left behind us, at Kotoo, with Poulaho and the other chiefs, seemed to be under little subordination. For we could not perceive, this day, that one man assumed more authority than another. Before I returned on board, I visited the several places where I had sown melon seeds, and had the mortification to find that most of them were destroyed by a small ant; but some pine-apple plants, which I had also left, were in a thriving state.

About noon next day, Feenou arrived from Vavaoo. He told us that several canoes, laden with hogs, and other provisions, which had sailed with him from that island, had been lost, owing to the late blowing weather; and that everybody on board them had perished. This melancholy tale did not seem to affect any of his countrymen who heard it; and as to ourselves, we were by this time too well acquainted with his character to give much credit to such a story. The truth, probably, was, that he had not been able to procure at Vavaoo the supplies which he expected; or, if he got any there, that he had left them at Hapaee, which lay in his way back, and where he could not but receive intelligence that Poulaho had been with us, who therefore, he knew, would, as his superior, have all the merit and reward of procuring them, though he had not any share of the trouble. The invention of this loss at sea was, however, well imagined; for there had lately been very blowing weather; insomuch, that the king and other chiefs, who had followed us from Hapaee to Kotoo, had been left there, not caring to venture to sea when we did; but desired I might wait for them at Annamooka, which was the reason of my anchoring there, this second time, and of my not proceeding directly to Tongataboo.

The following morning, Poulaho, and the other chiefs who had been wind-bound with him, arrived. I happened at this time to be ashore in company with Feenou, who now seemed to be sensible of the impropriety of his conduct, in assuming a character that did not belong to him. For he not only acknowledged Poulaho to be king of Tongataboo, and the other isles; but affected to insist much on it, which, no doubt, was with a view to make amends for his former presumption. I left him to visit this greater man, whom I found sitting with a few people before him. But, every one hastening to pay court to him, the circle increased pretty fast. I was very desirous of observing Feenou's behaviour on this occasion, and had the most convincing proof of his superiority; for he placed him amongst the rest that sat before Poulaho, as attendants on his majesty. He seemed at first rather abashed, as some of us were present who had been used to see him act a different part; but he soon recovered himself. Some little conversation passed between these two chiefs which none of us understood; nor were we satisfied with Omai's interpretation of it. We were, however, by this time sufficiently undeceived as to Feenou's rank. Both he and Poulaho went on board with me to dinner; but only the latter sat at table. Feenou, having made

his obeisance in the usual way, saluting his sovereign's foot with his head and hands, retired out of the cabin *. The king had before told us, that this would happen; and it now appeared that Feenou could not even eat or drink in his royal presence.

At eight o'clock next morning we weighed and steered for Tongataboo, having a gentle breeze at north-east. About fourteen or fifteen sailing vessels belonging to the natives set out with us, but every one of them outran the ships considerably. Feenou was to have taken his passage in the Resolution, but preferred his own canoe; and put two men on board to conduct us to the best anchorage. We steered south by west by compass. At five in the afternoon we saw two small islands bearing west, about four leagues distant. Our pilots called the one Hoonga Hapaee, and the other Hoonga Tonga. They lie in the latitude of 20° 36′; and ten or eleven leagues from the west point of Annamooka, in the direction of south, 46° west. According to the account of the islanders on board, only five men reside upon Hoonga Hapaee; and Hoonga Tonga is uninhabited; but both of them abound with sea-fowl.

We continued the same course till two o'clock next morning, when, seeing some lights ahead, and not knowing whether they were on shore or on board the canoes, we hauled the wind, and made a short trip each way till daybreak. We then resumed our course to the south by west; and presently after saw several small islands before us, and Eooa and Tongataboo beyond them. We had at this time twenty-five fathoms water, over a bottom of broken coral and sand. The depth gradually decreased as we drew near the isles above mentioned, which lie ranged along the north-east side of Tongataboo. By the direction of our pilots we steered for the middle of it, and for the widest space between the small isles which we were to pass, having our boats ahead employed in sounding. We were insensibly drawn upon a large flat, upon which lay innumerable coral rocks of different depths, below the surface of the water. Notwithstanding all our care and attention to keep the ship clear of them, we could not prevent her from striking on one of these rocks: nor did the Discovery, though behind us, escape any better. Fortunately, neither of the ships stuck fast, nor received any damage. We could not get back without increasing the danger, as we had come in almost before the wind; nor could we cast anchor, but with the certainty of having our cables instantly cut in two by the rocks. We had no other resource but to proceed. To this, indeed, we were encouraged, not only by being told, but by seeing, that there was deeper water between us and the shore. However, that we might be better informed, the moment we found a spot where we could drop the anchor clear of rocks, we came to, and sent the masters with the boats to sound.

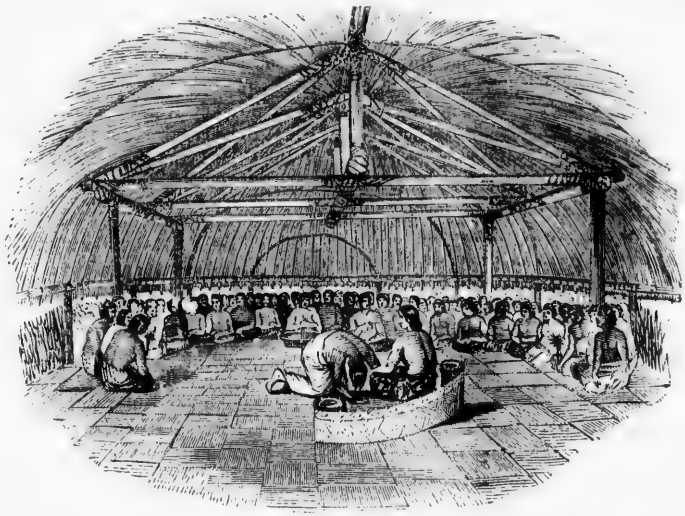
Soon after we had anchored, which was about noon, several of the inhabitants of Tongataboo came off in their canoes to the ships. These, as well as our pilots, assured us that we should find deep water farther in, and a bottom free from rocks. They were not mistaken; for about four o'clock the boats made the signal for having found good anchorage. Upon this we weighed, and stood in till dark, and then anchored in nine fathoms, having a fine, clear, sandy bottom. During the night we had some showers of rain; but toward the morning, the wind shifted to the south and south-east, and brought on fair weather. At daybreak we weighed, and working in to the shore, met with no obstructions but such as were visible and easily avoided. While we were plying up to the harbour, to which the natives directed us, the king kept sailing round us in his canoe. There were at the same time a great many small canoes about the ships: two of these, which could not get out of the way of his royal vessel, he ran quite over, with as little concern as if they had been bits of wood. Amongst many others who came on board the Resolution, was Otago, who had

* Marks of profound respect, very similar to those paid by natives of the Friendly Islands to their sovereign, are also paid to the principal chiefs, or *Tamoles*, of the Caroline Islands, as appears from Father Cantova's account, here transcribed. "Lorsqu'un *Tamole* donne audience, il paroît assis sur une table élevée: les peuples s'inclinent devant lui jusqu'à terre; et du plus loin qu'ils arrivent, ils marchent, le corps tout courbé, et la tête presqu'entre les génoux, jusqu'à ce qu'ils soient auprès de sa personne; alors ils s'asséyent à plate-terre; et, les yeux baissés, ils reçoivent ses ordres avec le plus profond respect. Quand le *Tamole* les congédie, ils se retirent, en se courbant de la même manière que quand ils sont venus, et ne se relèvent que lorsqu'ils sont hors de sa présence. Ses paroles sont autant d'oracles qu'on révère; on rend à ses ordres une obéissance aveugle; enfin, on lui baise les mains et les pieds quand on lui demande quelque grace."—"Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses," tom. xv. p. 312, 313.

been so useful to me when I visited Tongataboo during my last voyage; and one Toobou, who at that time had attached himself to Captain Furneaux. Each of them brought a hog and some yams, as a testimony of his friendship; and I was not wanting on my part in making a suitable return. At length, about two in the afternoon, we arrived at our intended station. It was a very snug place, formed by the shore of Tongataboo on the south-east, and two small islands on the east and north-east. Here we anchored in ten fathoms water, over a bottom of oozy sand, distant from the shore one-third of a mile.

CHAPTER VII.—FRIENDLY RECEPTION AT TONGATABOO.—MANNER OF DISTRIBUTING A BAKED HOG AND KAVA TO POULAHO'S ATTENDANTS.—THE OBSERVATORY, &C. ERECTED.—THE VILLAGE WHERE THE CHIEFS RESIDE, AND THE ADJOINING COUNTRY, DESCRIBED.—INTERVIEWS WITH MAREEWAGEE AND TOOBOU, AND THE KING'S SON.—A GRAND HAIVA, OR ENTERTAINMENT OF SONGS AND DANCES, GIVEN BY MAREEWAGEE.—EXHIBITION OF FIREWORKS.—MANNER OF WRESTLING AND BOXING.—DISTRIBUTION OF THE CATTLE.—THEFTS COMMITTED BY THE NATIVES.—POULAHO, AND THE OTHER CHIEFS, CONFINED ON THAT ACCOUNT.—POULAHO'S PRESENT, AND HAIVA.

SOON after we had anchored, having first dined, I landed, accompanied by Omai and some of the officers. We found the king waiting for us upon the beach: he immediately conducted us to a small neat house, situated a little within the skirts of the woods, with a fine large area before it. This house, he told me, was at my service during our stay at the island; and a better situation we could not wish for. We had not been long in the house, before a pretty large circle of the natives were assembled before us, and seated upon the area. A



POULAHO DRINKING KAVA

root of the *kava* plant being brought and laid down before the king, he ordered it to be split into pieces, and distributed to several people of both sexes, who began the operation of chewing it; and a bowl of their favourite liquor was soon prepared. In the mean time, a baked hog and two baskets of baked yams were produced, and afterward divided into ten portions. These portions were then given to certain people present; but how many were to share in each, I could not tell. One of them, I observed, was bestowed upon the king's brother; and

one remained undisposed of, which I judged was for the king himself, as it was a choice bit. The liquor was next served out; but Poulaho seemed to give no directions about it. The first cup was brought to him, which he ordered to be given to one who sat near him. The second was also brought to him, and this he kept. The third was given to me; but their manner of brewing having quenched my thirst, it became Omai's property. The rest of the liquor was distributed to different people by direction of the man who had the management of it. One of the cups being carried to the king's brother, he retired with this, and with his mess of victuals. Some others also quitted the circle with their portions; and the reason was, they could neither eat nor drink in the royal presence; but there were others present, of a much inferior rank, of both sexes, who did both. Soon after, most of them withdrew, carrying with them what they had not ate of their share of the feast. I observed, that not a fourth part of the company had tasted either the victuals or the drink; those who partook of the former, I supposed to be of the king's household. The servants who distributed the baked meat and the *kava* always delivered it out of their hand sitting, not only to the king, but to every other person. It is worthy of remark, though this was the first time of our landing, and a great many people were present who had never seen us before, yet no one was troublesome, but the greatest good order was preserved throughout the whole assembly.

Before I returned on board, I went in search of a watering-place, and was conducted to some ponds, or rather holes, containing fresh water, as they were pleased to call it. The contents of one of these, indeed, were tolerable; but it was at some distance inland, and the supply to be got from it was very inconsiderable. Being informed that the little island of Pangimodoo, near which the ships lay, could better furnish this necessary article, I went over to it next morning, and was so fortunate as to find there a small pool that had rather fresher water than any we had met with amongst these islands. The pool being very dirty, I ordered it to be cleaned; and here it was that we watered the ships.

As I intended to make some stay at Tongataboo, we pitched a tent, in the forenoon, just by the house which Poulaho had assigned for our use. The horses, cattle, and sheep were afterward landed, and a party of marines, with their officer, stationed there as a guard. The observatory was then set up, at a small distance from the other tent; and Mr. King resided on shore, to attend the observations, and to superintend the several operations necessary to be conducted there. For the sails were carried thither, to be repaired; a party was employed in cutting wood for fuel, and plank for the use of the ships; and the gunners of both ships were ordered to remain upon the spot, to conduct the traffic with the natives, who thronged from every part of the island with hogs, yams, cocoa-nuts, and other articles of their produce. In a short time our land-post was like a fair, and the ships were so crowded with visitors that we had hardly room to stir upon the decks.

Feenou had taken up his residence in our neighbourhood; but he was no longer the leading man However, we still found him to be a person of consequence; and we had daily proofs of his opulence and liberality, by the continuance of his valuable presents. But the king was equally attentive in this respect; for scarcely a day passed without receiving from him some considerable donation. We now heard, that there were other great men of the island whom we had not as yet seen. Otago and Toobou, in particular, mentioned a person named Mareewagee, who, they said, was of the first consequence in the place, and held in great veneration; nay, if Omai did not misunderstand them, superior even to Poulaho, to whom he was related; but, being old, lived in retirement, and therefore would not visit us. Some of the natives even hinted that he was too great a man to confer that honour upon us. This account exciting my curiosity, I this day mentioned to Poulaho that I was very desirous of waiting upon Mareewagee, and he readily agreed to accompany me to the place of his residence the next morning.

Accordingly, we set out pretty early in the pinnace; and Captain Clerke joined me in one of his own boats. We proceeded round, that is, to the eastward of the little isles that form the harbour, and then turning to the south, according to Poulaho's directions, entered a spacious bay or inlet, up which we rowed about a league, and landed amidst a considerable number of people, who received us with a sort of acclamation, not unlike our huzzaing. They immediately separated, to let Poulaho pass, who took us into a small inclosure, and

shifted the piece of cloth he wore, for a new piece, neatly folded, that was carried by a young man. An old woman assisted in dressing him, and put a mat over his cloth, as we supposed, to prevent its being dirtied when he sat down. On our now asking him where Mareewagee was, to our great surprise, he said, he had gone from the place to the ship, just before we arrived. However, he desired us to walk with him to a *malaee*, or house of public resort, which stood about half a mile up the country; but when we came to a large area before it, he sat down in the path, and desired us to walk up to the house. We did so, and seated ourselves in front, while the crowd that followed us filled up the rest of the space. After sitting a little while, we repeated our inquiries, by means of Omai, whether we were to see Mareewagee? But receiving no satisfactory information, and suspecting that the old chief was purposely concealed from us, we went back to our boats, much piqued at our disappointment; and when I got on board, I found that no such person had been there. It afterwards appeared, that, in this affair, we had laboured under some gross mistakes, and that our interpreter Omai had either been misinformed, or, which is more likely, had misunderstood what was told him about the great man, on whose account we had made this excursion.

The place we went to was a village, most delightfully situated on the bank of the inlet, where all or most of the principal persons of the island reside; each having his house in the midst of a small plantation, with lesser houses, and offices for servants. These plantations are neatly fenced round; and, for the most part, have only one entrance. This is by a door, fastened on the inside by a prop of wood; so that a person has to knock before he can get admittance. Public roads and narrow lanes lie between each plantation; so that no one trespasseth upon another. Great part of some of these inclosures is laid out in grass-plots, and planted with such things as seem more for ornament than use; but hardly any where without the *kava* plant, from which they make their favourite liquor. Every article of the vegetable produce of the island, abounded in others of these plantations; but these, I observed, are not the residence of people of the first rank. There are some large houses near the public roads, with spacious smooth grass-plots before them, and uninclosed. These, I was told, belonged to the king; and probably they are the places where their public assemblies are held. It was to one of these houses, as I have already mentioned, that we were conducted, soon after our landing at this place.

About noon, the next day, this Mareewagee, of whom we had heard so much, actually came to the neighbourhood of our post on shore; and with him a very considerable number of people of all ranks. I was informed, that he had taken this trouble on purpose to give me an opportunity of waiting upon him; having, probably, heard of the displeasure I had shown, on my disappointment the day before. In the afternoon, a party of us, accompanied by Feenou, landed to pay him a visit. We found a person sitting under a large tree, near the shore, a little to the right of the tent. A piece of cloth, at least forty yards long, was spread before him, round which a great number of people of both sexes were seated. It was natural to suppose that this was the great man; but we were undeceived by Feenou; who informed us that another, who sat on a piece of mat, a little way from this chief, to the right hand, was Mareewagee, and he introduced us to him, who received us very kindly, and desired us to sit down by him. The person who sat under the tree, fronting us, was called Toobou; and when I have occasion to speak of him afterwards, I shall call him old Toobou, to distinguish him from his namesake, Captain Furneaux's friend. Both he and Mareewagee had a venerable appearance. The latter is a slender man, and from his appearance, seems to be considerably above threescore years of age. The former is rather corpulent, and almost blind with a disorder of his eyes; though not so old. Not expecting to meet with two chiefs, on this occasion, I had only brought on shore a present for one. This I now found myself under a necessity of dividing between them; but it happened to be pretty considerable, and both of them seemed satisfied. After this, we entertained them for about an hour with the performance of two French horns and a drum. But they seemed most pleased with the firing off a pistol, which Captain Clerke had in his pocket. Before I took my leave, the large piece of cloth was rolled up, and, with a few cocoa-nuts, presented to me.

The next morning, old Toobou returned my visit on board the ship. He also visited Captain Clerke; and if the present we made to him the evening before was scanty, the

deficiency was now made up. During this time, Mareewagee visited our people ashore; and Mr. King showed to him everything we had there. He viewed the cattle with great admiration; and the cross-cut saw fixed his attention for some time. Toward noon, Poulaho returned from the place where we had left him two days before, and brought with him his son, a youth about twelve years of age. I had his company at dinner; but the son, though present, was not allowed to sit down with him. It was very convenient to have him for my guest. For when he was present, which was generally the case while we staid here, every other native was excluded from the table, and but few of them would remain in the cabin. Whereas, if by chance it happened that neither he nor Feenou were on board, the inferior chiefs would be very importunate to be of our dining-party, or to be admitted into the cabin at that time; and then we were so crowded, that we could not sit down to a meal with any satisfaction. The king was very soon reconciled to our manner of cookery. But still, I believe he dined thus frequently with me more for the sake of what we gave him to drink, than what we set before him to eat. For he had taken a liking to our wine, could empty his bottle as well as most men, and was as cheerful over it. He now fixed his residence at the house, or *malaee*, by our tent; and there he entertained our people this evening with a dance. To the surprise of everybody, the unwieldy Poulaho endeavoured to vie with others in that active amusement.

In the morning of the 15th, I received a message from old Toobou that he wanted to see me ashore. Accordingly, Omai and I went to wait upon him. We found him, like an ancient patriarch, seated under the shade of a tree, with a large piece of a cloth made in the island, spread out at full length before him, and a number of respectable-looking people sitting round it. He desired us to place ourselves by him; and then he told Omai that the cloth, together with a piece of red feathers, and about a dozen cocoa nuts, were his present to me. I thanked him for the favour, and desired he would go on board with me, as I had nothing on shore to give him in return. Omai now left me, being sent for by Poulaho; and, soon after, Feenou came and acquainted me that young Fattafaihe, Poulaho's son, desired to see me. I obeyed the summons, and found the prince and Omai sitting under a large canopy of the finer sort of cloth, with a piece of the coarser sort spread under them and before them, that was seventy-six yards long, and seven and a half broad. On one side was a large old boar, and on the other side a heap of cocoa-nuts. A number of people were seated round the cloth; and, amongst them, I observed Mareewagee and others of the first rank. I was desired to sit down by the prince, and then Omai informed me that he had been instructed by the king to tell me, that as he and I were friends, he hoped that his son might be joined in this friendship; and that, as a token of my consent, I would accept of his present. I very readily agreed to the proposal; and it being now dinner-time, I invited them all on board.

Accordingly, the young prince, Mareewagee, old Toobou, three or four inferior chiefs, and two respectable old ladies of the first rank, accompanied me. Mareewagee was dressed in a new piece of cloth, on the skirts of which were fixed six pretty large patches of red feathers. This dress seemed to have been made on purpose for this visit; for, as soon as he got on board, he put it off, and presented it to me; having, I guess, heard that it would be acceptable on account of the feathers. Every one of my visitors received from me such presents as I had reason to believe they were highly satisfied with. When dinner came upon table, not one of them would sit down or eat a bit of anything that was served up. On expressing my surprise at this, they were all *taboo*, as they said; which word has a very comprehensive meaning; but, in general, signifies that a thing is forbidden. Why they were laid under such restraints at present was not explained. Dinner being over, and having gratified their curiosity by showing to them every part of the ship, I then conducted them ashore. As soon as the boat reached the beach, Feenou and some others instantly stepped out. Young Fattafaihe following them, was called back by Mareewagee, who now paid the heir-apparent the same obeisance, and in the same manner that I had seen it paid to the king. And when old Toobou, and one of the old ladies had shown him the same marks of respect, he was suffered to land. This ceremony being over, the old people stepped from my boat into a canoe, that was waiting to carry them to their place of abode.

I was not sorry to be present on this occasion, as I was thus furnished with the most unequivocal proofs of the supreme dignity of Poulaho and his son over the other principal chiefs. Indeed, by this time I had acquired some certain information about the relative situations of the several great men, whose names have been so often mentioned. I now knew that Mareewagee and old Toobou were brothers. Both of them were men of great property in the island, and seemed to be in high estimation with the people; the former, in particular, had the very honourable appellation given to him, by everybody, of *Motooa Tonga*; that is to say, Father of Tonga, or of his country. The nature of his relationship to the king was also no longer a secret to us; for we now understood that he was his father-in-law, Poulaho having married one of his daughters, by whom he had this son; so that Mareewagee was the prince's grandfather. Poulaho's appearance having satisfied us that we had been under a mistake in considering Feenou as the sovereign of these islands, we had been at first much puzzled about his real rank; but that was by this time ascertained. Feenou was one of Mareewagee's sons; and Tooboueitoa was another.

On my landing, I found the king in the house adjoining to our tent, along with our people who resided on shore. The moment I got to him, he bestowed upon me a present of a large hog and a quantity of yams. About the dusk of the evening a number of men came, and having sat down in a round group, began to sing in concert with the music of bamboo drums, which were placed in the centre *. There were three long ones and two short. With these they struck the ground end-ways as before described. There were two others which lay on the ground, side by side, and one of them was split or shivered; on these a man kept beating with two small sticks. They sung three songs while I staid; and I was told, that after I left them the entertainment lasted till ten o'clock. They burned the leaves of the *wharra* palm for a ligh ; which is the only thing I ever saw them make use of for this purpose.

While I was passing the day in attendance on these great men, Mr. Anderson, with some others, made an excursion into the country, which furnished him with the following remarks:—"To the westward of the tent, the country is totally uncultivated for near two miles, though quite covered with trees and bushes in a natural state, growing with the greatest vigour. Beyond this is a pretty large plain, on which are some cocoa-trees, and a few small plantations that appear to have been lately made; and seemingly on ground that has never been cultivated before. Near the creek which runs to the westward of the tent the land is quite flat, and partly overflowed by the sea every tide. When that retires, the surface is seen to be composed of coral rock, with holes of yellowish mud scattered up and down; and toward the edges, where it is a little firmer, are innumerable little openings, from which issue as many small crabs of two or three different sorts, which swarm upon the spot as flies upon a carcass; but are so nimble that, on being approached, they disappear in an instant, and baffle even the natives to catch any of them. At this place is a work of art, which shows that these people are capable of some design and perseverance when they mean to accomplish anything. This work begins, on one side, as a narrow causeway, which, becoming gradually broader, rises with a gentle ascent to the height of ten feet, where it is five paces broad, and the whole length seventy-four paces. Joined to this is a sort of circus, whose diameter is thirty paces, and not above a foot or two higher than the causeway that joins it, with some trees planted in the middle. On the opposite side, another causeway of the same sort descends; but this is not above forty paces long, and is partly in ruin. The whole is built with large coral stones, with earth on the surface, which is quite overgrown with low trees and shrubs; and, from its decaying in several places, seems to be of no modern date. Whatever may have been its use formerly, it seems to be of none now; and all that we could learn of it from the natives was, that it belonged to Poulaho, and is called *Etchee*."

On the 16th, in the morning, after visiting the several works now carrying on ashore,

* The same sort of evening concert is performed round the house of the chief, or *Tamole*, at the Caroline Islands. "Le *Tamole* ne s'endort qu'au bruit d'un concert de musique que forme une troupe de jeunes gens, qui s'assemblent le soir, autour de sa maison, et qui chantent, à leur manière," certaines poësies." —"Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses," tom. xv. p. 314.

Mr. Gore and I took a walk into the country; in the course of which nothing remarkable appeared, but our having opportunities of seeing the whole process of making cloth, which is the principal manufacture of these islands, as well as of many others in this ocean. In the narrative of my first voyage *, a minute description is given of this operation as performed at Otaheite; but the process here differing in some particulars, it may be worth while to give the following account of it.

The manufacturers, who are females, take the slender stalks or trunks of the paper-mulberry, which they cultivate for that purpose, and which seldom grows more than six or seven feet in height, and about four fingers in thickness. From these they strip the bark, and scrape off the outer rind with a muscle-shell. The bark is then rolled up to take off the convexity which it had round the stalk, and macerated in water for some time (they say a night). After this it is laid across the trunk of a small tree squared, and beaten with a square wooden instrument about a foot long, full of coarse grooves on all sides; but sometimes with one that is plain. According to the size of the bark, a piece is soon produced; but the operation is often repeated by another hand, or it is folded several times and beat longer, which seems rather intended to close than to divide its texture. When this is sufficiently effected, it is spread out to dry; the pieces being from four to six or more feet in length, and half as broad. They are then given to another person who joins the pieces, by smearing part of them over with the viscous juice of a berry called *to-oo*, which serves as a glue. Having been thus lengthened, they are laid over a large piece of wood, with a kind of stamp made of a fibrous substance pretty closely interwoven, placed beneath. They then take a bit of cloth and dip it in a juice expressed from the bark of a tree called *kokka*, which they rub briskly upon the piece that is making. This at once leaves a dull brown colour, and a dry gloss upon its surface; the stamp, at the same time, making a slight impression, that answers no other purpose that I could see but to make the several pieces that are glued together stick a little more firmly. In this manner they proceed, joining and staining by degrees, till they produce a piece of cloth of such length and breadth as they want; generally leaving a border of a foot broad at the sides, and longer at the ends, unstained. Throughout the whole, if any parts of the original pieces are too thin, or have holes, which is often the case, they glue spare bits upon them, till they become of an equal thickness. When they want to produce a black colour, they mix the soot procured from an oily nut called *dooedooe*, with the juice of the *kokka*, in different quantities, according to the proposed depth of the tinge. They say that the black sort of cloth, which is commonly most glazed, makes a cold dress, but the other a warm one; and, to obtain strength in both, they are always careful to join the small pieces lengthwise, which makes it impossible to tear the cloth in any direction but one.

On our return from the country we met with Feenou, and took him and another young chief on board to dinner. When our fare was set upon the table, neither of them would eat a bit, saying that they were *taboo avy*. But, after inquiring how the victuals had been dressed, having found that no *avy* (water) had been used in cooking a pig and some yams, they both sat down and made a very hearty meal; and, on being assured that there was no water in the wine, they drank of it also. From this we conjectured that, on some account or another, they were, at this time, forbidden to use water; or, which was more probable, they did not like the water we made use of, it being taken up out of one of their bathing-places. This was not the only time of our meeting with people that were *taboo avy;* but for what reason we never could tell with any degree of certainty.

Next day, the 17th, was fixed upon by Mareewagee for giving a grand *haiva* or entertainment, to which we were all invited. For this purpose, a large space had been cleared before the temporary hut of this chief, near our post, as an area where the performances were to be exhibited. In the morning great multitudes of the natives came in from the country, every one carrying a pole about six feet long upon his shoulder; and at each end of every pole a yam was suspended. These yams and poles were deposited on each side of the area, so as to form two large heaps, decorated with different sorts of small fish, and piled up to the greatest advantage. They were Mareewagee's present to Captain Clerke

* See vol. i. p. 90.

and me; and it was hard to say whether the wood for fuel or the yams for food were of most value to us. As for the fish, they might have to please the sight, but were very offensive to the smell, part of them having been kept two or three days to be presented to us on this occasion.

Everything being thus prepared, about eleven o'clock they began to exhibit various dances, which they call *mai*. The music * consisted at first of seventy men as a chorus, who sat down; and amidst them were placed three instruments which we called drums, though very unlike them. They are large cylindrical pieces of wood, or trunks of trees from three to four feet long, some twice as thick as an ordinary-sized man, and some smaller, hollowed entirely out, but close at both ends, and open only by a chink about three inches broad, running almost the whole length of the drums; by which opening, the rest of the wood is certainly hollowed, though the operation must be difficult. This instrument is called *naffa;* and with the chink turned toward them, they sit and beat strongly upon it with two cylindrical pieces of hard wood about a foot long, and as thick as the wrist; by which means they produce a rude, though loud and powerful sound. They vary the strength and rate of their beating at different parts of the dance; and also change the tones by beating in the middle, or near the end of their drum.

The first dance consisted of four ranks, of twenty-four men each, holding in their hands a little thin, light, wooden instrument, above two feet long, and in shape not unlike a small oblong paddle. With these, which are called *pagge*, they made a great many different motions; such as pointing them toward the ground on one side, at the same time inclining their bodies that way, from which they were shifted to the opposite side in the same manner; then passing them quickly from one hand to the other, and twirling them about very dexterously; with a variety of other manœuvres, all which were accompanied by corresponding attitudes of the body. Their motions were at first slow, but quickened as the drums beat faster; and they recited sentences in a musical tone the whole time, which were answered by the chorus; but at the end of a short space they all joined, and finished with a shout.

After ceasing about two or three minutes, they began as before, and continued, with short intervals, above a quarter of an hour; when the rear rank dividing, shifted themselves very slowly round each end, and meeting in the front, formed the first rank; the whole number continuing to recite the sentences as before. The other ranks did the same successively, till that which at first was the front, became the rear; and the evolution continued, in the same manner, till the last rank regained its first situation. They then began a much quicker dance (though slow at first), and sang for about ten minutes, when the whole body divided into two parts, retreated a little, and then approached, forming a sort of circular figure, which finished the dance; the drums being removed, and the chorus going off the field at the same time.

The second dance had only two drums, with forty men for a chorus; and the dancers, or rather actors, consisted of two ranks, the foremost having seventeen, and the other fifteen persons. Feenou was at their head, or in the middle of the front rank, which is the principal place in these cases. They danced and recited sentences, with some very short intervals, for about half an hour, sometimes quickly, sometimes more slowly, but with such a degree of exactness, as if all the motions were made by one man, which did them great credit. Near the close, the back rank divided, came round, and took the place of the front, which again resumed its situation, as in the first dance; and when they finished, the drums and chorus, as before, went off.

Three drums (which, at least, took two, and sometimes three men to carry them) were now brought in; and seventy men sat down as a chorus to the third dance. This consisted of two ranks, of sixteen persons each, with young Toobou at their head, who was richly ornamented with a sort of garment covered with red feathers. These danced, sung, and twirled the *pagge*, as before; but in general, much quicker, and performed so well, that they had the constant applauses of the spectators. A motion that met with particular

* Mr. Anderson's description of the entertainments of this day being much fuller than Captain Cook's, it has been adopted, as on a former occasion.

approbation, was one in which they held the face aside, as if ashamed, and the *pagge* before it. The back rank closed before the front one, and that again resumed its place, as in the two former dances; but then they began again, formed a triple row, divided, retreated to each end of the area, and left the greatest part of the ground clear. At that instant, two men entered very hastily, and exercised the clubs which they use in battle. They did this, by first twirling them in their hands, and making circular strokes before them with great force and quickness; but so skilfully managed, that, though standing quite close, they never interfered. They shifted their clubs from hand to hand, with great dexterity; and after continuing a little time, kneeled, and made different motions, tossing the clubs up in the air, which they caught as they fell, and then went off as hastily as they entered. Their heads were covered with pieces of white cloth, tied at the crown (almost like a night-cap) with a wreath of foliage round the forehead; but they had only very small pieces of white cloth tied about their waists; probably, that they might be cool, and free from every incumbrance or weight. A person with a spear, dressed like the former, then came in, and in the same hasty manner; looking about eagerly, as if in search of somebody to throw it at. He then ran hastily to one side of the crowd in the front, and put himself in a threatening attitude, as if he meant to strike with his spear at one of them, bending the knee a little, and trembling, as it were with rage. He continued in this manner only a few seconds, when he moved to the other side, and having stood in the same posture there, for the same short time, retreated from the ground, as fast as when he made his appearance. The dancers, who had divided into two parties, kept repeating something slowly all this while; and now advanced, and joined again, ending with universal applause. It should seem, that this dance was considered as one of their capital performances, if we might judge from some of the principal people being engaged in it. For one of the drums was beat by Futtafaihe, the brother of Poulaho, another by Feenou, and the third, which did not belong to the chorus, by Mareewagee himself, at the entrance of his hut.

The last dance had forty men, and two drums, as a chorus. It consisted of sixty men, who had not danced before, disposed in three rows, having twenty-four in front. But, before they began, we were entertained with a pretty long preliminary harangue, in which the whole body made responses to a single person who spoke. They recited sentences (perhaps verses) alternately with the chorus, and made many motions with the *pagge*, in a very brisk mode, which were all applauded with *mareeai!* and *fyfogge!* words expressing two different degrees of praise. They divided into two bodies, with their backs to each other; formed again, shifted their ranks as in the other dances; divided and retreated, making room for two champions, who exercised their clubs as before; and after them two others: the dancers, all the time, reciting slowly in turn with the chorus; after which they advanced, and finished.

These dances, if they can properly be called so, lasted from eleven till near three o'clock; and though they were doubtless intended particularly either in honour of us, or to show a specimen of their dexterity, vast numbers of their own people attended as spectators. Their numbers could not be computed exactly, on account of the inequality of the ground; but, by reckoning the inner circle, and the number in depth, which was between twenty and thirty in many places, we supposed that there must be near four thousand. At the same time, there were round the trading place at the tent, and straggling about, at least as many more; and some of us computed, that, at this time, there were not less than ten or twelve thousand people in our neighbourhood; that is, within the compass of a quarter of a mile; drawn together, for the most part, by mere curiosity. It is with regret I mention, that we could not understand what was spoken, while we were able to see what was acted in these amusements. This, doubtless, would have afforded us much information as to the genius and customs of these people. It was observable, that, though the spectators always approved of the various motions, when well made, a great share of the pleasure they received seemed to arise from the sentimental part, or what the performers delivered in their speeches. However, the mere acting part, independently of the sentences repeated, was well worth our notice, both with respect to the extensive plan on which it was executed, and to the various motions, as well as the exact unity, with which they were

performed. But neither pencil nor pen can describe the numerous actions and motions, the singularity of which was not greater, than was the ease and gracefulness with which they were performed.

At night we were entertained with the *bomai*, or night dances, on a space before Feenou's temporary habitation. They lasted about three hours; in which time we had about twelve of them performed, much after the same manner as those at Hapaee. But in two that were performed by women, a number of men came and formed a circle within theirs. And, in another, consisting of twenty-four men, there were a number of motions with the hands, that we had not seen before, and were highly applauded. The music was also once changed, in the course of the night; and in one of the dances, Feenou appeared at the head of fifty men who had performed at Hapaee, and he was well dressed with linen, a large piece of gauze, and some little pictures hung round his neck. But it was evident, after the diversions were closed, that we had put these poor people, or rather that they had put themselves, to much inconvenience. For being drawn together on this uninhabited part of their island, numbers of them were obliged to lie down and sleep under the bushes, by the side of a tree, or of a canoe; nay, many either lay down in the open air, which they are not fond of, or walked about all the night.

The whole of this entertainment was conducted with far better order, than could have been expected in so large an assembly. Amongst such a multitude, there must be a number of ill-disposed people; and we hourly experienced it. All our care and attention did not prevent their plundering us, in every quarter; and that, in the most daring and insolent manner. There was hardly anything that they did not attempt to steal; and yet, as the crowd was always so great, I would not allow the sentries to fire, lest the innocent should suffer for the guilty. They once, at noon-day, ventured to aim at taking an anchor from off the Discovery's bows; and they would certainly have succeeded, if the flook had not hooked one of the chain-plates in lowering down the ship's side, from which they could not disengage it by hand; and tackles were things they were unacquainted with. The only act of violence they were guilty of, was the breaking the shoulder-bone of one of our goats, so that she died soon after. This loss fell upon themselves, as she was one of those that I intended to leave upon the island; but of this, the person who did it, was ignorant. Early in the morning of the 18th, an incident happened, that strongly marked one of their customs. A man got out of a canoe into the quarter gallery of the Resolution, and stole from thence a pewter basin. He was discovered, pursued, and brought alongside the ship. On this occasion, three old women, who were in the canoe, made loud lamentations over the prisoner, beating their breasts and faces in a most violent manner, with the inside of their fists; and all this was done without shedding a tear. This mode of expressing grief is what occasions the mark which almost all this people bear on the face, over the cheek-bones. The repeated blows which they inflict upon this part, abrade the skin, and make even the blood flow out in a considerable quantity; and when the wounds are recent, they look as if a hollow circle had been burnt in. On many occasions, they actually cut this part of the face with an instrument; in the same manner as the people of Otaheite cut their heads.

This day, I bestowed on Mareewagee some presents, in return for those we had received from him the day before; and as the entertainments which he had then exhibited for our amusement, called upon us to make some exhibition in our way, I ordered the party of marines to go through their exercise, on the spot where his dances had been performed; and, in the evening, played off some fire-works at the same place. Poulaho, with all the principal chiefs, and a great number of people, of all denominations, were present. The platoon firing, which was executed tolerably well, seemed to give them pleasure; but they were lost in astonishment when they beheld our water rockets. They paid but little attention to the fife and drum, or French horns, that played during the intervals. The king sat behind everybody, because no one is allowed to sit behind him; and that his view might not be obstructed, nobody sat immediately before him; but a lane, as it were, was made by the people from him, quite down to the space allotted for the fire-works.

In expectation of this evening show, the circle of natives about our tent being pretty large,

they were engaged, the greatest part of the afternoon, in boxing and wrestling; the first of which exercises they call *fangatooa*, and the second *foohoo*. When any of them chooses to wrestle, he gets up from one side of the ring, and crosses the ground in a sort of measured pace, clapping smartly on the elbow-joint of one arm, which is bent, and produces a hollow sound; that is reckoned the challenge. If no person comes out from the opposite side to engage him, he returns, in the same manner, and sits down; but sometimes stands clapping in the midst of the ground, to provoke some one to come out. If an opponent appear, they come together with marks of the greatest good-nature, generally smiling, and taking time to adjust the piece of cloth which is fastened round the waist. They then lay hold of each other by this girdle, with a hand on each side; and he who succeeds in drawing his antagonist to him, immediately tries to lift him upon his breast, and throw him upon his back; and if he be able to turn round with him two or three times, in that position, before he throws him, his dexterity never fails of procuring plaudits from the spectators. If they be more equally matched, they close soon, and endeavour to throw each other by entwining their legs, or lifting each other from the ground; in which struggles they show a prodigious exertion of strength, every muscle, as it were, being ready to burst with straining When one is thrown, he immediately quits the field, but the victor sits down for a few seconds, then gets up, and goes to the side he came from, who proclaim the victory aloud, in a sentence delivered slowly, and in a musical cadence. After sitting a short space, he rises again and challenges; when sometimes several antagonists make their appearance; but he has the privilege of choosing which of them he pleases to wrestle with; and has likewise the preference of challenging again, if he should throw his adversary, until he himself be vanquished; and then the opposite side sing the song of victory in favour of their champion. It also often happens, that five or six rise from each side, and challenge together; in which case, it is common to see three or four couple engaged on the field at once. But it is astonishing to see what temper they preserve in this exercise; for we observed no instances of their leaving the spot with the least displeasure in their countenances. When they find that they are so equally matched as not to be likely to throw each other, they leave off by mutual consent. And if the fall of one is not fair, or if it does not appear very clearly who has had the advantage, both sides sing the victory, and then they engage again. But no person, who has been vanquished, can engage with his conqueror a second time.

The boxers advance side ways, changing the side at every pace, with one arm stretched fully out before, the other behind; and holding a piece of cord in one hand, which they wrap firmly about it, when they find an antagonist, or else have done so before they enter This, I imagine, they do, to prevent a dislocation of the hand or fingers. Their blows are directed chiefly to the head; but sometimes to the sides; and are dealt out with great activity. They shift sides, and box equally well with both hands. But one of their favourite and most dexterous blows, is, to turn round on their heel, just as they have struck their antagonist, and to give him another very smart one with the other hand backward. The boxing-matches seldom last long; and the parties either leave off together, or one acknowledges his being beat. But they never sing the song of victory in these cases, unless one strikes his adversary to the ground; which shows, that, of the two, wrestling is their most approved diversion. Not only boys engage, in both the exercises, but frequently little girls box very obstinately for a short time. In all which cases, it doth not appear that they ever consider it as the smallest disgrace to be vanquished: and the person overcome sits down, with as much indifference, as if he had never entered the lists. Some of our people ventured to contend with them in both exercises, but were always worsted; except in a few instances, where it appeared, that the fear they were in of offending us contributed more to the victory, than the superiority of the person they engaged.

The cattle, which we had brought, and which were all on shore, however carefully guarded, I was sensible, ran no small risk, when I considered the thievish disposition of many of the natives, and their dexterity in appropriating to themselves, by stealth, what they saw no prospect of obtaining by fair means. For this reason, I thought it prudent to declare my intention of leaving behind me some of our animals; and even to make a distribution of them previously to my departure. With this view, in the evening of the 19th,

; the first of
em chooses to
t of measured
uces a hollow
side to engage
apping in the
ar, they come
king time to
hold of each
ving his anta-
oon his back;
ion, before he
. If they be
by entwining
a prodigious
ning When
few seconds,
y aloud, in a
pace, he rises
ance; but he
d has likewise
he himself be
eir champion.
ner; in which
e. But it is
d no instances
hen they find
y leave off by
y clearly who
gain. But no
e.
arm stretched
d, which they
re they enter
eir blows are
ut with great
one of their
y have struck
nd backward.
ether, or one
o cases, unless
estling is their
equently little
ear that they
overcome sits
of our people
xcept in a few
buted more to

ever carefully
disposition of
stealth, what
it prudent to
to make a dis-
g of the 19th,

A MAORI MIGRATION.

Cook's Voyages.

Plate XVII.

I assembled all the chiefs before our house, and my intended presents to them were marked out To Poulaho, the king, I gave a young English bull and cow; to Mareewagee, a Cape ram, and two ewes; and to Feenou, a horse and a mare. As my design, to make such a distribution, had been made known the day before, most of the people in the neighbourhood were then present, I instructed Omai to tell them, that there were no such animals within many months' sail of their island; that we had brought them, for their use, from that immense distance, at a vast trouble and expense; that, therefore, they must be careful not to kill any of them till they had multiplied to a numerous race; and, lastly, that they and their children ought to remember, that they had received them from the men of *Britane*. He also explained to them their several uses, and what else was necessary for them to know, or rather as far as he knew; for Omai was not very well versed in such things himself. As I intended that the above presents should remain with the other cattle, till we were ready to sail, I desired each of the chiefs to send a man or two to look after their respective animals, along with my people, in order that they might be better acquainted with them, and with the manner of treating them. The king and Feenou did so; but neither Mareewagee, nor any other person for him, took the least notice of the sheep afterwards; nor did old Toobou attend at this meeting, though he was invited, and was in the neighbourhood. I had meant to give him the goats, viz. a ram and two ewes; which, as he was so indifferent about them, I added to the king's share.

It soon appeared, that some were dissatisfied with this allotment of our animals; for early next morning, one of our kids and two turkey cocks were missing. I could not be so simple as to suppose, that this was merely an accidental loss; and I was determined to have them again. The first step I took was to seize on three canoes that happened to be alongside the ships. I then went ashore, and having found the king, his brother, Feenou, and some other chiefs in the house that we occupied; I immediately put a guard over them, and gave them to understand, that they must remain under restraint, till not only the kid and the turkeys, but the other things that had been stolen from us, at different times, were restored. They concealed, as well as they could, their feelings, on finding themselves prisoners; and, having assured me, that everything should be restored, as I desired, sat down to drink their *kava*, seemingly much at their ease. It was not long before an axe, and an iron wedge, were brought to me. In the meantime, some armed natives began to gather behind the house; but, on a part of our guard marching against them, they dispersed; and I advised the chiefs to give orders that no more should appear. Such orders were accordingly given by them, and they were obeyed. On asking them to go aboard with me to dinner, they readily consented. But some having afterward objected to the king's going, he instantly rose up, and declared he would be the first man. Accordingly we came on board. I kept them there till near four o'clock, when I conducted them ashore; and soon after, the kid and one of the turkey-cocks were brought back. The other they said should be restored the next morning. I believed this would happen, and released both them and the canoes.

After the chiefs had left us, I walked out with Omai, to observe how the people about us fared; for this was the time of their meals. I found that, in general, they were at short commons. Nor is this to be wondered at, since most of the yams and other provisions which they brought with them were sold to us; and they never thought of returning to their own habitations, while they could find any sort of subsistence in our neighbourhood. Our station was upon an uncultivated point of land; so that there were none of the islanders who, properly, resided within half-a-mile of us. But even at this distance, the multitude of strangers being so great, one might have expected that every house would have been much crowded. It was quite otherwise. The families residing there were as much left to themselves as if there had not been a supernumerary visitor near them. All the strangers lived in little temporary sheds, or under tr es and bushes; and the cocoa-trees were stripped of their branches to erect habitations for the chiefs. In this walk we met with about half-a-dozen women in one place at supper. Two of the company, I observed, being fed by the others; on our asking the reason, they said *taboo mattee*. On farther inquiry we found that

A MAORI MIGRATION.

Cook's Voyages.

Plate XVII.

one of them had, two months before, washed the dead corpse of a chief; and that, on this account, she was not to handle any food for five months. The other had performed the same office to the corpse of another person of inferior rank, and was now under the same restriction, but not for so long a time. At another place hard by, we saw another woman fed; and we learned that she had assisted in washing the corpse of the above-mentioned chief.

Early the next morning, the king came on board to invite me to an entertainment, which he proposed to give the same day. He had already been under the barber's hands; his head being all besmeared with red pigment, in order to redden his hair, which was naturally of a dark brown colour. After breakfast I attended him to the shore; and we found his people very busy in two places, in the front of our area, fixing, in an upright and square position, thus [°°], four very long posts, near two feet from each other. The space between the posts was afterward filled up with yams; and as they went on filling it, they fastened pieces of sticks across, from post to post, at the distance of about every four feet, to prevent the posts from separating by the weight of the inclosed yams, and also to get up by. When the yams had reached the top of the first posts, they fastened others to them, and so continued till each pile was the height of thirty feet or upward. On the top of one they placed two baked hogs; and on the top of the other, a living one; and another they tied by the legs half-way up. It was matter of curiosity to observe with what facility and despatch these two piles were raised. Had our seamen been ordered to execute such a work, they would have sworn that it could not be performed without carpenters; and the carpenters would have called to their aid a dozen different sorts of tools, and have expended, at least, a hundred-weight of nails; and, after all, it would have employed them as many days as it did these people hours. But seamen, like most other amphibious animals, are always the most helpless on land. After they had completed these two piles, they made several other heaps of yams and bread-fruit on each side of the area; to which were added a turtle and a large quantity of excellent fish. All this, with a piece of cloth, a mat, and some red feathers, was the king's present to me; and he seemed to pique himself on exceeding, as he really did, Feenou's liberality, which I experienced at Hapaee.

HEAD OF POULAHO.

About one o'clock they began the *mai*, or dances; the first of which was almost a copy of the first that was exhibited at Mareewagee's entertainment. The second was conducted by Captain Furneaux's Toobou, who, as we mentioned, had also danced there; and in this, four or five women were introduced, who went through the several parts with as much exactness as the men. Toward the end, the performers divided to leave room for two champions, who exercised their clubs as described on a former occasion. And, in the third dance, which was the last now presented, two more men with their clubs displayed their dexterity. The dances were succeeded by wrestling and boxing; and one man entered the lists with a sort of club made from the stem of a cocoa-leaf, which is firm and heavy, but could find no antagonist to engage him at so rough a sport. At night we had the *bomai* repeated; in which Poulaho himself danced, dressed in English manufacture. But neither these nor the dances in the daytime were so considerable, nor carried on with so much spirit as Feenou's or Mareewagee's; and, therefore, there is less occasion to be more particular in our description of them. In order to be present the whole time, I dined ashore. The king sat down with us; but he neither ate nor drank. I found that this was owing to the

presence of a female, whom, at his desire, I had admitted to the dining party; and who, as we afterwards understood, had superior rank to himself. As soon as this great personage had dined, she stepped up to the king, who put his hands to her feet, and then she retired. He immediately dipped his fingers into a glass of wine, and then received the obeisance of all her followers. This was the single instance we ever observed of his paying this mark of reverence to any person. At the king's desire, I ordered some fire-works to be played off in the evening; but, unfortunately, being damaged, this exhibition did not answer expectation.

CHAPTER VIII.—SOME OF THE OFFICERS PLUNDERED BY THE NATIVES.—A FISHING PARTY.—A VISIT TO POULAHO.—A FIATOOKA DESCRIBED.—OBSERVATIONS ON THE COUNTRY ENTERTAINMENT AT POULAHO'S HOUSE.—HIS MOURNING CEREMONY.—OF THE KAVA PLANT, AND THE MANNER OF PREPARING THE LIQUOR.—ACCOUNT OF ONEVY, A LITTLE ISLAND.—ONE OF THE NATIVES WOUNDED BY A SENTINEL.—MESSRS. KING AND ANDERSON VISIT THE KING'S BROTHER.—THEIR ENTERTAINMENT.—ANOTHER MOURNING CEREMONY.—MANNER OF PASSING THE NIGHT.—REMARKS ON THE COUNTRY THEY PASSED THROUGH. PREPARATIONS MADE FOR SAILING.—AN ECLIPSE OF THE SUN, IMPERFECTLY OBSERVED.—MR. ANDERSON'S ACCOUNT OF THE ISLAND, AND ITS PRODUCTIONS.

As no more entertainments were to be expected on either side, and the curiosity of the populace was by this time pretty well satisfied; on the day after Poulaho's *haiva* most of them left us. We still, however, had thieves about us; and, encouraged by the negligence of our own people, we had continual instances of their depredations. Some of the officers, belonging to both ships, who had made an excursion into the interior parts of the island, without my leave, and, indeed, without my knowledge, returned this evening, after an absence of two days. They had taken with them their muskets, with the necessary ammunition, and several small articles of the favourite commodities; all which the natives had the dexterity to steal from them in the course of their expedition. This affair was likely to be attended with inconvenient consequences. For our plundered travellers upon their return, without consulting me, employed Omai to complain to the king of the treatment they had met with. He, not knowing what step I should take, and, from what had already happened, fearing lest I might lay him again under restraint, went off early the next morning. His example was followed by Feenou; so that we had not a chief, of any authority, remaining in our neighbourhood. I was very much displeased at this, and reprimanded Omai for having presumed to meddle. This reprimand put him upon his mettle to bring his friend Feenou back; and he succeeded in the negotiation; having this powerful argument to urge, that he might depend upon my using no violent measures to oblige the natives to restore what had been taken from the gentlemen. Feenou, trusting to this declaration, returned toward the evening; and, encouraged by his reception, Poulaho favoured us with his company the day after. Both these chiefs, upon this occasion, very justly observed to me, that if any of my people at any time wanted to go into the country, they ought to be acquainted with it; in which case they would send proper people along with them; and then they would be answerable for their safety. And I am convinced, from experience, that by taking this very reasonable precaution, a man and his property may be as safe among these islanders, as in other parts of the more civilised world. Though I gave myself no trouble about the recovery of the things stolen upon this occasion, most of them, through Feenou's interposition, were recovered; except one musket and a few other articles of inferior value. By this time also we had recovered the turkey-cock and most of the tools, and other matters, that had been stolen from our workmen.

On the 25th, two boats, which I had sent to look for a channel, by which we might most commodiously get to sea, returned. The masters, who commanded them, reported that the channel to the north, by which we came in, was highly dangerous, being full of coral rocks from one side to the other; but that, to the eastward, there was a very good channel; which, however, was very much contracted in one place by the small islands; so that a leading

wind would be requisite to get through it; that is, a westerly wind, which we had found did not often blow here. We had now recruited the ships with wood and water; we had finished the repairs of our sails; and had little more to expect from the inhabitants of the produce of their island. However, as an eclipse of the sun was to happen upon the 5th of the next month, I resolved to defer sailing till that time had elapsed, in order to have a chance of observing it.

Having, therefore, some days of leisure before me, a party of us, accompanied by Poulaho, set out early next morning in a boat, for Mooa, the village where he and the other great men usually reside. As we rowed up the inlet, we met with fourteen canoes fishing in company, in one of which was Poulaho's son. In each canoe was a triangular net, extended between two poles; at the lower end of which was a cod to receive and secure the fish. They had already caught some fine mullets; and they put about a dozen into our boat. I desired to see their method of fishing; which they readily complied with. A shoal of fish was supposed to be upon one of the banks, which they instantly inclosed in a long net like a seine, or set-net. This the fishers, one getting into the water out of each boat, surrounded with the triangular nets in their hands; with which they scooped the fish out of the seine, or caught them as they attempted to leap over it. They showed us the whole process of this operation (which seemed to be a sure one), by throwing in some of the fish they had already caught; for at this time, there happened to be none upon the bank that was inclosed.

Leaving the prince and his fishing party, we proceeded to the bottom of the bay, and landed where we had done before, on our fruitless errand to see Mareewagee. As soon as we got on shore, the king desired Omai to tell me, that I need be under no apprehensions about the boat, or anything in her, for not a single article would be touched by any one; and we afterward found this to be the case. We were immediately conducted to one of Poulaho's houses not far off, and near the public one, or *malaee*, in which we had been when we first visited Mooa. This, though pretty large, seemed to be his private habitation, and was situated within a plantation. The king took his seat at one end of the house, and the people, who came to visit him, sat down as they arrived, in a semicircle at the other end. The first thing done, was to prepare a bowl of *kava*, and to order some yams to be baked for us. While these were getting ready, some of us, accompanied by a few of the king's attendants, and Omai as our interpreter, walked out to take a view of a *fiatooka*, or burying-place, which we had observed to be almost close by the house, and was much more extensive, and seemingly of more consequence, than any we had seen at the other islands. We were told, that it belonged to the king. It consisted of three pretty large houses, situated upon a rising ground, or rather just by the brink of it, with a small one at some distance, all ranged longitudinally. The middle house of the three first was by much the largest, and placed in a square, twenty-four paces by twenty-eight, raised about three feet. The other houses were placed on little mounts, raised artificially to the same height. The floors of these houses, as also the tops of the mounts round them, were covered with loose fine pebbles, and the whole was inclosed by large flat stones * of hard coral rock, properly hewn, placed on their edges; one of which stones measured twelve feet in length, two in breadth, and above one in thickness. One of the houses, contrary to what we had seen before, was open on one side; and within it were two rude wooden busts of men; one near the entrance, and the other farther in. On inquiring of the natives who had followed us to the ground, but durst not enter here, what these images were intended for, they made us as sensible as we could wish, that they were merely memorials of some chiefs who had been buried there, and not the representations of any deity. Such monuments, it should seem, are seldom raised; for these had probably been erected several ages ago. We were told that the dead had been buried in each of these houses, but no marks of this appeared. In one of them was the carved head of an Otaheite canoe, which had been driven ashore on their coast, and deposited here. At the foot of the rising ground was a large area, or grass-plot, with different trees planted about it; amongst which were several of those called *etoa*, very large. These, as they resemble the

* The burying-places of the chiefs at the Caroline Islands, are also inclosed in this manner. See "Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuses," tom. xv. p. 309.

cypress, had a fine effect in such a place. There was also a row of low palms near one of the houses, and behind it a ditch, in which lay a great number of old baskets.

After dinner, or rather after we had refreshed ourselves with some provisions which we had brought with us from our ship, we made an excursion into the country, taking a pretty large circuit, attended by one of the king's ministers. Our train was not great, as he would not suffer the rabble to follow us. He also obliged all those whom we met upon our progress, to sit down till we had passed; which is a mark of respect due only to their sovereigns. We found by far the greatest part of the country cultivated, and planted with various sorts of productions; and most of these plantations were fenced round. Some spots, where plantations had been formerly, now produced nothing, lying fallow; and there were places that had never been touched, but lay in a state of nature; and yet, even these were useful in affording them timber, as they were generally covered with trees. We met with several large uninhabited houses, which we were told belonged to the king. There were many public and well-beaten roads, and abundance of foot-paths leading to every part of the island. The roads being good and the country level, travelling was very easy. It is remarkable, that when we were on the most elevated parts, at least a hundred feet above the level of the sea, we often met with the same coral rock which is found at the shore, projecting above the surface, and perforated and cut into all those inequalities which are usually seen in rocks that lie within the wash of the tide. And yet these very spots, with hardly any soil upon them, were covered with luxuriant vegetation. We were conducted to several little pools, and to some springs of water; but in general, they were either stinking or brackish, though recommended to us by the natives as excellent. The former were mostly inland, and the latter, near the shore of the bay, and below high-water mark; so that tolerable water could be taken up from them only when the tide was out.

When we returned from our walk, which was not till the dusk of the evening, our supper was ready. It consisted of a baked hog, some fish, and yams, all excellently well cooked, after the method of these islands. As there was nothing to amuse us after supper, we followed the custom of the country, and lay down to sleep, our beds being mats spread upon the floor, and cloth to cover us. The king, who had made himself very happy with some wine and brandy which we had brought, slept in the same house, as well as several others of the natives. Long before daybreak, he and they all rose, and sat conversing by moonlight. The conversation, as might well be guessed, turned wholly upon us; the king entertaining his company with an account of what he had seen, or remarked. As soon as it was day they dispersed, some one way and some another; but it was not long before they all returned, and with them several more of their countrymen. They now began to prepare a bowl of *kava;* and, leaving them so employed, I went to pay a visit to Toobou, Captain Furneaux's friend, who had a house hard by, which for size and neatness, was exceeded by few in the place. As I had left the others, so I found here a company preparing a morning draught. This chief made a present to me of a living hog, a baked one, a quantity of yams, and a large piece of cloth. When I returned to the king, I found him and his circle of attendants, drinking the second bowl of *kava*. That being emptied, he told Omai, that he was going presently to perform a mourning ceremony, called *Tooge*, on account of a son who had been dead some time; and he desired us to accompany him. We were glad of the opportunity, expecting to see somewhat new or curious.

The first thing the chief did, was to step out of the house, attended by two old women, and put on a new suit of clothes, or rather a new piece of cloth, and over it an old ragged mat, that might have served his great-grandfather on some such occasion. His servants, or those who attended him, were all dressed in the same manner, excepting that none of their mats could vie in antiquity with that of their master. Thus equipped we marched off, preceded by about eight or ten persons, all in the above habits of ceremony, each of them, besides, having a small green bough about his neck. Poulaho held his bough in his hand till we drew near the place of rendezvous, when he also put it about his neck. We now entered a small inclosure in which was a neat house, and we found one man sitting before it. As the company entered they pulled off the green branches from round their necks, and threw them away. The king having first seated himself, the others sat down before him in

the usual manner. The circle increased by others dropping in to the number of a hundred or upward, mostly old men, all dressed as above described. The company being completely assembled, a large root of *kava*, brought by one of the king's servants, was produced, and a bowl which contained four or five gallons. Several persons now began to chew the root, and this bowl was made brimful of liquor. While it was preparing others were employed in making drinking-cups of plantain leaves. The first cup that was filled was presented to the king, and he ordered it to be given to another person. The second was also brought to him, which he drank, and the third was offered to me. Afterward, as each cup was filled, the man who filled it asked who was to have it? Another then named the person, and to him it was carried. As the bowl grew low, the man who distributed the liquor seemed rather at a loss to whom cups of it should be next sent, and frequently consulted those who sat near him. This mode of distribution continued while any liquor remained; and though not half the company had a share, yet no one seemed dissatisfied. About half-a-dozen cups served for all; and each, as it was emptied, was thrown down upon the ground, where the servants picked it up, and carried it to be filled again. During the whole time the chief and his circle sat, as was usually the case, with a great deal of gravity, hardly speaking a word to each other. We had long waited in expectation each moment of seeing the mourning ceremony begin; when, soon after the *kava* was drank out, to our great surprise and disappointment they all rose up and dispersed; and Poulaho told us he was now ready to attend us to the ships. If this was a mourning ceremony, it was a strange one. Perhaps it was the second, third, or fourth mourning; or, which was not very uncommon, Omai might have misunderstood what Poulaho said to him. For, excepting the change of dress, and the putting the green bough round their necks, nothing seemed to have passed at this meeting but what we saw them practise too frequently every day.

"* We had seen the drinking of *kava* sometimes at the other island, but by no means so frequently as here, where it seems to be the only forenoon employment of the principal people. The *kava* is a species of pepper which they cultivate for this purpose, and esteem it a valuable article, taking great care to defend the young plants from any injury; and it is commonly planted about their houses. It seldom grows to more than a man's height; though I have seen some plants almost double that. It branches considerably, with large heart-shaped leaves and jointed stalks. The root is the only part that is used at the Friendly Islands, which being dug up, is given to the servants that attend, who, breaking it in pieces, scrape the dirt off with a shell or bit of stick, and then each begins and chews his portion, which he spits into a piece of plantain leaf. The person who is to prepare the liquor, collects all these mouthfuls, and puts them into a large wooden dish or bowl, adding as much water as will make it of a proper strength. It is then well mixed up with the hands; and some loose stuff, of which mats are made, is thrown upon the surface, which intercepts the fibrous part, and is wrung hard to get as much liquid out from it as is possible. The manner of distributing it need not be repeated. The quantity which is put into each cup, is commonly about a quarter of a pint. The immediate effect of this beverage is not perceptible on these people, who use it so frequently; but on some of ours who ventured to try it, though so hastily prepared, it had the same power as spirits have in intoxicating them; or rather, it produced that kind of stupefaction which is the consequence of using opium, or other substances of that kind. It should be observed, at the same time, that though these islanders have this liquor always fresh prepared, and I have seen them drink it seven times before noon, it is, nevertheless, so disagreeable, or at least seems so, that the greatest part of them cannot swallow it without making wry faces, and shuddering afterward."

As soon as this mourning ceremony was over, we left Moua, and set out to return to the ships. While we rowed down the lagoon or inlet, we met with two canoes coming in from fishing. Poulaho ordered them to be called alongside our boat, and took from them every fish and shell they had got. He afterward stopped two other canoes and searched them, but they had nothing. Why this was done I cannot say, for we had plenty of provisions in the boat. Some of this fish he gave to me; and his servants sold the rest on board the ship. As we proceeded down the inlet, we overtook a large sailing-canoe. Every person on board

* The following account of *kava*, to the end of this paragraph, is inserted from Mr. Anderson's journal.

her that was upon his legs when we came up, sat down till we had passed; even the man who steered, though he could not manage the helm except in a standing posture.

Poulaho and others having informed me that there was some excellent water on Onevy, a little island which lies about a league off the mouth of the inlet, and on the north side of the eastern channel, we landed there in order to taste it. But I found it to be as brackish as most that we had met with. This island is quite in a natural state, being only frequented as a fishing-place, and has nearly the same productions as Palmerston's Island, with some *etoa* trees. After leaving Onevy, where we dined, in our way to the ship, we took a view of a curious coral rock, which seems to have been thrown upon the reef where it stands. It is elevated about ten or twelve feet above the surface of the sea that surrounds it. The base it rests upon is not above one-third of the circumference of its projecting summit, which I judged to be about one hundred feet, and is covered with *etoa* and *pandanus* trees.

When we got on board the ship, I found that everything had been quiet during my absence, not a theft having been committed; of which Feenou and Futtafaihe, the king's brother, who had undertaken the management of his countrymen, boasted not a little. This shows what power the chiefs have when they have the will to execute it, which we were seldom to expect, since whatever was stolen from us, generally, if not always, was conveyed to them. The good conduct of the natives was of short duration; for the next day six or eight of them assaulted some of our people who were sawing planks. They were fired upon by the sentry; and one was supposed to be wounded, and three others taken. These I kept confined till night, and did not dismiss them without punishment. After this they behaved with a little more circumspection, and gave us much less trouble. This change of behaviour was certainly occasioned by the man being wounded; for, before they had only been told of the effect of fire-arms, but now they had felt it. The repeated insolence of the natives had induced me to order the muskets of the sentries to be loaded with small-shot, and to authorise them to fire on particular occasions. I took it for granted, therefore, that this man had only been wounded with small-shot. But Mr. King and Mr. Anderson, in an excursion into the country, met with him, and found indubitable marks of his having been wounded, but not dangerously, with a musket-ball. I never could find out how this musket happened to be charged with ball; and there were people enough ready to swear that its contents were only small-shot.

Mr. Anderson's account of the excursion just mentioned, will fill up an interval of two days, during which nothing of note happened at the ships:—" Mr. King and I went, on the 30th, along with Futtafaihe as visitors to his house, which is at Moua, very near that of his brother, Poulaho. A short time after we arrived, a pretty large hog was killed; which is done by repeated strokes on the head. The hair was then scraped off very dexterously with the sharp edge of pieces of split bamboo; taking the entrails out at a large oval hole cut in the belly by the same simple instrument. Before this, they had prepared an oven; which is a large hole dug in the earth, filled at the bottom with stones about the size of the fist, over which a fire is made till they are red-hot. They took some of these stones wrapped up in leaves of the bread-fruit tree, and filled the hog's belly, stuffing in a quantity of leaves to prevent their falling out, and putting a plug of the same kind in the *anus*. The carcase was then placed on some sticks laid across the stones in a sitting posture, and covered with a great quantity of plantain leaves. After which they dug up the earth all round; and having thus effectually closed the oven, the operation of baking required no farther interference.

" In the mean time we walked about the country, but met with nothing remarkable except a *fiatooka* of one house, standing on an artificial mount, at least thirty feet high. A little on one side of it was a pretty large open area; and, not far off, was a good deal of uncultivated ground; which, on inquiring why it lay waste, our guides seemed to say, belonged to the *fiatooka* (which was Poulaho's), and was not by any means to be touched. There was also, at no great distance, a number of *etoa* trees, on which clung vast numbers of the large *ternate* bats, making a disagreeable noise. We could not kill any at this time for want of muskets; but some that were got at Annamooka measured near three feet when the wings were extended. On our returning to Futtafaihe's house, he ordered the hog that had

been dressed to be produced, with several baskets of baked yams, and some cocoa-nuts. But we found, that instead of his entertaining us, we were to entertain him; the property of the feast being entirely transferred to us as his guests, and we were to dispose of it as we pleased. The same person who cleaned the hog in the morning now cut it up (but not before we desired him,) in a very dexterous manner, with a knife of split bamboo; dividing the several parts, and hitting the joints with a quickness and skill that surprised us very much. The whole was set down before us, though at least fifty pounds weight, until we took a small piece away, and desired that they would share the rest amongst the people sitting round. But it was not without a great many scruples they did that at last; and then they asked what particular persons they should give it to. However, they were very well pleased when they found that it was not contrary to any custom of ours; some carrying off the portion they had received, and others eating it upon the spot. It was with great difficulty that we could prevail upon Futtafaihe himself to eat a small bit.

"After dinner we went with him and five or six people, his attendants, toward the place where Poulaho's mourning ceremony was transacted, the last time we were at Mooa; but we did not enter the inclosure. Every person who went with us had the mat tied over his cloth, and some leaves about the neck, as had been done on the former occasion; and when we arrived at a large open boat-house, where a few people were, they threw away their leaves, sat down before it, and gave their cheeks a few gentle strokes with the fist; after which they continued sitting for about ten minutes, with a very grave appearance, and then dispersed without having spoken a single word. This explained what Poulaho had mentioned about *Tooge;* though, from the operation only lasting a few seconds, he had not been observed to perform it. And this seems to be only a continuation of the mourning ceremony by way of condolence. For, upon inquiring on whose account it was now performed, we were told that it was for a chief who had died at Vavavoo some time ago; that they had practised it ever since, and should continue to do so for a considerable time longer.

"In the evening we had a pig dressed as the hog, with yams and cocoa-nuts, brought for supper; and Futtafaihe finding that we did not like the scruples they had made before, to accept of any part of the entertainment, asked us immediately to share it, and give it to whom we pleased. When supper was over, abundance of cloth was brought for us to sleep in; but we were a good deal disturbed by a singular instance of luxury, in which their principal men indulged themselves, that of being beat while they are asleep. Two women sat by Futtafaihe and performed this operation, which is called *tooge tooge*, by beating briskly on his body and legs with both fists as on a drum, till he fell asleep, and continuing it the whole night with some short intervals. When once the person is asleep they abate a little in the strength and quickness of the beating; but resume it, if they observe any appearance of his awaking. In the morning, we found that Futtafaihe's women relieved each other, and went to sleep by turns. In any other country it would be supposed that such a practice would put an end to all rest; but here it certainly acts as an opiate, and is a strong proof of what habit may effect. The noise of this, however, was not the only thing that kept us awake; for the people who passed the night in the house, not only conversed amongst each other frequently, as in the day, but all got up before it was light, and made a hearty meal on fish and yams, which were brought to them by a person who seemed to know very well the appointed time for this nocturnal refreshment.

"Next morning we set out with Futtafaihe, and walked down the east side of the bay to the point. The country all along this side is well cultivated; but, in general, not so much inclosed as at Mooa; and amongst many other plantain fields that we passed, there was one at least a mile long, which was in excellent order, every tree growing with great vigour. We found that, in travelling, Futtafaihe exercised a power, though by no means wantonly, which pointed out the great authority of such principal men; or is, perhaps, only annexed to those of the royal family. For he sent to one place for fish, to another for yams, and so on, at other places; and all his orders were obeyed with the greatest readiness, as if he had been absolute master of the people's property. On coming to the point, the natives mentioned something of one who, they said, had been fired at by some of our people; and,

upon our wishing to see him, they conducted us to a house, where we found a man who had been shot through the shoulder, but not dangerously, as the ball had entered a little above the inner part of the collar-bone, and passed out obliquely backward. We were sure, from the state of the wound, that he was the person who had been fired at by one of the sentinels, three days before; though positive orders had been given, that none of them should load their pieces with anything but small-shot. We gave some directions to his friends how to manage the wound, to which no application had been made; and they seemed pleased when we told them it would get well in a certain time. But, on our going away, they asked us to send the wounded man some yams and other things for food; and in such a manner, that we could not help thinking they considered it to be our duty to support him till he should get well.

"In the evening we crossed the bay to our station in a canoe which Futtafaihe had exercised his prerogative in procuring, by calling to the first that passed by. He had also got a large hog at this place; and brought a servant from his house with a bundle of cloth, which he wanted us to take with us as a present from him. But the boat being small, we objected; and he ordered it to be brought over to us the next day."

I had prolonged my stay at this island on account of the approaching eclipse; but, on the second of July, on looking at the micrometer belonging to the Board of Longitude, I found some of the rack-work broken, and the instrument useless till repaired; which there was not time to do before it was intended to be used. Preparing now for our departure, I got on board this day all the cattle, poultry, and other animals, except such as were destined to remain. I had designed to leave a turkey-cock and hen; but having now only two of each undisposed of, one of the hens, through the ignorance of one of my people, was strangled and died upon the spot. I had brought three turkey-hens to these islands. One was killed as above mentioned; and the other by a useless dog belonging to one of the officers. These two accidents put it out of my power to leave a pair here; and, at the same time, to carry the breed to Otaheite, for which island they were originally intended. I was sorry afterward that I did not give the preference to Tongataboo, as the present would have been of more value there than at Otaheite; for the natives of the former island, I am persuaded, would have taken more pains to multiply the breed.

The next day we took up our anchor, and moved the ships behind Pangimodoo, that we might be ready to take the advantage of the first favourable wind to get through the narrows. The king, who was one of our company this day at dinner, I observed took particular notice of the plates. This occasioned me to make him an offer of one, either of pewter, or of earthenware. He chose the first; and then began to tell us the several uses to which he intended to apply it. Two of them are so extraordinary, that I cannot omit mentioning them. He said, that whenever he should have occasion to visit any of the other islands, he would leave this plate behind him at Tongataboo, as a sort of representative in his absence, that the people might pay it the same obeisance they do to himself in person. He was asked what had been usually employed for this purpose before he got this plate; and we had the satisfaction of learning from him that this singular honour had hitherto been conferred on a wooden bowl in which he washed his hands. The other extraordinary use to which he meant to apply it in the room of his wooden bowl, was to discover a thief. He said that when anything was stolen, and the thief could not be found out, the people were all assembled before him, when he washed his hands in water in this vessel; after which it was cleaned, and then the whole multitude advanced, one after another, and touched it in the same manner that they touch his foot when they pay him obeisance. If the guilty person touched it, he died immediately upon the spot; not by violence, but by the hand of Providence; and if any one refused to touch it, his refusal was a clear proof that he was the man.

In the morning of the 5th, the day of the eclipse, the weather was dark and cloudy, with showers of rain; so that we had little hopes of an observation. About nine o'clock the sun broke out at intervals for about half an hour; after which it was totally obscured till within a minute or two of the beginning of the eclipse. We were all at our telescopes, viz. Mr. Bayly, Mr King, Captain Clerke, Mr. Bligh, and myself. I lost the observation by not

having a dark glass at hand, suitable to the clouds that were continually passing over the sun; and Mr. Bligh had not got the sun into the field of his telescope; so that the commencement of the eclipse was only observed by the other three gentlemen, and by them with an uncertainty of several seconds, as follows:—

	H.	M.	S.	
By Mr. Bayly, at	11	46	23¼	Apparent time.
Mr. King, at	11	46	28	
Capt. Clerke, at	11	47	5	

Mr. Bayly and Mr. King observed with the achromatic telescopes, belonging to the Board of Longitude, of equal magnifying powers; and Captain Clerke observed with one of the reflectors. The sun appeared at intervals, till about the middle of the eclipse; after which it was seen no more during the day; so that the end could not be observed. The disappointment was of little consequence, since the longitude was more than sufficiently determined, independently of this eclipse, by lunar observations, which will be mentioned hereafter.

As soon as we knew the eclipse to be over, we packed up the instruments, took down the observatories, and sent everything on board that had not been already removed. As none of the natives had taken the least notice or care of the three sheep allotted to Mareewagee, I ordered them to be carried back to the ships. I was apprehensive that, if I had left them here, they ran great risk of being destroyed by dogs. That animal did not exist upon this island, when I first visited it in 1773; but I now found they had got a good many, partly from the breed then left by myself, and partly from some imported, since that time, from an island not very remote, called Feejee. The dogs, however, at present, had not found their way into any of the Friendly Islands, except Tongataboo; and none but the chiefs there had as yet got possession of any.

Being now upon the eve of our departure from this island, I shall add some particulars about it, and its productions, for which I am indebted to Mr. Anderson. And, having spent as many weeks there, as I had done days* when I visited it in 1773, the better opportunities that now occurred of gaining more accurate information, and the skill of that gentleman in directing his inquiries, will, in some measure, supply the imperfection of my former account of this island.

"Amsterdam, Tongataboo, or (as the natives also very frequently call it) Tonga, is about twenty leagues in circuit, somewhat oblong, though, by much, broadest at the east end; and its greatest length from east to west. The south shore, which I saw in 1773, is straight, and consists of coral rocks, eight or ten feet high, terminating perpendicularly, except in some places, where it is interrupted by small sandy beaches; on which, at low water, a range of black rocks may be seen. The west end is not above five or six miles broad, but has a shore somewhat like that of the south side; whereas the whole north side is environed with shoals and islands, and the shore within them low and sandy. The east side or end is, most probably, like the south; as the shore begins to assume a rocky appearance toward the north-east point, though not above seven or eight feet high. The island may, with the greatest propriety, be called a low one, as the trees, on the west part, where we now lay at anchor, only appeared; and the only eminent part, which can be seen from a ship, is the south-east point; though many gently rising and declining grounds are observable by one who is ashore. The general appearance of the country does not afford that beautiful kind of landscape that is produced from a variety of hills and valleys, lawns, rivulets, and cascades; but, at the same time, it conveys to the spectator an idea of the most exuberant fertility, whether we respect the places improved by art, or those still in a natural state; both which yield all their vegetable productions with the greatest vigour and perpetual verdure. At a distance, the surface seems entirely clothed with trees of various sizes; some of which are very large. But above the rest, the tall cocoa-palms always raise their tufted heads; and are far from being the smallest ornament to any country that produces them. The *boogo*, which is a species of fig, with narrow-pointed leaves, is the largest sized tree of

* From the 4th to the 7th of October

the island; and on the uncultivated spots, especially toward the sea, the most common bushes and small trees are the *pandanus;* several sorts of *hibiscus;* the *faitanoo*, mentioned more than once in the course of our voyage; and a few others. It ought also to be observed, that though the materials for forming grand landscapes are wanting, there are many of what might, at least, be called neat prospects, about the cultivated grounds and dwelling-places; but more especially about the *fiatookas;* where sometimes art, and sometimes nature, has done much to please the eye.

"From the situation of Tongataboo, toward the tropic, the climate is more variable, than in countries farther within that line; though, perhaps, that might be owing to the season of the year, which was now the winter solstice. The winds are, for the most part, from some point between south and east; and when moderate are commonly attended with fine weather. When they blow fresher, the weather is often cloudy, though open; and, in such cases, there is frequently rain. The wind sometimes veers to the north-east, north-north-east, or even north-north-west, but never lasts long, nor blows strong from thence; though it is commonly accompanied by heavy rain, and close sultry weather. The quick succession of vegetables has been already mentioned; but I am not certain that the changes of weather, by which it is brought about, are considerable enough to make them perceptible to the natives as to their method of life, or rather that they should be very sensible of the different seasons. This, perhaps, may be inferred from the state of their vegetable productions, which are never so much affected, with respect to the foliage, as to shed that all at once; for every leaf is succeeded by another, as fast as it falls; which causes that appearance of universal and continual spring found here.

"The basis of the island, as far as we know, is entirely a coral rock, which is the only sort that presents itself on the shore. Nor did we see the least appearance of any other stone, except a few small blue pebbles strewed about the *fiatookas;* and the smooth, solid black stone, something like the *lapis lydius*, of which the natives make their hatchets. But these may, probably, have been brought from other islands in the neighbourhood; for a piece of slaty, iron-coloured stone was bought at one of them, which was never seen here. Though the coral projects in many places above the surface, the soil is, in general, of a considerable depth. In all cultivated places it is commonly of a loose black colour; produced, seemingly, in a great measure from the rotten vegetables that are planted there. Underneath which is, very probably, a clayey stratum; for a soil of that kind is often seen both in the low and in the rising grounds; but especially in several places toward the shore, where it is of any height; and, when broken off, appears sometimes of a reddish, though oftener of a brownish yellow colour, and of a pretty stiff consistence. Where the shore is low, the soil is commonly sandy, or rather composed of triturated coral; which, however, yields bushes growing with great luxuriance; and is sometimes planted, not unsuccessfully, by the natives.

"Of cultivated fruits, the principal are,—plantains; of which they have fifteen different sorts or varieties; bread-fruit; two sorts of fruit found at Otaheite, and known there under the names of *jambu* and *reevee;* the latter a kind of plum; and vast numbers of shaddocks, which, however, are found as often in a natural state as planted. The roots are,—yams, of which are two sorts; one black, and so large, that it often weighs twenty or thirty pounds; the other white and long, seldom weighing a pound; a large root called *kappe;* one not unlike our white potatoes, called *mawhaha;* the *talo*, or *coccos*, of other places; and another, named *jeejee*.

"Besides vast numbers of cocoa-nut-trees, they have three other sorts of palms, two of which are very scarce. One of them is called *beeoo;* which grows almost as high as the cocoa-tree, has very large leaves plaited like a fan, and clusters or bunches of globular nuts, not larger than a small pistol-ball, growing amongst the branches, with a very hard kernel, which is sometimes eaten. The other is a kind of cabbage-tree, not distinguishable from the cocoa, but by being rather thicker, and by having its leaves more ragged. It has a cabbage three or four feet long; at the top of which are the leaves, and at the bottom the fruit, which is scarcely two inches long, resembling an oblong cocoa-nut, with an insipid tenacious kernel, called, by the natives, *neeoogoola*, or red cocoa-nut, as it assumes a reddish

cast when ripe. The third sort is called *ongo ongo*, and much commoner, being generally found planted about their *fiatookas*. It seldom grows higher than five feet, though sometimes to eight; and has a vast number of oval compressed nuts, as large as a pippin, sticking immediately to the trunk amongst the leaves, which are not eaten. There is plenty of excellent sugar-cane, which is cultivated; gourds; bamboo; turmeric; and a species of fig, about the size of a small cherry, called *mattee*, which, though wild, is sometimes eaten. But the catalogue of uncultivated plants is too large to be enumerated here. Besides the *Pemphis decasperinum*, *mallococca*, *maba*, and some other new genera, described by Doctor Foster *, there are a few more found here; which perhaps the different seasons of the year, and his short stay, did not give him an opportunity to take notice of. Although it did not appear, during our longer stay, that above a fourth part of the trees and other plants were in flower; a circumstance absolutely necessary to enable one to distinguish the various kinds.

"The only quadrupeds besides hogs are a few rats and some dogs, which are not natives of the place, but produced from some left by us in 1773, and by others got from Feejee. Fowls, which are of a large breed, are domesticated here. Amongst the birds are parrots, somewhat smaller than the common grey ones, of an indifferent green on the back and wings, the tail blueish, and the rest of a sooty or chocolate brown; parroquets not larger than a sparrow, of a fine yellowish green, with bright azure on the crown of the head, and the throat and belly red; besides another sort as large as a dove, with a blue crown and thighs, the throat and under part of the head crimson, as also part of the belly, and the rest a beautiful green. There are owls about the size of our common sort, but of a finer plumage; the cuckoos mentioned at Palmerston's Island; kingfishers about the size of a thrush, of a greenish-blue, with a white ring about the neck; and a bird of the thrush kind, almost as big, of a dull green colour, with two yellow wattles at the base of the bill, which is the only singing one we observed here; but it compensates a good deal for the want of others by the strength and melody of its notes, which fill the woods at dawn, in the evening, and at the breaking up of bad weather.

"The other land-birds are,—rails as large as a pigeon, of a variegated grey colour, with a rusty neck; a black sort with red eyes, not larger than a lark; large violet-coloured coots with red bald crowns; two sorts of fly-catchers; a very small swallow; and three sorts of pigeons, one of which is *le ramier cuivre* of Mons. Sonnerat †; another, half the size of the common sort, of a light green on the back and wings, with a red forehead; and a third, somewhat less, of a purple brown, but whitish underneath. Of water-fowl, and such as frequent the sea, are the ducks seen at Annamooka, though scarce here; blue and white herons; tropic birds; common noddies; white terns; a new species of a leaden colour, with a black crest; a small blueish curlew; and a large plover spotted with yellow. Besides the large bats, mentioned before, there is also the common sort.

"The only noxious or disgusting animals of the reptile or insect tribe, are sea-snakes, three feet long, with black and white circles alternately, often found on shore; some scorpions and centipedes. There are fine green guanoes, a foot and a half long; another brown and spotted lizard about a foot long; and two other small sorts. Amongst the other insects are some beautiful moths, butterflies, very large spiders, and others; making in the whole about fifty different sorts. The sea abounds with fish, though the variety is less than might be expected. The most frequent sorts are mullets; several sorts of parrot-fish; silver-fish; old wives; some beautifully spotted soles; leather-jackets; bonnetos; and albicores; besides the eels mentioned at Palmerston's Island; some sharks; rays; pipe-fish; a sort of pike; and some curious devil-fish.

"The many reefs and shoals on the north side of the island afford shelter for an endless variety of shell-fish; amongst which are many that are esteemed precious in Europe. Such as the true hammer-oyster; of which, however, none could be obtained entire; a large indentated oyster; and several others, but none of the common sort; panamas; cones; a sort of gigantic cockle, found also in the East Indies; pearl-shell oysters, and many others;

* See his "Characteres Generum Plantarum." Lond. 1776.

† "Voyage à la Nouvelle Guinée." Tab. cit.

several of which, I believe, have been hitherto unknown to the most diligent inquirers after that branch of natural history. There are likwise several sorts of sea-eggs; and many very fine star-fish; besides a considerable variety of corals; amongst which are two red sorts, the one most elegantly branched, the other tubulous. And there is no less variety amongst the crabs and cray-fish, which are very numerous. To which may be added, several sorts of sponge; the sea-hare, *holothuriæ*, and the like."

CHAPTER IX.—A GRAND SOLEMNITY CALLED NATCHE, IN HONOUR OF THE KING'S SON, PERFORMED.—THE PROCESSIONS AND OTHER CEREMONIES, DURING THE FIRST DAY, DESCRIBED.—THE MANNER OF PASSING THE NIGHT AT THE KING'S HOUSE.—CONTINUATION OF THE SOLEMNITY THE NEXT DAY.—CONJECTURES ABOUT THE NATURE OF IT.—DEPARTURE FROM TONGATABOO, AND ARRIVAL AT EOOA.—ACCOUNT OF THAT ISLAND, AND TRANSACTIONS THERE.

WE were now ready to sail, but the wind being easterly, we had not sufficient daylight to turn through the narrows, either with the morning or with the evening flood; the one falling out too early and the other too late. So that, without a leading wind, we were under a necessity of waiting two or three days.

I took the opportunity of this delay to be present at a public solemnity, to which the king had invited us when we went last to visit him, and which he had informed us was to be performed on the 8th. With a view to this, he and all the people of note quitted our neighbourhood on the 7th, and repaired to Mooa, where the solemnity was to be exhibited. A party of us followed them the next morning. We understood, from what Poulaho had said to us, that his son and heir was now to be initiated into certain privileges; amongst which was that of eating with his father; an honour he had not as yet been admitted to. We arrived at Mooa about eight o'clock, and found the king with a large circle of attendants sitting before him, within an inclosure so small and dirty, as to excite my wonder that any such could be found in that neighbourhood. They were intent upon their usual morning occupation, in preparing a bowl of *kava*. As this was no liquor for us, we walked out to visit some of our friends, and to observe what preparations might be making for the ceremony, which was soon to begin. About ten o'clock the people began to assemble in a large area, which is before the *malaee*, or great house, to which we had been conducted the first time we visited Mooa. At the end of a road that opens into this area, stood some men with spears and clubs, who kept constantly reciting or chanting short sentences, in a mournful tone, which conveyed some idea of distress, and as if they called for something. This was continued about an hour; and, in the meantime, many people came down the road, each of them bringing a yam tied to the middle of a pole, which they laid down before the persons who continued repeating the sentences. While this was going on, the king and prince arrived, and seated themselves upon the area; and we were desired to sit down by them, but to pull off our hats, and to untie our hair. The bearers of the yams being all come in, each pole was taken up between two men, who carried it over their shoulders. After forming themselves into companies of ten or twelve persons each, they marched across the place with a quick pace, each company headed by a man bearing a club or spear, and guarded on the right by several others armed with different weapons. A man carrying a living pigeon on a perch closed the rear of the procession, in which about two hundred and fifty persons walked.

Omai was desired by me to ask the chief to what place the yams were to be thus carried with so much solemnity; but as he seemed unwilling to give us the information we wanted, two or three of us followed the procession, contrary to his inclination. We found that they stopped before a *morai* or *fiatooka* * of one house standing upon a mount, which was hardly a quarter of a mile from the place where they first assembled. Here we observed them depositing the yams, and making them up into bundles; but for what purpose we could not learn. And as our presence seemed to give them uneasiness, we left them, and returned to

* This is the *fiatooka* mentioned above by Mr. Anderson, p. 123.

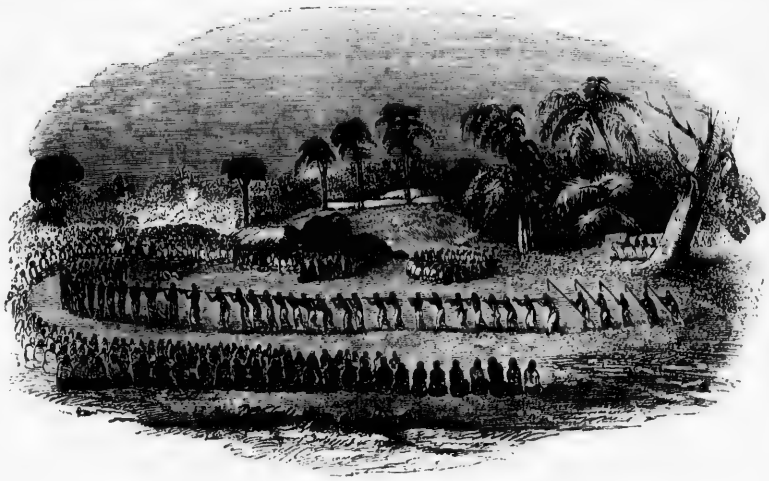
Poulaho, who told us we might amuse ourselves by walking about, as nothing would be done for some time. The fear of losing any part of the ceremony prevented our being long absent. When we returned to the king, he desired me to order the boat's crew not to stir from the boat; for, as everything would very soon be *taboo*, if any of our people, or of their own, should be found walking about, they would be knocked down with clubs; nay, *mateed*, that is, killed. He also acquainted us that we could not be present at the ceremony; but that we should be conducted to a place where we might see everything that passed. Objections were made to our dress. We were told that, to qualify us to be present, it was necessary that we should be naked as low as the breast, with our hats off and our hair untied. Omai offered to conform to these requisites, and began to strip; other objections were then started, so that the exclusion was given to him equally with ourselves.

I did not much like this restriction; and therefore stole out to see what might now be going forward. I found very few people stirring, except those dressed to attend the ceremony; some of whom had in their hands small poles about four feet long, and to the under part of these were fastened two or three other sticks not bigger than one's finger, and about six inches in length. These men were going toward the *morai* just mentioned. I took the same road, and was several times stopped by them, all crying out *taboo*. However, I went forward without much regarding them, till I came in sight of the *morai*, and of the people who were sitting before it. I was now urged very strongly to go back; and not knowing what might be the consequence of a refusal, I complied. I had observed that the people who carried the poles passed this *morai*, or what I may as well call temple; and guessing, from this circumstance, that something was transacting beyond it which might be worth looking at, I had thoughts of advancing, by making a round for this purpose; but I was so closely watched by three men, that I could not put my design in execution. In order to shake these fellows off, I returned to the *malaee*, where I had left the king, and from thence made an elopement a second time; but I instantly met with the same three men; so that it seemed as if they had been ordered to watch my motions. I paid no regard to what they said or did till I came within sight of the king's principal *fiatooka* or *morai*, which I have already described *, before which a great number of men were sitting, being the same persons whom I had just before seen pass by the other *morai*, from which this was but a little distant. Observing that I could watch the proceedings of this company from the king's plantation, I repaired thither, very much to the satisfaction of those who attended me.

As soon as I got in, I acquainted the gentlemen who had come with me from the ships with what I had seen; and we took a proper station to watch the result. The number of people at the *fiatooka* continued to increase for some time; and at length we could see them quit their sitting posture, and march off in procession. They walked in pairs, one after another, every pair carrying between them one of the small poles above-mentioned on their shoulders. We were told that the small pieces of sticks fastened to the poles were yams; so that, probably, they were meant to represent this root emblematically. The hindmost man of each couple, for the most part, placed one of his hands to the middle of the pole, as if, without this additional support, it were not strong enough to carry the weight that hung to it, and under which they all seemed to bend as they walked. This procession consisted of one hundred and eight pairs, and all, or most of them, men of rank. They came close by the fence behind which we stood, so that we had a full view of them. Having waited here till they had all passed, we then repaired to Poulaho's house, and saw him going out. We could not be allowed to follow him; but were forthwith conducted to the place allotted to us, which was behind a fence, adjoining to the area of the *fiatooka* where the yams had been deposited in the forenoon. As we were not the only people who were excluded from being publicly present at this ceremony, but allowed to peep from behind the curtain, we had a good deal of company; and I observed that all the other inclosures round the place were filled with people. And yet all imaginable care seemed to be taken that they should see as little as possible; for the fences had not only been repaired that morning, but in many places raised higher than common, so that the tallest man could not look over them. To remedy this defect in our station, we took the liberty to cut holes in the fence

* See p. 120.

with our knives; and by this means we could see pretty distinctly everything that was transacting on the other side.



NATCHE IN HONOUR OF THE KING'S SON.

On our arrival at our station, we found two or three hundred people sitting on the grass near the end of the road that opened into the area of the *morai*, and the number continually increased, by others joining them. At length arrived a few men carrying some small poles, and branches or leaves of the cocoa-nut tree; and upon their first appearance, an old man seated himself in the road, and, with his face towards them, pronounced a long oration in a serious tone. He then retired back, and the others advancing to the middle of the area, began to erect a small shed, employing for that purpose the materials above-mentioned. When they had finished their work, they all squatted down for a moment before it, then rose up and retired to the rest of the company. Soon after came Poulaho's son, preceded by four or five men, and they seated themselves a little aside from the shed, and rather behind it. After them appeared twelve or fourteen women of the first rank, walking slowly in pairs, each pair carrying between them a narrow piece of white cloth, extended about two or three yards in length. These marched up to the prince, squatted down before him, and, having wrapped some of the pieces of the cloth they had brought round his body, they rose up and retired in the same order, to some distance on his left, and there seated themselves. Poulaho himself soon made his appearance, preceded by four men, who walked two and two abreast, and sat down on his son's left hand, about twenty paces from him. The young prince then quitting his first position, went and sat down under the shed with his attendants; and a considerable number more placed themselves on the grass before this royal canopy. The prince himself sat facing the people, with his back to the *morai*. This being done, three companies, of ten or a dozen men in each, started up from amongst the large crowd, a little after each other, and running hastily to the opposite side of the area, sat down for a few seconds, after which they returned in the same manner to their former stations. To them succeeded two men, each of whom held a small green branch in his hand, who got up and approached the prince, sitting down for a few seconds three different times as they advanced; and then turning their backs, retired in the same manner, inclining their branches to each other as they sat. In a little time two more repeated this ceremony.

The grand procession which I had seen march off from the other *morai* now began to come on. To judge of the circuit they had made from the time they had been absent, it must have

been pretty large. As they entered the area, they marched up to the right of the shed, and, having prostrated themselves on the grass, deposited their pretended burthens (the poles above-mentioned), and faced round to the prince. They then rose up and retired in the same order, closing their hands, which they held before them, with the most serious aspect, and seated themselves along the front of the area. During all the time that this numerous band were coming in, and depositing their poles, three men, who sat under the shed with the prince, continued pronouncing separate sentences in a melancholy tone. After this a profound silence ensued for a little time, and then a man, who sat in the front of the area, began an oration (or prayer), during which, at several different times, he went and broke one of the poles which had been brought in by those who had walked in procession. When he had ended, the people sitting before the shed separated, to make a lane, through which the prince and his attendants passed, and the assembly broke up.

Some of our party, satisfied with what they had already seen, now returned to the ships, but I, and two or three more of the officers, remained at Moua, to see the conclusion of the solemnity, which was not to be till the next day; being desirous of omitting no opportunity which might afford any information about the religious or the political institutions of this people. The small sticks, or poles, which had been brought into the area by those who walked in procession, being left lying on the ground after the crowd had dispersed, I went and examined them. I found that, to the middle of each, two or three small sticks were tied, as has been related. Yet we had been repeatedly told by the natives who stood near us that they were young yams; insomuch that some of our gentlemen believed them rather than their own eyes. As I had the demonstration of my senses to satisfy me that they were not real yams, it is clear that we ought to have understood them, that they were only the artificial representations of these roots.

Our supper was got ready about seven o'clock. It consisted of fish and yams. We might have had pork also; but we did not choose to kill a large hog which the king had given to us for that purpose. He supped with us, and drank pretty freely of brandy-and-water; so that he went to bed with a sufficient dose. We passed the night in the same house with him and several of his attendants. About one or two o'clock in the morning, they waked and conversed for about an hour, and then went to sleep again. All but Poulaho himself rose at daybreak, and went I know not whither. Soon after a woman, one of those who generally attended upon the chief, came in and inquired where he was. I pointed him out to her; and she immediately sat down by him, and began the same operation which Mr. Anderson had seen practised upon Futtafaihe, tapping or beating gently with her clenched fists on his thighs. This, instead of prolonging his sleep, as was intended, had the contrary effect; however, though he awaked, he continued to lie down.

Omai and I now went to visit the prince, who had parted from us early in the evening: for he did not lodge with the king, but in apartments of his own, or at least such as had been allotted to him, at some distance from his father's house. We found him with a circle of boys, or youths about his own age, sitting before him; and an old woman and an old man, who seemed to have the care of him, sitting behind. There were others, both men and women, employed about their necessary affairs in different departments, who probably belonged to his household. From the prince we returned to the king. By this time he had got up, and had a crowded circle before him, composed chiefly of old men. While a large bowl of *kava* was preparing, a baked hog and yams, smoking hot, were brought in, the greatest part of which fell to our share, and was very acceptable to the boat's crew; for these people eat very little in the morning, especially the *kava* drinkers. I afterward walked out and visited several other chiefs, and found that all of them were taking their morning draught or had already taken it. Returning to the king, I found him asleep in a small retired hut, with two women tapping on his breech. About eleven o'clock he arose again; and then some fish and yams, which tasted as if they had been stewed in cocoa nut milk, were brought to him. Of these he ate a large portion, and lay down once more to sleep. I now left him, and carried to the prince a present of cloth, beads, and other articles, which I had brought with me from the ship for the purpose. There was a sufficient quantity of cloth to make him a complete suit, and he was immediately decked out with it. Proud of his

dress, he first went to show himself to his father, and then conducted me to his mother, with whom were about ten or a dozen other women of a respectable appearance. Here the prince changed his apparel, and made me a present of two pieces of the cloth manufactured in the island. By this time it was past noon, when, by appointment, I repaired to the palace to dinner. Several of our gentlemen had returned this morning from the ships; and we were all invited to the feast, which was presently served up, and consisted of two pigs and yams. I roused the drowsy monarch to partake of what he had provided for our entertainment. In the mean time, two mullets and some shell-fish were brought to him, as I supposed, for his separate portion; but he joined it to our fare, sat down with us, and made a hearty meal.

When dinner was over, we were told that the ceremony would soon begin, and were strictly enjoined not to walk out. I had resolved, however, to peep no longer from behind the curtain, but to mix with the actors themselves if possible. With this view I stole out from the plantation, and walked toward the *morai*, the scene of the solemnity. I was several times desired to go back by people whom I met; but I paid no regard to them, and they suffered me to pass on. When I arrived at the *morai*, I found a number of men seated on the side of the area on each side of the road that leads up to it. A few were sitting on the opposite side of the area, and two men in the middle of it, with their faces turned to the *morai*. When I got into the midst of the first company, I was desired to sit down, which I accordingly did. Where I sat there were lying a number of small bundles or parcels, composed of cocoa-nut leaves, and tied to sticks made into the form of hand-barrows. All the information I could get about them was, that they were *taboo*. Our number kept continually increasing, every one coming from the same quarter. From time to time, one or another of the company turned himself to those who were coming to join us, and made a short speech, in which I could remark that the word *arekee*, that is, king, was generally mentioned. One man said something that produced bursts of hearty laughter from all the crowd; others of the speakers met with public applause. I was several times desired to leave the place; and, at last, when they found that I would not stir, after some seeming consultation, they applied to me to uncover my shoulders as theirs were. With this request I complied, and then they seemed to be no longer uneasy at my presence.

I sat a full hour without anything more going forward beside what I have mentioned. At length the prince, the women, and the king, all came in, as they had done the day before. The prince, being placed under the shed, after his father's arrival, two men, each carrying a piece of mat, came, repeating something seriously, and put them about him. The assembled people now began their operations; and first, three companies ran backward and forward across the area, as described in the account of the proceedings of the former day. Soon after, the two men who sat in the middle of the area made a short speech or prayer; and then the whole body amongst whom I had my place, started up, and ran and seated themselves before the shed under which the prince and three or four men were sitting. I was now partly under the management of one of the company, who seemed very assiduous to serve me. By his means, I was placed in such a situation, that if I had been allowed to make use of my eyes, nothing that passed could have escaped me. But it was necessary to sit with downcast looks, and demure as maids.

Soon after, the procession came in, as on the day before; each two persons bearing on their shoulders a pole, round the middle of which a cocoa-nut leaf was plaited. These were deposited with ceremonies similar to those observed on the preceding day. This first procession was followed by a second; the men composing which brought baskets, such as are usually employed by this people to carry provisions in, and made of palm-leaves. These were followed by a third procession, in which were brought different kinds of small fish; each fixed at the end of a forked stick. The baskets were carried up to an old man, whom I took to be the chief-priest, and who sat on the prince's right hand, without the shed. He held each in his hand, while he made a short speech or prayer, then laid it down, and called for another, repeating the same words as before; and thus he went through the whole number of baskets. The fish were presented one by one on the forked sticks, as they came in, to two men who sat on the left; and who, till now, held green branches in their hands. The first fish they laid down on their right, and the second on their left. When the third

was presented, a stout-looking man, who sat behind the other two, reached his arm over between them, and made a snatch at it; as also did the other two, at the very same time. Thus they seemed to contend for every fish that was presented; but as there were two hands against one, besides the advantage of situation, the man behind got nothing but pieces; for he never quitted his hold till the fish was torn out of his hand; and what little remained in it he shook out behind him. The others laid what they got on the right and left alternately. At length, either by accident or design, the man behind got possession of a whole fish, without either of the other two so much as touching it. At this the word *mareeai*, which signifies "very good," or "well done," was uttered in a low voice throughout the whole crowd. It seemed that he had performed now all that was expected from him; for he made no attempt upon the few fish that came after. These fish, as also the baskets, were all delivered, by the persons who brought them in, sitting; and in the same order and manner the small poles, which the first procession carried, had been laid upon the ground.

The last procession being closed, there was some speaking or praying by different persons. Then, on some signal being given, we all started up, ran several paces to the left, and sat down with our backs to the prince, and the few who remained with him. I was desired not to look behind me. However, neither this injunction, nor the remembrance of Lot's wife, discouraged me from facing about. I now saw that the prince had turned his face to the *morai*. But this last movement had brought so many people between him and me, that I could not perceive what was doing. I was afterwards assured, that at this very time, the prince was admitted to the high honour of eating with his father, which till now had never been permitted to him; a piece of roasted yam being presented to each of them for this purpose. This was the more probable, as we had been told beforehand that this was to happen during the solemnity, and as all the people turned their backs to them at this time, which they always do when their monarch eats.

After some little time, we all faced about, and formed a semicircle before the prince, leaving a large open space between us. Presently there appeared some men coming toward us, two and two, bearing large sticks, or poles, upon their shoulders, making a noise that might be called singing, and waving their hands as they advanced. When they had got close up to us, they made a show of walking very fast, without proceeding a single step. Immediately after, three or four men started up from the crowd, with large sticks in their hands, who ran towards those newcomers. The latter instantly threw down the poles from their shoulders and scampered off; and the others attacked the poles; and, having beat them most unmercifully, returned to their places. As the pole-bearers ran off, they gave the challenge that is usual here in wrestling; and not long after, a number of stout fellows came from the same quarter, repeating the challenge as they advanced. These were opposed by a party who came from the opposite side almost at the same instant. The two parties paraded about the area for a few minutes, and then retired, each to their own side. After this, there were wrestling and boxing matches for about half an hour. Then two men seated themselves before the prince, and made speeches, addressed, as I thought, entirely to him. With this the solemnity ended, and the whole assembly broke up. I now went and examined the several baskets which had been presented; a curiosity that I was not allowed before to indulge; because everything was then *taboo*. But the solemnity being now over, they became simply what I found them to be, empty baskets. So that, whatever they were supposed to contain, was emblematically represented. And so, indeed, was every other thing which had been brought in procession, except the fish.

We endeavoured in vain to find out the meaning, not only of the ceremony in general, which is called *Natche*, but of its different parts. We seldom got any other answer to our inquiries, but *taboo;* a word which I have before observed, is applied to many other things. But as the prince was evidently the principal person concerned in it; and as we had been told by the king, ten days before the celebration of the *Natche*, that the people would bring in yams for him and his son to eat together; and as he even described some part of the ceremony, we concluded, from what he had then said, and from what we now saw, that an oath of allegiance, if I may so express myself, or solemn promise, was on this occasion made

to the prince, as the immediate successor to the regal dignity, to stand by him, and to furnish him with the several articles that were here emblematically represented. This seems the more probable, as all the principal people of the island, whom we had ever seen, assisted in the processions. But, be this as it may, the whole was conducted with a great deal of mysterious solemnity; and that there was a mixture of religion in the institution was evident, not only from the place where it was performed, but from the manner of performing it. Our dress and deportment had never been called in question upon any former occasion whatever. Now, it was expected that we should be uncovered as low as the waist; that our hair should be loose, and flowing over our shoulders; that we should, like themselves, sit cross-legged; and at times in the most humble posture, with downcast eyes, and hands locked together; all which requisites were most devoutly observed by the whole assembly. And, lastly, every one was excluded from the solemnity, but the principal people, and those who assisted in the celebration. All these circumstances were to me a sufficient testimony, that, upon this occasion, they considered themselves as acting under the immediate inspection of a Supreme Being.

The present *Natche* may be considered, from the above account of it, as merely figurative. For the small quantity of yams, which we saw the first day, could not be intended as a general contribution; and, indeed, we were given to understand, that they were a portion consecrated to the *Otooa* or divinity. But we were informed, that in about three months there would be performed, on the same account, a far more important and grander solemnity; on which occasion, not only the tribute of Tongataboo, but that of Hapaee, Vavaoo, and of all the other islands, would be brought to the chief, and confirmed more awfully, by sacrificing ten human victims from amongst the inferior sort of people. A horrid solemnity, indeed! and which is a most significant instance of the influence of gloomy and ignorant superstition, over the minds of one of the most benevolent and humane nations upon earth. On inquiring into the reasons of so barbarous a practice, they only said, that it was a necessary part of the *Natche;* and that if they omitted it, the deity would certainly destroy their king.

Before the assembly broke up, the day was far spent; and as we were at some distance from the ships, and had an intricate navigation to go through, we were in haste to set out from Mooa. When I took leave of Poulaho, he pressed me much to stay till the next day, to be present at a funeral ceremony. The wife of Mareewagee, who was mother-in-law to the king, had lately died; and her corpse had, on account of the *Natche*, been carried on board a canoe that lay in the lagoon. Poulaho told me, that as soon as he had paid the last offices to her, he would attend me to Eooa; but, if I did not wait, that he would follow me thither. I understood at the same time, that, if it had not been for the death of this woman, most of the chiefs would have accompanied us to that island; where, it seems, all of them have possessions. I would gladly have waited to see this ceremony also, had not the tide been now favourable for the ships to get through the narrows. The wind, besides, which for several days past had been very boisterous, was now moderate and settled; and to have lost this opportunity, might have detained us a fortnight longer. But what was decisive against my waiting, we understood that the funeral ceremonies would last five days, which was too long a time, as the ships lay in such a situation that I could not get to sea at pleasure. I, however, assured the king, that if we did not sail, I should certainly visit him again the next day. And so we all took leave of him, and set out for the ships, where we arrived about eight o'clock in the evening.

I had forgot to mention that Omai was present at the second day's ceremony, as well as myself; but we were not together; nor did I know that he was there, till it was almost over. He afterwards told me, that as soon as the king saw that I had stolen out from the plantation, he sent several people, one after another, to desire me to come back. Probably, these messengers were not admitted to the place where I was; for I saw nothing of them. At last, intelligence was brought to the chief, that I had actually stripped, in conformity to their custom; and then he told Omai, that he might be present also, if he would comply with all the necessary forms. Omai had no objection, as nothing was required of him, but to conform to the custom of his own country. Accordingly, he was furnished with a proper

dress, and appeared at the ceremony as one of the natives. It is likely, that one reason of our being excluded at first, was an apprehension that we would not submit to the requisites to qualify us to assist.

While I was attending the *Natche* at Mooa, I ordered the horses, bull and cow, and goats, to be brought thither; thinking that they would be safer there, under the eyes of the chiefs, than at a place that would be, in a manner, deserted, the moment after our departure. Besides the above-mentioned animals, we left, with our friends here, a young boar, and three young sows, of the English breed. They were exceedingly desirous of them, judging, no doubt, that they would greatly improve their own breed, which is rather small. Feenou also got from us two rabbits, a buck and a doe; and, before we sailed, we were told, that young ones had been already produced. If the cattle succeed, of which I make no doubt, it will be a vast acquisition to these islands; and, as Tongataboo is a fine level country, the horses cannot but be useful.

On the 10th, at eight o'clock in the morning, we weighed anchor, and with a steady gale at south-east, turned through the channel, between the small isles called Makkahaa and Monooafai; it being much wider than the channel between the last mentioned island and Pangimodoo. The flood set strong in our favour, till we were the length of the channel leading up to the lagoon, where the flood from the eastward meets that from the west. This, together with the indraught of the lagoon, and of the shoals before it, causeth strong ripplings and whirlpools. To add to these dangers, the depth of water in the channel exceeds the length of a cable; so that there is no anchorage, except close to the rocks, where we met with forty and forty-five fathoms, over a bottom of dark sand. But, then, here a ship would be exposed to the whirlpools. This frustrated the design which I had formed, of coming to an anchor, as soon as we were through the narrows, and of making an excursion to see the funeral. I chose rather to lose that ceremony, than to leave the ships in a situation in which I did not think them safe. We continued to ply to windward, between the two tides, without either gaining or losing an inch, till near high-water, when, by a favourable slant, we got into the eastern tide's influence. We expected there to find the ebb to run strong to the eastward in our favour; but it proved so inconsiderable, that, at any other time, it would not have been noticed. This informed us, that most of the water, which flows into the lagoon, comes from the north-west, and returns the same way. About five in the afternoon, finding that we could not get to sea before it was dark, I came to an anchor, under the shore of Tongataboo, in forty-five fathoms water; and about two cables'-length from the reef, that runs along that side of the island. The Discovery dropped anchor under our stern; but before the anchor took hold, she drove off the bank, and did not recover it till after midnight. We remained at this station, till eleven o'clock the next day, when we weighed and plied to the eastward. But it was ten at night before we weathered the east end of the island, and were enabled to stretch away for Middleburg, or Eooa (as it is called by the inhabitants), where we anchored at eight o'clock the next morning, in forty fathoms water, over a bottom of sand, interspersed with coral rocks; the extremes of the island extending, from N. 40° E. to S. 22° W.; the high land of Eooa, S. 45° E.; and Tongataboo, from N. 70° W. to N. 19° W.; distant about half a mile from the shore; being nearly the same place where I had my station in 1773, and then named by me, English Road.

We had no sooner anchored, than Taoofa the chief, and several other natives, visited us on board, and seemed to rejoice much at our arrival. This Taoofa* had been my *Tayo*, when I was here during my last voyage; consequently we were not strangers to each other. In a little time, I went ashore with him, in search of fresh water; the procuring of which was the chief object that brought me to Eooa. I had been told at Tongataboo, that there was here a stream running from the hills into the sea; but this was not the case now. I was first conducted to a brackish spring, between low and high water mark, amongst rocks in the cove where we landed, and where no one would ever have thought of looking for what we wanted. However, I believe the water of this spring might be good, were it

* In the account of Captain Cook's former voyage, he calls the only chief he then met with at this place, *Tioony*. See vol. I. p. 216.

possible to take it up, before the tide mixes with it. Finding that we did not like this, our friends took us a little way into the island; where, in a deep chasm, we found very good water; which, at the expense of some time and trouble, might be conveyed down to the shore, by means of spouts or troughs, that could be made with plantain leaves, and the stem of the tree. But, rather than to undertake that tedious task, I resolved to rest contented with the supply the ships had got at Tongataboo. Before I returned on board, I set on foot a trade for hogs and yams. Of the former we could procure but few; but of the latter, plenty. I put ashore, at this island, the ram and two ewes, of the Cape of Good Hope breed of sheep; entrusting them to the care of Taoofa, who seemed proud of his charge. It was fortunate, perhaps, that Mareewagee, to whom I had given them, as before-mentioned, slighted the present. Eooa, not having as yet got any dogs upon it, seems to be a properer place than Tongataboo for the rearing of sheep.

As we lay at anchor, this island bore a very different aspect from any we had lately seen, and formed a most beautiful landscape. It is higher than any we had passed, since leaving New Zealand (as Kao may justly be reckoned an immense rock), and from its top, which is almost flat, declines very gently toward the sea. As the other isles of this cluster are level, the eye can discover nothing but the trees that cover them; but here the land, rising gently upward, presents us with an extensive prospect, where groves of trees are only interspersed at irregular distances, in beautiful disorder, and the rest covered with grass. Near the shore, again, it is quite shaded with various trees, amongst which are the habitations of the natives; and to the right of our station, was one of the most extensive groves of cocoa-palms we had ever seen.

The 13th, in the afternoon, a party of us made an excursion to the highest part of the island, which was a little to the right of our ships, in order to have a full view of the country. About half way up, we crossed a deep valley, the bottom and sides of which, though composed of hardly anything but coral rock, were clothed with trees. We were now about two or three hundred feet above the level of the sea, and yet, even here, the coral was perforated into all the holes and inequalities, which usually diversify the surface of this substance within the reach of the tide. Indeed, we found the same coral, till we began to approach the summits of the highest hills; and it was remarkable, that these were chiefly composed of a yellowish, soft, sandy stone. The soil there is, in general, a reddish clay; which, in many places, seemed to be very deep. On the most elevated part of the whole island we found a round platform, or mount of earth, supported by a wall of coral stones; to bring which to such a height, must have cost much labour. Our guides told us that this mount had been erected by order of their chief; and that they sometimes met there to drink *kava*. They called it *Etchee;* by which name an erection which we had seen at Tongataboo, as already mentioned, was distinguished. Not many paces from it was a spring of excellent water; and, about a mile lower down, a running stream, which we were told found its way to the sea, when the rains were copious. We also met with water, in many little holes; and, no doubt, great plenty might be found, by digging. From the elevation to which we had ascended, we had a full view of the whole island, except a part of the south point. The south-east side, from which the highest hills we were now upon are not far distant, rises with very great inequalities immediately from the sea: so that the plains and meadows, of which there are here some of great extent, lie all on the north-west side; and, as they are adorned with tufts of trees, intermixed with plantations, they form a very beautiful landscape in every point of view. While I was surveying this delightful prospect, I could not help flattering myself with the pleasing idea that some future navigator may, from the same station, behold these meadows stocked with cattle, brought to these islands by the ships of England; and that the completion of this single benevolent purpose, independently of all other considerations, would sufficiently mark to posterity that our voyages had not been useless to the general interests of humanity. Besides the plants common on the other neighbouring islands, we found, on the height, a species of *Acrosticum melastoma*, and fern-tree; with a few other ferns and plants, not common lower down.

Our guides informed us, that all, or most of the land on this island, belonged to the great chiefs of Tongataboo; and that the inhabitants were only tenants or vassals to them.

Indeed, this seemed to be the case at all the other neighbouring isles, except Annamooka, where there were some chiefs, who seemed to act with some kind of independence. Omai, who was a great favourite with Feenou, and these people in general, was tempted with the offer of being made chief of this island if he would have staid amongst them; and it is not clear to me, that he would not have been glad to stay, if the scheme had met with my approbation. I own I did disapprove of it; but not because I thought that Omai would do better for himself in his own native isle.

On returning from my country expedition, we were informed that a party of the natives had, in the circle where our people traded, struck one of their own countrymen with a club, which laid bare, or, as others said, fractured his skull, and then broke his thigh with the same, when our men interposed. He had no signs of life when carried to a neighbouring house; but afterward recovered a little. On my asking the reason of so severe a treatment, we were informed that he had been discovered in a situation rather indelicate with a woman who was *tabooed*. We, however, understood that she was no otherwise *tabooed*, than by belonging to another person, and rather superior in rank to her gallant. From this circumstance we had an opportunity of observing how these people treat such infidelities. But the female sinner has, by far, the smaller share of punishment for her misdemeanor; as they told us that she would only receive a slight beating.

The next morning I planted a pine-apple, and sowed the seeds of melons and other vegetables in the chief's plantation. I had some encouragement, indeed, to flatter myself that my endeavours of this kind would not be fruitless; for, this day, there was served up at my dinner a dish of turnips, being the produce of the seeds I had left here during my last voyage.

I had fixed upon the 15th for sailing, till Taoofa pressed me to stay a day or two longer, to receive a present he had prepared for me. This reason, and the daily expectation of seeing some of our friends from Tongataboo, induced me to defer my departure. Accordingly, the next day, I received the chief's present; consisting of two small heaps of yams, and some fruit, which seemed to be collected by a kind of contribution, as at the other isles. On this occasion, most of the people of the island had assembled at the place; and, as we had experienced on such numerous meetings amongst their neighbours, gave us not a little trouble to prevent them from pilfering whatever they could lay their hands upon. We were entertained with cudgelling, wrestling, and boxing-matches; and in the latter, both male and female combatants exhibited. It was intended to have finished the show with the *bomai*, or night-dance; but an accident either put a total stop to it, or, at least, prevented any of us from staying ashore to see it. One of my people, walking a very little way, was surrounded by twenty or thirty of the natives, who knocked him down, and stripped him of everything he had on his back. On hearing of this, I immediately seized two canoes and a large hog; and insisted on Taoofa's causing the clothes to be restored, and on the offenders being delivered up to me. The chief seemed much concerned at what had happened; and forthwith took the necessary steps to satisfy me. This affair so alarmed the assembled people, that most of them fled. However, when they found that I took no other measures to revenge the insult, they returned. It was not long before one of the offenders was delivered up to me, and a shirt and a pair of trousers restored. The remainder of the stolen goods not coming in before night, I was under the necessity of leaving them to go aboard; for the sea ran so high, that it was with the greatest difficulty the boats could get out of the creek with daylight, much less in the dark.

The next morning I landed again, having provided myself with a present for Taoofa, in return for what he had given me. As it was early, there were but few people at the landing-place, and those few not without their fears. But on my desiring Omai to assure them that we meant no harm; and, in confirmation of this assurance, having restored the canoes and released the offender, whom they had delivered up to me, they resumed their usual gaiety; and, presently, a large circle was formed, in which the chief and all the principal men of the island took their places. The remainder of the clothes were now brought in; but, as they had been torn off the man's back by pieces, they were not worth carrying on board. Taoofa, on receiving my present, shared it with three or four other chiefs, keeping

only a small part for himself. This present exceeded their expectation so greatly, that one of the chiefs, a venerable old man, told me that they did not deserve it, considering how little they had given to me, and the ill treatment one of my people had met with. I remained with them till they had finished their bowl of *kava;* and having then paid for the hog which I had taken the day before, returned on board with Taoofa, and one of Poulaho's servants, by whom I sent, as a parting mark of my esteem and regard for that chief, a piece of bar-iron; being as valuable a present as any I could make to him.

Soon after we weighed, and, with a light breeze at south-east, stood out to sea; and then Taoofa, and a few other natives that were in the ship, left us. On heaving up the anchor, we found that the cable had suffered considerably by the rocks; so that the bottom in this road is not to be depended upon. Besides this, we experienced that a prodigious swell rolls in there from the south-west. We had not been long under sail, before we observed a sailing-canoe coming from Tongataboo, and entering the creek before which we had anchored. Some hours after a small canoe, conducted by four men, came off to us; for, as we had but little wind, we were still at no great distance from the land. These men told us that the sailing-canoe, which we had seen arrive from Tongataboo, had brought orders to the people of Eooa, to furnish us with a certain number of hogs; and that in two days, the king and other chiefs would be with us. They, therefore, desired we would return to our former station. There was no reason to doubt the truth of what these men told us. Two of them had actually come from Tongataboo in the sailing-canoe; and they had no view in coming off to us, but to give this intelligence. However, as we were now clear of the land, it was not a sufficient inducement to bring me back; especially as we had already on board a stock of fresh provisions, sufficient, in all probability, to last during our passage to Otaheite. Besides Taoofa's present, we had got a good quantity of yams at Eooa, in exchange chiefly for small nails. Our supply of hogs was also considerably increased there; though, doubtless, we should have got many more if the chiefs of Tongataboo had been with us, whose property they mostly were. At the approach of night, these men finding that we would not return, left us; as also some others, who had come off in two canoes, with a few cocoa-nuts and shaddocks, to exchange them for what they could get; the eagerness of these people to get into their possession more of our commodities, inducing them to follow the ships out to sea, and to continue their intercourse with us to the last moment.

CHAPTER X.—ADVANTAGES DERIVED FROM VISITING THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS.—BEST ARTICLES FOR TRAFFIC.—REFRESHMENTS THAT MAY BE PROCURED.—THE NUMBER OF THE ISLANDS, AND THEIR NAMES.—KEPPEL'S AND BOSCAWEN'S ISLANDS BELONG TO THEM.—ACCOUNT OF VAVAOO—OF HAMOA—OF FEEJEE.—VOYAGES OF THE NATIVES IN THEIR CANOES.—DIFFICULTY OF PROCURING EXACT INFORMATION.—PERSONS OF THE INHABITANTS OF BOTH SEXES—THEIR COLOUR—DISEASES—THEIR GENERAL CHARACTER.—MANNER OF WEARING THEIR HAIR—OF PUNCTURING THEIR BODIES.—THEIR CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS.—PERSONAL CLEANLINESS.

Thus we took leave of the Friendly Islands and their inhabitants, after a stay of between two and three months; during which time, we lived together in the most cordial friendship. Some accidental differences, it is true, now and then happened, owing to their great propensity for thieving; but, too often encouraged by the negligence of our own people. But these differences were never attended with any fatal consequences; to prevent which, all my measures were directed; and I believe, few on board our ships left our friends here without some regret. The time employed amongst them was not thrown away. We expended very little of our sea provisions; subsisting in general upon the produce of the islands, while we staid; and carrying away with us a quantity of refreshments sufficient to last till our arrival at another station, where we could depend upon a fresh supply. I was not sorry, besides, to have had an opportunity of bettering the condition of these good people, by leaving the useful animals before-mentioned among them; and, at the same time, those designed for Otaheite, received fresh strength in the pastures of Tongataboo. Upon the whole, therefore, the advantages we received by touching here were very great; and I

had the additional satisfaction to reflect, that they were received, without retarding one moment the prosecution of the great object of our voyage; the season for proceeding to the north being, as has been already observed, lost, before I took the resolution of bearing away for these islands.

But, besides the immediate advantages, which both the natives of the Friendly Islands, and ourselves, received by this visit, future navigators from Europe, if any such should ever tread our steps, will profit by the knowledge I acquired of the geography of this part of the Pacific Ocean; and the more philosophical reader, who loves to view human nature in new situations, and to speculate on singular, but faithful representations of the persons, the customs, the arts, the religion, the government, and the language of uncultivated man, in remote and fresh discovered quarters of the globe, will, perhaps, find matter of amusement, if not of instruction, in the information which I have been enabled to convey to him, concerning the inhabitants of this Archipelago. I shall suspend my narrative, of the progress of the voyage, while I faithfully relate what I had opportunities of collecting on these several topics.

We found by our experience, that the best articles for traffic, at these islands, are iron tools in general. Axes and hatchets; nails, from the largest spike down to tenpenny ones; rasps, files, and knives, are much sought after. Red cloth, and linen, both white and coloured; looking-glasses and beads, are also in estimation; but of the latter, those that are blue are preferred to all others; and white ones are thought the least valuable. A string of large blue beads would, at any time, purchase a hog. But it must be observed, that such articles as are merely ornaments, may be highly esteemed at one time, and not so at another. When we first arrived at Annamooka, the people there would hardly take them in exchange even for fruit; but when Feenou came, this great man set the fashion, and brought them into vogue, till they rose in their value to what I have just mentioned. In return for the favourite commodities which I have enumerated, all the refreshments may be procured that the islands produce. These are hogs, fowls, fish, yams, bread-fruit, plantains, cocoa-nuts, sugar-cane, and, in general, every such supply as can be met with at Otaheite, or any of the Society Islands. The yams of the Friendly Islands are excellent, and when grown to perfection, keep very well at sea. But their pork, bread-fruit, and plantains, though far from despicable, are, nevertheless, much inferior in quality to the same articles at Otaheite, and in its neighbourhood.

Good water, which ships on long voyages stand so much in need of, is scarce at these islands. It may be found, it is true, on them all; but, still, either in too inconsiderable quantities, or in situations too inconvenient to serve the purposes of navigators. However, as the islands afford plenty of provisions, and particularly of cocoa-nuts, ships may make a tolerable shift with such water as is to be got; and if one is not over nice, there will be no want. While we lay at anchor under Kotoo, on our return from Hapaee, some people from Kao informed us that there was a stream of water there, which, pouring down from the mountain, runs into the sea on the south-west side of the island; that is, on the side that faces Toofoa, another island remarkable for its height, as also for having a considerable volcano in it, which, as has been already mentioned, burned violently all the time that we were in its neighbourhood. It may be worth while for future navigators to attend to this intelligence about the stream of water at Kao; especially as we learned that there was anchorage on that part of the coast. The black stone, of which the natives of the Friendly Islands make their hatchets and other tools, we were informed, is the production of Toofoa.

Under the denomination of Friendly Islands, we must include not only the group at Hapaee, which I visited, but also all those islands that have been discovered nearly under the same meridian to the north, as well as some others that have never been seen, hitherto, by any European navigators; but are under the dominion of Tongataboo, which, though not the largest, is the capital, and seat of government.

According to the information that we received there, this archipelago is very extensive. Above one hundred and fifty islands were reckoned up to us by the natives, who made use of bits of leaves to ascertain their number; and Mr. Anderson, with his usual diligence, even procured all their names. Fifteen of them are said to be high or hilly, such as Toofoa

and Eooa; and thirty-five of them large. Of these only three were seen this voyage; Hapaee (which is considered by the natives as one island), Tongataboo and Eooa: of the size of the unexplored thirty-two, nothing more can be mentioned, but that they must be all larger than Annamooka; with those, from whom we had our information, ranked amongst the smaller isles. Some, or indeed several, of this latter denomination, are mere spots, without inhabitants. Sixty-one of these islands have their proper places and names marked upon our chart of the Friendly Islands, and upon the sketch of the harbour of Tongataboo, to both which I refer the reader. But it must be left to future navigators to introduce into the geography of this part of the South Pacific Ocean, the exact situation and size of near a hundred more islands in this neighbourhood, which we had not an opportunity to explore, and whose existence we only learnt from the testimony of our friends, as above mentioned. On their authority the following list of them was made; and it may serve as a groundwork for farther investigation.

NAMES OF THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS AND OTHERS IN THAT NEIGHBOURHOOD, MENTIONED BY THE INHABITANTS OF ANNAMOOKA, HAPAEE, AND TONGATABOO.†

Komooefeeva.	Kottejeea.	*Manooka.
Kollalona.	Kokabba.	*Leshainga.
Felongaboonga.	Boloa.	*Pappataia.
Kovereetoa.	Toofagga.	*Loubatta.
Fonogooeatta.	Loogoobahanga.	*Oloo.
Modooanoogoo noogoo.	Taoola.	*Takounove.
Tougooa.	[illegible]neeneeta.	*Kopaoo.
Kooaa.	Fonooaooma.	*Kovooeea.
Fonooa eeka.	Fonooonneonne.	*Kongaireekee.
*Vavaoo.	Wegaffa.	*Tafeedoowaia.
Koloa.	Fooamotoo,	Mallalahee.
Fafeene.	Fonooalaiee.	Gonoogoolaiee.
Taoonga.	Tattahoi.	Toonabai.
Kobakeemotoo.	Latte.	Konnevy.
Kongahoonoho.	*Neuafo.	Konnevao.
Komalla.	*Feejee.	Moggodoo.
Konoababoo.	*Oowaia.	Looamoggo.
Konnetalle.	Novababoo.	*Kongaiarahoi.
Komongoraffa.	Golabbe.	*Kotoobooo.
Kotooloon.	Vagaeetoo.	*Komotte.
Kologobeele.	Gowakka.	*Komoarra.
Kollokolahee.	*Goofoo.	*Kolaiva.
Matageefaia.	Mafanna.	*Kofoona.
Mallajee.	Kollooaa.	*Konnagillelaivoo.
Noogoofaceou.	Tabanna.	*Hamoa.
Koreemou.	Motooha.	*Neeootabootaboo.
Failemaia.	Looakabba.	*Fotoona.
Koweeka.	Toofanaetollo.	*Vytooboo.
Konookoonama.	Toofanaelaa.	*Lotooma.
Kooonoogoo.	*Kogoopoloo.	*Toggelao.
Geenageena.	*Havaeeeeke.	*Talava.
Kowourogoheefo.	*Tootooeela.	

I have not the least doubt that Prince William's Islands, discovered and so named by Tasman, are included in the foregoing list. For while we lay at Hapaee, one of the natives told me, that, three or four days' sail from thence to the north-west, there was a cluster of small islands, consisting of upward of forty. This situation corresponds very well with that assigned in the accounts we have of Tasman's voyage to his Prince William's Islands‡.

We have also very good authority to believe that Keppel's and Boscawen's Islands, two of Captain Wallis's discoveries in 1765, are comprehended in our list; and that they are not only well known to these people, but are under the same sovereign. The following information seemed to me decisive as to this. Upon my inquiring one day of Poulaho, the king, in what manner the inhabitants of Tongataboo had acquired the knowledge of iron,

† Those islands, which the natives represented as large ones, are distinguished by an asterisk.

‡ Tasman saw eighteen or twenty of these small islands, every one of which was surrounded with sands, shoals, and rocks. They are also called, in some charts, Heemskirk's Banks. See Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages to the South Pacific Ocean, vol. ii. p. 83; and Campbell's edition of Harris's, vol. i. p. 325.

and from what quarter they had procured a small iron tool which I had seen amongst them, when I first visited their island, during my former voyage, he informed me that they had received this iron from an island, which he called Neeootabootaboo. Carrying my inquiries further, I then desired to know whether he had ever been informed from whom the people of Neeootabootaboo had got it. I found him perfectly acquainted with its history. He said that one of those islanders sold a club for five nails to a ship which had touched there; and that these five nails afterward were sent to Tongataboo. He added that this was the first iron known amongst them; so that what Tasman left of that metal must have been worn out, and forgot long ago. I was very particular in my inquiries about the situation. size, and form of the island; expressing my desire to know when this ship had touched there; how long she staid; and whether any more were in company. The leading facts appeared to be fresh in his memory. He said that there was but one ship; that she did not come to an anchor, but left the island after her boat had been on shore. And from many circumstances which he mentioned, it could not be many years since this had happened. According to his information, there are two islands near each other, which he himself had been at. The one he described as high and peaked like Kao, and he called it Kootahee; the other, where the people of the ship landed, called Neeootabootaboo, he represented as much lower. He added, that the natives of both are the same sort of people with those of Tongataboo; built their canoes in the same manner; that their islands had hogs and fowls; and, in general, the same vegetable productions. The ship so pointedly referred to in this conversation could be no other than the Dolphin; the only single ship from Europe, as far as we have ever learned, that had touched, of late years, at any island in this part of the Pacific Ocean, prior to my former visit to the Friendly Islands*.

But the most considerable islands in this neighbourhood that we now heard of (and we heard a great deal about them), are Hamoa, Vavaoo, and Feejee. Each of these was represented to us as larger than Tongataboo. No European, that we know of, has as yet seen any one of them. Tasman, indeed, lays down in his chart an island nearly in the situation where I suppose Vavaoo to be; that is, about the latitude of 19° †. But, then, that island is there marked as a very small one; whereas Vavaoo, according to the united testimony of all our friends at Tongataboo, exceeds the size of their own island, and has high mountains. I should certainly have visited it; and have accompanied Feenou from Hapaee, if he had not then discouraged me, by representing it to be very inconsiderable, and without any harbour. But Poulaho, the king, afterward assured me, that it was a large island; and that it not only produced everything in common with Tongataboo, but had the peculiar advantage of possessing several streams of fresh water, with as good a harbour as that which we found at his capital island. He offered to attend me if I would visit it; adding, that, if I did not find everything agreeing with his representation, I might kill him. I had not the least doubt of the truth of his intelligence; and was satisfied that Feenou, from some interested view, attempted to deceive me.

Hamoa, which is also under the dominion of Tongataboo, lies two days' sail north-west from Vavaoo. It was described to me as the largest of all their islands, as affording harbours and good water; and as producing, in abundance, every article of refreshment found at the places we visited. Poulaho himself frequently resides there. It should seem that the people of this island are in high estimation at Tongataboo; for we were told that some of the songs and dances with which we were entertained, had been copied from theirs; and we saw some

* See Captain Wallis's Voyage, in Hawkesworth's Collection, vol. i. p. 492—494. Captain Wallis there calls both these islands "high ones." But the superior height of one of them may be inferred, from his saying, that it appears "like a sugar-loaf." This strongly marks its resemblance to Kao. From comparing Poulaho's intelligence to Captain Cook, with Captain Wallis's account, it seems to be past all doubt, that Boscawen's Island is our Kootahee, and Keppel's Island our Neeootabootaboo. The last is one of the large islands marked in the foregoing list. The reader, who has been already apprised of the variations of our people in writing down what the natives pronounced, will hardly doubt that Kottejeea and Kootahee are the same.

† Neither Dalrymple nor Campbell, in their accounts of Tasman's voyage, take any particular notice of his having seen such an island. The chart here referred to by Captain Cook is probably Mr. Dalrymple's, in his Collection of Voyages, where Tasman's track is marked accurately; and several very small spots of land are laid down in the situation here mentioned.

houses said to be built after their fashion. Mr. Anderson, always inquisitive about such matters, learnt the three following words of the dialect of Hamoa:—

Tamolao, a chief man. *Tamaety*, a chief woman. *Solle*, a common man.

Feejee, as we were told, lies three days' sail from Tongataboo, in the direction of north-west by west. It was described to us as a high, but very fruitful island; abounding with hogs, dogs, fowls, and all the kinds of fruit and roots that are found in any of the others; and as much larger than Tongataboo; to the dominion of which, as was represented to us, it is not subject as the other islands of this archipelago are. On the contrary, Feejee and Tongataboo frequently make war upon each other. And it appeared, from several circumstances, that the inhabitants of the latter are much afraid of this enemy. They used to express their sense of their own inferiority to the Feejee men, by bending the body forward, and covering the face with their hands. And it is no wonder that they should be under this dread; for those of Feejee are formidable on account of the dexterity with which they use their bows and slings; but much more so, on account of the savage practice to which they are addicted, like those of New Zealand, of eating their enemies whom they kill in battle. We were satisfied that this was not a misrepresentation. For we met with several Feejee people at Tongataboo, and, on inquiring of them, they did not deny the charge.

Now that I am again led to speak of cannibals, let me ask those who maintain that the want of food first brings men to feed on human flesh, what is it that induceth the Feejee people to keep it up in the midst of plenty? This practice is detested very much by those of Tongataboo, who cultivate the friendship of their savage neighbours of Feejee, apparently out of fear; though they sometimes venture to skirmish with them on their own ground; and carry off red feathers as their booty, which are in great plenty there, and, as has been frequently mentioned, are in great estimation amongst our Friendly Islanders. When the two islands are at peace, the intercourse between them seems to be pretty frequent; though they have, doubtless, been but lately known to each other; or we may suppose that Tongataboo and its adjoining islands would have been supplied, before this, with a breed of dogs which abound at Feejee, and had not been introduced at Tongataboo so late as 1773, when I first visited it. The natives of Feejee, whom we met with here, were of a colour that was a full shade darker than that of the inhabitants of the Friendly Islands in general. One of them had his left ear slit, and the lobe was so distended, that it almost reached his shoulder; which singularity I had met with at other islands of the South Sea during my second voyage. It appeared to me that the Feejee men, whom we now saw, were much respected here; not only, perhaps, from the power and cruel manner of their nation's going to war, but also from their ingenuity. For they seem to excel the inhabitants of Tongataboo in that respect, if we might judge from several specimens of their skill in workmanship which we saw; such as clubs and spears, which were carved in a very masterly manner; cloth beautifully chequered; variegated mats; earthen pots, and some other articles; all which had a cast of superiority in the execution.

I have mentioned that Feejee lies three days' sail from Tongataboo, because these people have no other method of measuring the distance from island to island, but by expressing the time required to make the voyage in one of their canoes. In order to ascertain this with some precision, or, at least, to form some judgment how far these canoes can sail in a moderate gale, in any given time, I went on board one of them when under sail, and, by several trials with the log, found that she went seven knots or miles in an hour, close hauled, in a gentle gale. From this I judge that they will sail, on a medium, with such breezes as generally blow in their sea, about seven or eight miles in an hour. But the length of each day is not to be reckoned at twenty-four hours. For when they spoke of one day's sail, they mean no more than from the morning to the evening of the same day; that is, ten or twelve hours at most. And two days' sail, with them, signifies from the morning of the first day to the evening of the second; and so for any other number of days. In these navigations the sun is their guide by day, and the stars by night. When these are obscured, they have recourse to the points from whence the winds and the waves came upon the vessel.

If, during the obscuration, both the wind and the waves should shift (which, within the limits of the trade-wind, seldom happens at any other time), they are then bewildered, frequently miss their intended port, and are never heard of more. The history of Omai's countrymen, who were driven to Wateeoo, leads us to infer, that those not heard of are not always lost.

Of all the harbours and anchoring places I have met with amongst these islands, that of Tongataboo is by far the best; not only on account of its great security, but of its capacity, and of the goodness of its bottom. The risk that we ran in entering it from the north, ought to be a sufficient caution to every future commander not to attempt that passage again with a ship of burden; since the other, by which we left it, is so much more easy and safe. To sail into it by this eastern channel, steer in for the north-east point of the island, and keep along the north shore, with the small isles on your starboard, till you are the length of the east point of the entrance into the lagoon; then edge over for the reef of the small isles; and, on following its direction, it will conduct you through between Makkahaaa and Monooafai, or the fourth and fifth isles, which you will perceive to lie off the west point of the lagoon. Or you may go between the third and fourth islands, that is, between Pangimodoo and Monooafai; but this channel is much narrower than the other. There runs a very strong tide in both. The flood, as I have observed before, comes in from the north-west, and the ebb returns the same way; but I shall speak of the tides in another place. As soon as you are through either of these channels, haul in for the shore of Tongataboo, and anchor between it and Pangimodoo, before a creek leading into the lagoon; into which boats can go at half flood. Although Tongataboo has the best harbour, Annamooka furnishes the best water; and yet it cannot be called good. However, by digging holes near the side of the pond, we can get what may be called tolerable. This island, too, is the best situated for drawing refreshments from all the others, as being nearly in the centre of the whole group. Besides the road in which we anchored, and the harbour within the south-west point, there is a creek in the reef, before the eastern sandy cove on the north side of the island, in which two or three ships may lie very securely, by mooring head and stern, with their anchors or moorings fast to the rocks.

I have already described the Hapaee Islands; and shall only add to that description by mentioning, that they extend south-west by south, and north-east by north, about nineteen miles. The north end lies in the latitude of 19° 39′ S., and 33′ of longitude to the east of Annamooka. Between them are a great many small islands, sand-banks, and breakers; so that the safest way to arrive at Hapaee is either by the course I held, or round by the north; according to the situation of the ship bound thither. Lefooga, off which we anchored, is the most fertile isle of those that are called Hapaee; and, consequently, is the best inhabited. There is anchorage along the north-west side of this island; but it will be necessary to examine the ground well before you moor. For, although the lead may bring up fine sand, there are, nevertheless, some sharp coral rocks that would soon destroy the cables.

What has been here omitted, concerning the geography of these islands, will be found in the narrative of my last voyage *. To that narrative I must also refer for such particulars concerning the inhabitants, their manners, and arts, as I had observed then, and about which I saw no reason to change my judgment. At present I shall confine myself to such interesting particulars, as either were not mentioned in that narrative, or were imperfectly and incorrectly represented there; and to such as may serve to explain some passages in the foregoing account of our transactions with the natives.

It may, indeed, be expected that, after spending between two and three months amongst them, I should be enabled to clear up every difficulty, and to give a tolerably satisfactory account of their customs, opinions, and institutions, both civil and religious; especially as we had a person on board, who might be supposed qualified to act the part of an interpreter, by understanding their language and ours. But poor Omai was very deficient. For unless the object or thing we wanted to inquire about was actually before us, we found it difficult to gain a tolerable knowledge of it from information only, without falling into a hundred

* Vol. I. p. 424.

mistakes; and to such mistakes Omai was more liable than we were. For, having no curiosity, he never gave himself the trouble to make remarks for himself; and, when he was disposed to explain matters to us, his ideas appeared to be so limited, and, perhaps, so different from ours, that his accounts were often so confused, as to perplex, instead of instructing us. Add to this, that it was very rare that we found, amongst the natives, a person who united the ability and the inclination to give us the information we wanted; and we found that most of them hated to be troubled with what they probably thought idle questions. Our situation at Tongataboo, where we remained the longest, was likwise unfavourable. It was in a part of the country where there were few inhabitants except fishers. It was always holiday with our visitors, as well as with those we visited; so that we had but few opportunities of observing what was really the domestic way of living of the natives. Under these disadvantages it is not surprising that we should not be able to bring away with us satisfactory accounts of many things; but some of us endeavoured to remedy those disadvantages by diligent observation; and I am indebted to Mr. Anderson for a considerable share of what follows in this and in the following chapter. In other matters I have only expressed, nearly in his words, remarks that coincided with mine; but what relates to the religion and language of these people is entirely his own.

The natives of the Friendly Islands seldom exceed the common stature (though we have measured some who were above six feet); but are very strong and well made, especially as to their limbs. They are generally broad about the shoulders; and though the muscular disposition of the men, which seems a consequence of much action, rather conveys the appearance of strength than of beauty, there are several to be seen who are really handsome. Their features are very various; insomuch, that it is scarcely possible to fix on any general likeness by which to characterise them, unless it be a fulness at the point of the nose, which is very common. But on the other hand, we met with hundreds of truly European faces, and many genuine Roman noses amongst them. Their eyes and teeth are good; but the last neither so remarkably white, nor so well set, as is often found amongst Indian nations; though, to balance that, few of them have any uncommon thickness about the lips, a defect as frequent as the other perfection. The women are not so much distinguished from the men by their features as by their general form, which is, for the most part, destitute of that strong fleshy firmness that appears in the latter. Though the features of some are so delicate as not only to be a true index of their sex, but to lay claim to a considerable share of beauty and expression, the rule is by no means so general as in many other countries. But, at the same time, this is frequently the most exceptionable part; for the bodies and limbs of most of the females are well proportioned; and some absolutely perfect models of a beautiful figure. But the most remarkable distinction in the women, is the uncommon smallness and delicacy of their fingers, which may be put in competition with the finest in Europe.

The general colour is a cast deeper than the copper brown; but several of the men and women have a true olive complexion; and some of the last are even a great deal fairer; which is probably the effect of being less exposed to the sun; as a tendency to corpulence, in a few of the principal people, seems to be the consequence of a more indolent life. It is also amongst the last, that a soft clear skin is most frequently observed. Amongst the bulk of the people, the skin is more commonly of a dull hue, with some degree of roughness, especially the parts that are not covered; which, perhaps, may be occasioned by some cutaneous disease. We saw a man and boy at Hapaee, and a child at Annamooka, perfectly white. Such have been found amongst all black nations; but I apprehend that their colour is rather a disease than a natural phenomenon. There are, nevertheless, upon the whole, few natural defects or deformities to be found amongst them; though we saw two or three with their feet bent inward; and some afflicted with a sort of blindness, occasioned by a disease of the cornea. Neither are they exempt from some other diseases; the most common of which is the tetter, or ring-worm, that seems to affect almost one-half of them, and leaves whitish serpentine marks everywhere behind it. But this is of less consequence than another disease which is very frequent, and appears on every part of the body, in large broad ulcers, with thick white edges, discharging a thin clear matter; some of which had a very virulent appearance, particularly those on the face, which were shocking

to look at; and yet we met with some who seemed to be cured of it, and others in a fair way of being cured; but this was not effected without the loss of the nose, or of the best part of it. As we know for a certainty * (and the fact is acknowledged by themselves), that the people of these islands were subject to this loathsome disease before the English first visited them, notwithstanding the similarity of symptoms, it cannot be the effect of the venereal contagion; unless we adopt a supposition, which I could wish had sufficient foundation in truth, that the venereal disorder was not introduced here from Europe by our ships in 1773. It assuredly was now found to exist amongst them; for we had not been long there before some of our people received the infection; and I had the mortification to learn from thence, that all the care I took, when I first visited these islands, to prevent this dreadful disease from being communicated to their inhabitants, had proved ineffectual. What is extraordinary, they do not seem to regard it much; and as we saw few signs of its destroying effects, probably the climate, and the way of living of these people, greatly abate its virulence. There are two other diseases frequent amongst them; one of which is an indolent firm swelling, which affects the legs and arms, and increases them to an extraordinary size in their whole length. The other is a tumour of the same sort in the testicles, which sometimes exceed the size of the two fists. But, in other respects, they may be considered as uncommonly healthy; not a single person having been seen, during our stay, confined to the house by sickness of any kind. On the contrary, their strength and activity are every way answerable to their muscular appearance; and they exert both, in their usual employment, and in their diversions, in such a manner, that there can be no doubt of their being as yet little debilitated by the numerous diseases that are the consequence of indolence, and an unnatural method of life. The graceful air and firm step with which these people walk, are not the least obvious proof of their personal accomplishments. They consider this as a thing so natural or so necessary to be acquired, that nothing used to excite their laughter sooner than to see us frequently stumbling upon the roots of trees, or other inequalities of the ground.

Their countenances very remarkably express the abundant mildness or good-nature which they possess; and are entirely free from that savage keenness which marks nations in a barbarous state. One would, indeed, be apt to fancy, that they had been bred up under the severest restrictions, to acquire an aspect so settled, and such a command of their passions as well as steadiness in conduct. But they are, at the same time, frank, cheerful, and good-humoured; though sometimes, in the presence of their chiefs, they put on a degree of gravity, and such a serious air as becomes stiff and awkward, and has an appearance of reserve. Their peaceable disposition is sufficiently evinced from the friendly reception all strangers have met with who have visited them. Instead of offering to attack them openly or clandestinely, as has been the case with most of the inhabitants of these seas, they have never appeared in the smallest degree hostile; but, on the contrary, like the most civilised people, have courted an intercourse with their visitors by bartering, which is the only medium that unites all nations in a sort of friendship. They understand barter (which they call *fukkatou*) so perfectly, that at first we imagined they might have acquired this knowledge of it by commercial intercourse with the neighbouring islands; but we were afterward assured that they had little or no traffic, except with Feejee, from which they get the red feathers, and the few other articles mentioned before. Perhaps, no nation in the world traffic with more honesty and less distrust. We could always safely permit them to examine our goods, and to hand them about, one to another; and they put the same confidence in us. If either party repented of the bargain, the goods were re-exchanged with mutual consent and good-humour. Upon the whole, they seem possessed of many of the most excellent qualities that adorn the human mind; such as industry, ingenuity, perseverance, affability, and, perhaps, other virtues which our short stay with them might prevent our observing.

The only defect sullying their character, that we knew of, is a propensity to thieving; to which we found those of all ages and both sexes addicted, and to an uncommon degree. It should, however, be considered that this exceptionable part of their conduct seemed to exist

* See Vol. I. p. 494, where Captain Cook gives a particular account of meeting with a person afflicted with this disease, at Annamooka, on his landing there in 1773.

merely with respect to us; for in their general intercourse with one another, I had reason to be of opinion that thefts do not happen more frequently (perhaps less so) than in other countries, the dishonest practices of whose worthless individuals are not supposed to authorise any indiscriminate censure on the whole body of the people. Great allowances should be made for the foibles of these poor natives of the Pacific Ocean, whose minds we overpowered with the glare of objects equally new to them as they were captivating. Stealing, amongst the civilised and enlightened nations of the world, may well be considered as denoting a character deeply stained with moral turpitude, with avarice unrestrained by the known rules of right, and with profligacy producing extreme indigence, and neglecting the means of relieving it. But at the Friendly and other Islands which we visited, the thefts so frequently committed by the natives, of what we had brought along with us, may be fairly traced to less culpable motives. They seemed to arise solely from an intense curiosity or desire to possess something which they had not been accustomed to before, and belonging to a sort of people so different from themselves. And, perhaps, if it were possible, that a set of beings seemingly as superior in our judgment as we are in theirs, should appear amongst us, it might be doubted whether our natural regard to justice would be able to restrain many from falling into the same error. That I have assigned the true motive for their propensity to this practice, appears from their stealing everything indiscriminately at first sight, before they could have the least conception of converting their prize to any one useful purpose. But, I believe, with us, no person would forfeit his reputation, or expose himself to punishment, without knowing beforehand how to employ the stolen goods. Upon the whole, the pilfering disposition of these islanders, though certainly disagreeable and troublesome to strangers, was the means of affording us some information as to the quickness of their intellects. For their small thefts were committed with much dexterity; and those of greater consequence with a plan or scheme suited to the importance of the objects. An extraordinary instance of the last sort, their attempts to carry away one of the Discovery's anchors at mid-day, has been already related.

Their hair is in general straight, thick, and strong, though a few have it bushy or frizzled. The natural colour, I believe, almost without exception, is black; but the greatest part of the men, and some of the women, have it stained of a brown or purple colour, and a few of an orange cast. The first colour is produced by applying a sort of plaster of burnt coral, mixed with water; the second by the raspings of a reddish wood, which is made up with water into a poultice, and laid over the hair; and the third is, I believe, the effect of turmeric root. When I first visited these islands, I thought it had been an universal custom for both men and women to wear the hair short; but, during our present longer stay, we saw a great many exceptions. Indeed they are so whimsical in their fashions of wearing it, that it is hard to tell which is most in vogue. Some have it cut off one side of the head, while that on the other side remains long; others have only a portion of it cut short, or perhaps shaved; others have it entirely cut off, except a single lock, which is left commonly on one side, or it is suffered to grow to its full length without any of these mutilations. The women in general wear it short.

The men have their beards cut short; and both men and women strip the hair from their armpits: the operation by which this is performed has been already described. The men are stained from about the middle of the belly, to about half-way down the thighs, with a deep blue colour. This is done with a flat bone instrument cut full of fine teeth, which being dipped in the staining mixture, prepared from the juice of the *dooe-dooe*, is struck into the skin with a bit of stick, and by that means indelible marks are made. In this manner they trace lines and figures, which in some are very elegant, both from the variety and from the arrangement. The women have only a few small lines or spots thus imprinted on the inside of their hands.

Their kings, as a mark of distinction, are exempted from this custom, as also from inflicting on themselves any of those bloody marks of mourning which shall be mentioned in another place.

The dress of both men and women is the same; and consists of a piece of cloth or matting (but mostly the former), about two yards wide, and two and a half long; at least, so long as to go once and a half round the waist, to which it is confined by a girdle or cord. It is double before, and hangs down like a petticoat, as low as the middle of the leg. The upper part of the garment above the girdle is plaited into several folds; so that when unfolded, there is cloth sufficient to draw up and wrap round the shoulders, which is very seldom done. This, as to form, is the general dress; but large pieces of cloth and fine matting are worn only by the superior people. The inferior sort are satisfied with small pieces, and very often wear nothing but a covering made of leaves of plants, or the *maro*, which is a narrow piece of cloth or matting, like a sash. This they pass between the thighs, and wrap round the waist; but the use of it is chiefly confined to the men. In their great *haivas*, or entertainments, they have various dresses made for the purpose; but the form is always the same; and the richest dresses are covered, more or less, with red feathers. On what particular occasion their chiefs wear their large red feather-caps, I could not learn. Both men and women sometimes shade their faces from the sun with little bonnets, made of various materials.

As the clothing, so are the ornaments worn by those of both sexes, the same. The most common of these are necklaces made of the fruit of the *pandanus*, and various sweet-smelling flowers, which go under the general name of *kahulla*. Others are composed of small shells, the wing and leg bones of birds, shark's teeth, and other things; all which hang loose upon the breast. In the same manner, they often wear a mother-of-pearl shell neatly polished, or a ring of the same substance carved on the upper part of the arm; rings of tortoise-shell on the fingers, and a number of these joined together as bracelets on the wrists. The lobes of the ears (though, most frequently, only one), are perforated with two holes, in which they wear cylindrical bits of ivory, about three inches long, introduced at one hole, and brought out of the other; or bits of reed of the same size, filled with a yellow pigment. This seems to be a fine powder of turmeric, with which the women rub themselves all over, in the same manner as our ladies use their dry rouge upon the cheeks.

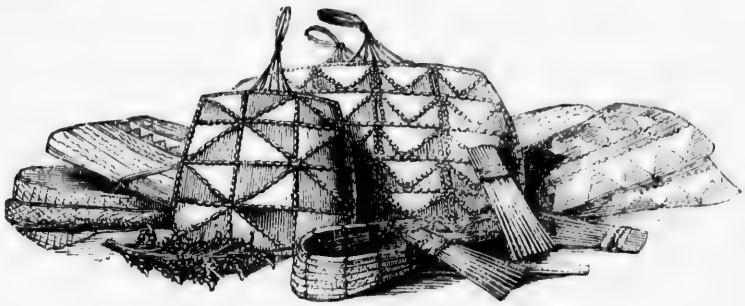
Nothing appears to give them greater pleasure than personal cleanliness; to produce which they frequently bathe in the ponds, which seem to serve no other purpose. Though the water in most of them stinks intolerably, they prefer them to the sea; and they are so sensible that salt water hurts their skin, that when necessity obliges them to bathe in the sea, they commonly have some cocoa-nut shells filled with fresh water poured over them to wash it off. They are immoderately fond of cocoa-nut oil for the same reason; a great quantity of which they not only pour upon their head and shoulders, but rub the body all over, briskly, with a smaller quantity. And none but those who have seen this practice can easily conceive how the appearance of the skin is improved by it. This oil, however, is not to be procured by every one; and the inferior sort of people, doubtless, appear less smooth for want of it.

CHAPTER XI.—EMPLOYMENTS OF THE WOMEN AT THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS—OF THE MEN.—AGRICULTURE.—CONSTRUCTION OF THEIR HOUSES.—THEIR WORKING TOOLS—CORDAGE, AND FISHING IMPLEMENTS.—MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.—WEAPONS.—FOOD AND COOKERY.—AMUSEMENTS.—MARRIAGE.—MOURNING CEREMONIES FOR THE DEAD.—THEIR DIVINITIES.—NOTIONS ABOUT THE SOUL AND A FUTURE STATE.—THEIR PLACES OF WORSHIP.—GOVERNMENT.—MANNER OF PAYING OBEISANCE TO THE KING.—ACCOUNT OF THE ROYAL FAMILY.—REMARKS ON THEIR LANGUAGE, AND A SPECIMEN OF IT.—NAUTICAL AND OTHER OBSERVATIONS.

THEIR domestic life is of that middle kind, neither so laborious as to be disagreeable, nor so vacant as to suffer them to degenerate into indolence. Nature has done so much for their country, that the first can hardly occur, and their disposition seems to be a pretty good bar to the last. By this happy combination of circumstances, their necessary labour seems to yield in its turn to their recreations, in such a manner, that the latter are never

interrupted by the thoughts of being obliged to recur to the former, till satiety makes them wish for such a transition. The employment of the women is of the easy kind, and, for the most part, such as may be executed in the house. The manufacture of their cloth is wholly consigned to their care. Having already described the process, I need only add, that they have this cloth of different degrees of fineness. The coarser sort, of which they make very large pieces, does not receive the impression of any pattern. Of the finer sort they have some that is striped and chequered, and of other patterns differently coloured. But how these colours are laid on, I cannot say, as I never saw any of this sort made. The cloth in general will resist water for some time; but that which has the strongest glaze will resist longest.

The manufacture next in consequence, and also within the department of the women, is that of their mats, which excel everything I have seen at any other place, both as to their texture and their beauty. In particular, many of them are so superior to those made at Otaheite, that they are not a bad article to carry thither by way of trade. Of these mats, they have seven or eight different sorts, for the purposes of wearing or sleeping upon, and many are merely ornamental. The last are chiefly made from the tough membraneous part of the stock of the plantain-tree; those that they wear from the *pandanus*, cultivated for that purpose, and never suffered to shoot into a trunk; and the coarser sort, which they sleep upon, from a plant called *evarra*. There are many other articles of less note, that employ the spare time of their females; as combs, of which they make vast numbers; and little baskets made of the same substance as the mats, and others of the fibrous cocoa-nut husk, either plain or interwoven with small beads; but all finished with such neatness and taste in the disposition of the various parts, that a stranger cannot help admiring their assiduity and dexterity.

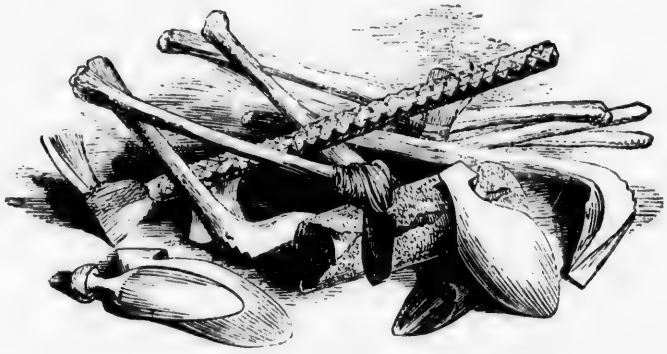


MATS, BASKETS, AND FANCY-WORK OF WOMEN.

The province allotted to the men is, as might be expected, far more laborious and extensive than that of the women. Agriculture, architecture, boat-building, fishing, and other things that relate to navigation, are the objects of their care. Cultivated roots and fruits being their principal support, this requires their constant attention to agriculture, which they pursue very diligently, and seem to have brought almost to as great perfection as circumstances will permit. The large extent of the plantain fields has been taken notice of already; and the same may be said of the yams; these two together being at least as ten to one with respect to all the other articles. In planting both these, they dig small holes for their reception, and afterwards root up the surrounding grass, which, in this hot country, is quickly deprived of its vegetating power, and soon rotting, becomes a good manure. The instruments they use for this purpose, which they call *hooo*, are nothing more than pickets or stakes of different lengths, according to the depth they have to dig. These are flattened and sharpened to an edge at one end; and the largest have a short piece fixed transversely, for pressing it into the ground with the foot. With these, though they are not more than from two to four inches broad, they dig and plant ground of many acres in extent. In planting the plantains and yams, they observe so much exactness, that whichever way you look the rows present themselves regular and complete.

The cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees are scattered about without any order, and seem to give them no trouble after they have attained a certain height. The same may be said of another large tree which produces great numbers of a large roundish compressed nut, called *eeefee;* and of a smaller tree that bears a rounded oval nut two inches long, with two or three triangular kernels, tough and insipid, called *mabbo*, most frequently planted near their houses. The *kappe* is commonly regularly planted, and in pretty large spots; but the *mawhaha* is interspersed amongst other things, as the *jeejee* and yams are; the last of which, I have frequently seen in the interspaces of the plantain-trees at their common distance. Sugar-cane is commonly in small spots, crowded closely together; and the mulberry, of which the cloth is made, though without order, has sufficient room allowed for it, and is kept very clean. The only other plant that they cultivate for their manufactures is the *pandanus*, which is generally planted in a row close together at the sides of the other fields; and they consider it as a thing so distinct in this state, that they have a different name for it, which shows that they are very sensible of the great changes brought about by cultivation.

It is remarkable that these people, who in many things show much taste and ingenuity, should show little of either in building their houses, though the defect is rather in the design than in the execution. Those of the lower people are poor huts, scarcely sufficient to defend them from the weather, and very small. Those of the better sort are larger and more comfortable, but not what one might expect: the dimensions of one of a middling size are about thirty feet long, twenty broad, and twelve high. Their house is, properly speaking, a thatched roof or shed, supported by posts and rafters disposed in a very judicious manner. The floor is raised with earth, smoothed, and covered with strong thick matting, and kept very clean. The most of them are closed on the weather-side (and some more than two-thirds round) with strong mats, or with branches of the cocoa-nut tree, plaited or woven into each other. These they fix up edgewise, reaching from the eaves to the ground, and thus they answer the purpose of a wall. A thick strong mat, about two and one-half or three feet broad, bent into the form of a semicircle, and set upon its edge, with the ends touching the side of the house, in shape resembling the fender of a fire-hearth, encloses a space for the master and mistress of the family to sleep in: the lady, indeed, spends most of her time during the day within it. The rest of the family sleep upon the floor wherever they please to lie down; the unmarried men and women apart from each other; or, if the family be large, there are small huts adjoining, to which the servants retire in the night; so that privacy is as much observed here as one could expect. They have mats made on purpose for



ADZES, KNIVES, FILES, &c.

sleeping on; and the clothes that they wear in the day serve for their covering in the night. Their whole furniture consists of a bowl or two, in which they make *kava;* a few gourds; cocoa-nut shells; some small wooden stools, which serve them for pillows; and perhaps a large stool for the chief or master of the family to sit upon. The only probable reason I can

assign for their neglect of ornamental architecture in the construction of their houses, is their being fond of living much in the open air. Indeed, they seem to consider their houses, within which they seldom eat, as c. little use but to sleep in, and to retire to in bad weathe:. And the lower sort of people, who spend a great part of their time in close attendance upon the chiefs, can have little use for their own houses but in the last case.

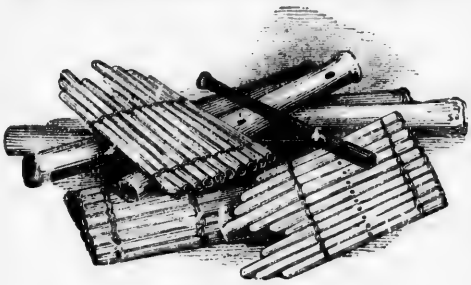
They make amends for the defects of their houses by their great attention to, and dexterity in, naval architecture, if I may be allowed to give it that name. But I refer to the narrative of my last voyage for an account of their canoes, and their manner of building and navigating them. The only tools which they use to construct these boats are,—hatchets, or rather thick adzes, of a smooth black stone that abounds at Toofoa; augers, made of sharks' teeth, fixed on small handles; and rasps, of a rough skin of a fish, fastened on flat pieces of wood thinner on one side, which also have handles. The labour and time employed in finishing their canoes, which are the most perfect of their mechanical productions, will account for their being very careful of them. For they are built and preserved under sheds; or they cover the decked part of them with cocoa-leaves, when they are hauled on shore, to prevent their being hurt by the sun. The same tools are all they have for other works, if we except different shells, which they use as knives. But there are few of their productions that require these, unless it be some of their weapons; the other articles being chiefly their fishing materials and cordage.

The cordage is made from the fibres of the cocoa-nut husk, which, though not more than nine or ten inches long, they plait about the size of a quill or less, to any length that they please, and roll it up in balls; from which the larger ropes are made, by twisting several of these together. The lines that they fish with are as strong and even as the best cord we make, resembling it almost in every respect. The other fishing implements are large and small hooks. The last are composed entirely of pearl-shell; but the first are only covered with it on the back; and the points of both commonly of tortoise-shell; those of the small being plain, and the others barbed. With the large ones they catch bonnetos and albicores, by putting them to a bamboo rod twelve or fourteen feet long, with a line of the same length, which rests in a notch of a piece of wood, fixed in the stern of the canoe for that purpose, and is dragged on the surface of the sea, as she rows along, without any other bait than a tuft of flaxy stuff near the point. They have also great numbers of pretty small seines, some of which are of a very delicate texture. These they use to catch fish with, in the holes on the reefs when the tide ebbs.

FISHING IMPLEMENTS.

The other manual employments consist chiefly in making musical reeds, flutes, warlike weapons, and stools, or rather pillows, to sleep on. The reeds have eight, nine, or ten pieces placed parallel to each other, but not in any regular progression; having the longest sometimes in the middle, and several of the same length; so that I have seen none with ore than six notes; and they seem incapable of playing any music on them that is distinguishable by our ears. The flutes are a joint of bamboo, close at both ends, with a hole near each, and four others; two of which, and one of the first only, are used in playing. They apply the thumb of the left hand to close the left nostril, and blow into the hole at

one end with the other. The middle finger of the left hand is applied to the first hole on the left, and the fore finger of the right to the lowest hole on that side. In this manner, though the notes are only three, they produce a pleasing, yet simple music, which they vary much more than one would think possible with so imperfect an instrument. Their being accustomed to a music which consists of so few notes, is perhaps the reason why they do not seem to relish any of ours, which is so complex. But they can taste what is more deficient than their own; for we observed that they used to be well pleased with hearing the chant of our two young New Zealanders, which consisted rather in mere strength than in melody of expression.



MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

The weapons which they make are clubs of different sorts (in the ornamenting of which they spend much time), spears, and darts. They have also bows and arrows; but these seemed to be designed only for amusement, such as shooting at birds, and not for military purposes. The stools are about two feet long, but only four or five inches high, and near four bread, bending downward in the middle, with four strong legs and circular feet; the whole made of one piece of black or brown wood, neatly polished, and sometimes inlaid with bits of ivory. They also inlay the handles of fly-flaps with ivory, after being neatly carved; and they shape bones into small figures of men, birds, and other things, which must be very difficult, as their carving instrument is only a shark's tooth.

Yams, plantains, and cocoa-nuts, compose the greatest part of their vegetable diet. Of their animal food, the chief articles are hogs, fowls, fish, and all sorts of shell-fish; but the lower people eat rats. The two first vegetable articles, with bread-fruit, are what may be called the basis of their food, at different times of the year, with fish and shell-fish; for hogs, fowls, and turtle, seem only to be occasional dainties reserved for their chiefs. The intervals between the seasons of these vegetable productions must be, sometimes, considerable, as they prepare a sort of artificial bread from plantains, which they put under ground before ripe, and suffer them to remain till they ferment, when they are taken out, and made up into small balls; but so sour and indifferent, that they often said our bread was preferable, though somewhat musty Their food is generally dressed by baking, in the same manner as at Otaheite; and they have the art of making, from different kinds of fruit, several dishes, which most of us esteemed very good. I never saw them make use of any kind of sauce; nor drink anything at their meals but water, or the juice of the cocoa-nut; for the *kava* is only their morning draught. I cannot say that they are cleanly either in their cookery or manner of eating. The generality of them will lay their victuals upon the first leaf they meet with, however dirty it may be; but when food is served up to the chiefs, it is commonly laid upon green plantain leaves. When the king made a meal, he was, for the most part, attended upon by three or four persons. One cut large pieces of the joint, or of the fish; another divided it into mouthfuls; and others stood by with cocoa-nuts, and whatever else he might want. I never saw a large company sit down to what we should call a sociable meal, by eating from the same dish. The food, be what it will, is always divided into portions, each to serve a certain number; these portions are again subdivided; so that one seldom sees above two or three persons eating together. The women are not excluded from eating with the men; but there are certain ranks or orders amongst them, that can neither eat nor drink together. This distinction begins with the king; but where it ends I cannot say.

They seem to have no set time for meals; though it should be observed, that, during our stay amongst them, their domestic economy was much disturbed by their constant attention to us. As far as we could remark, those of the superior rank only drink *kava* in the

forenoon, and the others eat perhaps a bit of yam; but we commonly saw all of them eat something in the afternoon. It is probable that the practice of making a meal in the night is pretty common; and their rest being thus interrupted, they frequently sleep in the day. They go to bed as soon as it is dark, and rise with the dawn in the morning. They are very fond of associating together; so that it is common to find several houses empty, and the owners of them convened in some other one, or rather upon a convenient spot in the neighbourhood, where they recreate themselves by conversing, and other amusements. Their private diversions are chiefly singing, dancing, and music performed by the women. When two or three women sing in concert, and snap their fingers, it is called *oobai;* but when there is a greater number, they divide into several parties, each of which sings on a different key, which makes a very agreeable music, and is called *heeva* or *haiva.* In the same manner, they vary the music of their flutes, by playing on those of a different size; but their dancing is much the same as when they perform publicly. The dancing of the men (if it is to be called dancing), although it does not consist much in moving the feet, as we do, has a thousand different motions with the hands, to which we are entire strangers; and they are performed with an ease and grace which are not to be described, nor even conceived, but by those who have seen them. But I need add nothing to what has been already said on this subject, in the account of the incidents that happened during our stay at the islands.

Whether their marriages be made lasting by any kind of solemn contract, we could not determine with precision; but it is certain, that the bulk of the people satisfied themselves with one wife. The chiefs, however, have commonly several women; though some of us were of opinion that there was only one that was looked upon as the mistress of the family. As female chastity at first sight seemed to be held in no great estimation, we expected to have found frequent breaches of their conjugal fidelity; but we did them great injustice. I do not know that a single instance happened during our whole stay. Neither are those of the better sort, that are unmarried, more free of their favours. It is true there was no want of those of a different character; and, perhaps, such are more frequently met with here, in proportion to the number of people, than in many other countries. But it appeared to me that the most, if not all of them, were of the lowest class; and such of them as permitted familiarities to our people, were prostitutes by profession.

Nothing can be a greater proof of the humanity of these people, than the concern they show for the dead. To use a common expression, their mourning is not in words but deeds. For, besides the *tooge* mentioned before, and burnt circles and scars, they beat the teeth with stones, strike a shark's tooth into the head until the blood flows in streams, and thrust spears into the inner part of the thigh, into their sides below the arm-pits, and through the cheeks into the mouth. All these operations convey an idea of such rigorous discipline, as must require either an uncommon degree of affection or the grossest superstition, to exact. I will not say that the last has no share in it; for, sometimes, it is so universal, that many could not have any knowledge of the person for whom the concern is expressed. Thus we saw the people of Tongataboo mourning the death of a chief at Vavaoo; and other similar instances occurred during our stay. It should be observed, however, that the more painful operations are only practised on account of the death of those most nearly connected with the mourners. When a person dies, he is buried, after being wrapped up in mats and cloth, much after our manner. The chiefs seem to have the *fiatookas* appropriated to them as their burial-places; but the common people are interred in no particular spot. What part of the mourning ceremony follows immediately after, is uncertain; but that there is something besides the general one, which is continued for a considerable length of time, we could infer, from being informed, that the funeral of Mareewagee's wife, as mentioned before, was to be attended with ceremonies that were to last five days, and in which all the principal people were to commemorate her.

Their long and general mourning proves that they consider death as a very great evil. And this is confirmed by a very odd custom which they practise to avert it. When I first visited these islands, during my last voyage, I observed that many of the inhabitants had

one or both of their little fingers cut off; and we could not then receive any satisfactory account of the reason of this mutilation. But we now learned that this operation is performed when they labour under some grievous disease, and think themselves in danger of dying. They suppose that the deity will accept of the little finger, as a sort of sacrifice efficacious enough to procure the recovery of their health. They cut it off with one of their stone hatchets. There was scarcely one in ten of them whom we did not find thus mutilated in one or both hands; which has a disagreeable effect, especially as they sometimes cut so close that they encroach upon the bone of the hand which joins to the amputated finger *.

From the rigid severity with which some of these mourning and religious ceremonies are executed, one would expect to find that they meant thereby to secure to themselves felicity beyond the grave; but their principal object relates to things merely temporal. For they seem to have little conception of future punishment for faults committed in this life. They believe, however, that they are justly punished upon earth; and, consequently, use every method to render their divinities propitious. The Supreme Author of most things they call *Kallafootonga;* who, they say, is a female residing in the sky, and directing the thunder, wind, rain; and, in general, all the changes of weather. They believe, that when she is angry with them, the productions of the earth are blasted; that many things are destroyed by lightning; and that they themselves are afflicted with sickness and death, as well as their hogs and other animals. When this anger abates, they suppose that everything is restored to its natural order; and it should seem, that they have a great reliance on the efficacy of their endeavours to appease their offended divinity. They also admit a plurality of deities, though all inferior to *Kallafootonga.* Amongst them, they mention *Toofooa-boo-lootoo*, God of the clouds and fog; *Talleteboo*, and some others, residing in the heavens. The first in rank and power, who has the government of the sea and its productions, is called *Futtafaihe*, or, as it was sometimes pronounced, *Footafooa;* who, they say, is a male, and has for his wife *Fykava kajeea;* and here, as in heaven, there are several inferior potentates, such as *Vahaa fonooa*, *Tareeava*, *Mattaba*, *Evaroo*, and others. The same religious system, however, does not extend all over the cluster of the Friendly Isles; for the supreme god of Hapaee, for instance, is called *Alo Alo;* and other isles have two or three, of different names. But their notions of the power and other attributes of these beings are so very absurd, that they suppose they have no farther concern with them after death. They have, however, very proper sentiments about the immateriality and the immortality of the soul. They call it life, the living principle, or, what is more agreeable to their notions of it, an *Otooa;* that is, a divinity, or invisible being. They say, that, immediately upon death, the souls of their chiefs separate from their bodies, and go to a place called *Boolootoo;* the chief, or god of which is *Gooleho.* This *Gooleho* seems to be a personification of Death; for they used to say to us, "You, and the men of Feejee (by this junction, meaning to pay a compliment, expressive of their confession of our superiority over themselves,) are also subject to the power and dominion of *Gooleho.*" His country, the general receptacle of the dead, according to their mythology, was never seen by any person; and yet, it seems, they know that it lies to the westward of Feejee; and that they who are once transported thither, live for ever; or, to use their own expression, are not subject to death again; but feast upon all the favourite products of their own country, with which this everlasting abode is supposed to abound. As to the souls of the lower sort of people, they undergo a sort of transmigration; or, as they say, are eaten up by a bird called *loata*, which walks upon their graves for that purpose.

I think I may venture to assert, that they do not worship anything that is the work of their own hands, or any visible part of the creation. They do not make offerings of hogs, dogs, and fruit, as at Otaheite, unless it be emblematically; for their *morais* were perfectly free from everything of the kind. But that they offer real human sacrifices, is with me beyond a doubt. Their *morais* or *fiatookas* (for they are called by both names, but mostly by the latter), are, as at Otaheite and many other parts of the world, burying-grounds and

* It may be proper to mention here, on the authority of Captain King, that it is common for the inferior people to cut off a joint of their little finger, on account of the sickness of the chiefs to whom they belong.

places of worship; though some of them seemed to be only appropriated to the first purpose; but these were small, and in every other respect inferior to the others.

Of the nature of their government, we know no more than the general outline. A subordination is established among them, that resembles the feudal system of our progenitors in Europe. But of its subdivisions of the constituent parts, and in what manner they are connected, so as to form a body-politic, I confess myself totally ignorant. Some of them told us that the power of the king is unlimited, and that the life and property of the subject is at his disposal. But the few circumstances that fell under our observation, rather contradicted than confirmed the idea of a despotic government. Mareewagee, old Tooboo, and Feenou, acted each like petty sovereigns, and frequently thwarted the measures of the king; of which he often complained. Neither was his court more splendid than those of the two first, who are the most powerful chiefs in the islands; and next to them, Feenou, Mareewagee's son, seemed to stand highest in authority. But, however independent on the despotic power of the king the great men may be, we saw instances enough to prove, that the lower order of people have no property, nor safety for their persons, but at the will of the chiefs to whom they respectively belong.

Tongataboo is divided into many districts; of above thirty of which we learned the names. Each of these has its particular chief, who decides differences, and distributes justice within his own district. But we could not form any satisfactory judgment about the extent of their power in general, or their mode of proportioning punishments to crimes. Most of these chiefs have possessions in other islands, from whence they draw supplies. At least, we know this is so with respect to the king, who, at certain established times, receives the product of his distant domains at Tongataboo; which is not only the principal place of his residence, but seemingly of all the people of consequence amongst these isles. Its inhabitants, in common conversation, call it the Land of Chiefs; while the subordinate isles are distinguished by the appellation of Lands of Servants. These chiefs are, by the people, styled not only lords of the earth, but of the sun and sky; and the king's family assume the name of Futtafaihe, from the god so called, who is probably their tutelary patron, and, perhaps, their common ancestor. The sovereign's peculiar earthly title is, however, simply *Tooee Tonga*.

There is a decorum observed in the presence of their principal men, and particularly of their king, that is truly admirable. Whenever he sits down, whether it be in a house or without, all the attendants seat themselves at the same time in a semicircle before him; leaving always a convenient space between him and them, into which no one attempts to come, unless he has some particular business. Neither is any one allowed to pass or sit behind him, nor even near him, without his order or permission; so that our having been indulged with this privilege, was a significant proof of the great respect that was paid us. When any one wants to speak with the king, he advances and sits down before him, delivers what he has to say in a few words, and having received his answer, retires again to the circle. But if the king speaks to any one, that person answers from his seat, unless he is to receive some order, in which case he gets up from his place and sits down before the chief with his legs across; which is a posture to which they are so much accustomed, that any other mode of sitting is disagreeable to them *. To speak to the king standing would be accounted here as striking a mark of rudeness, as it would be with us for one to sit down and put on his hat, when he addresses himself to his superior, and that superior on his feet, and uncovered.

It does not, indeed, appear that any of the most civilised nations have ever exceeded this people in the great order observed on all occasions; in ready compliance with the commands of their chiefs; and in the harmony that subsists throughout all ranks, and unites them as if they were all one man, informed with and directed by the same principle. Such a behaviour is remarkably obvious, whenever it is requisite that their chief should harangue any body of them collected together, which is frequently done. The most profound silence

* This is peculiar to the men; the women always sitting with both legs thrown a little on one side. We owe this remark to Captain King.

and attention is observed during the harangue, even to a much greater degree than is practised amongst us, on the most interesting and serious deliberations of our most respectable assemblies. And whatever might have been the subject of the speech delivered, we never saw an instance when any individual present showed signs of his being displeased, or that indicated the least inclination to dispute the declared will of a person who had a right to command. Nay, such is the force of these verbal laws, as I may call them, that I have seen one of their chiefs express his being astonished at a person's having acted contrary to such orders; though it appeared that the poor man could not possibly have been informed in time to have observed them.

Though some of the more potent chiefs may vie with the king in point of actual possessions, they fall very short in rank, and in certain marks of respect, which the collective body have agreed to pay the monarch. It is a particular privilege annexed to his sovereignty, not to be punctured nor circumcised as all his subjects are. Whenever he walks out, every one whom he meets must sit down till he has passed. No one is allowed to be over his head; on the contrary, all must come under his feet; for there cannot be a greater outward mark of submission than that which is paid to the sovereign and other great people of these islands by their inferiors. The method is this: the person who is to pay obeisance squats down before the chief, and bows the head to the sole of his foot; which, when he sits, is so placed that it can be easily come at; and having tapped, or touched it with the under and upper side of the fingers of both hands, he rises up and retires. It should seem, that the king cannot refuse any one who chooses to pay him this homage, which is called *moe moea;* for the common people would frequently take it into their heads to do it when he was walking; and he was always obliged to stop and hold up one of his feet behind him, till they had performed the ceremony. This, to a heavy unwieldy man, like Poulaho, must be attended with some trouble and pain; and I have sometimes seen him make a run, though very unable, to get out of the way, or to reach a place where he might conveniently sit down. The hands, after this application of them to the chief's feet, are, in some cases, rendered useless for a time; for, until they be washed, they must not touch any kind of food. This interdiction in a country where water is so scarce would seem to be attended with some inconvenience; but they are never at a loss for a succedaneum; and a piece of any juicy plant, which they can easily procure immediately, being rubbed upon them, this serves for the purpose of purification, as well as washing them with water. When the hands are in this state, they call it *taboo rema*. *Taboo*, in general, signifies forbidden, and *rema* is their word for hand. When the *taboo* is incurred by paying obeisance to a great personage, it is thus easily washed off. But in some other cases it must necessarily continue for a certain time. We have frequently seen women, who have been *taboo rema*, fed by others. At the expiration of the time, the interdicted person washes herself in one of their baths, which are dirty holes, for the most part, of brackish water. She then waits upon the king, and after making her obeisance in the usual way, lays hold of his foot and applies it to her breast, shoulders, and other parts of her body. He then embraces her on each shoulder; after which she retires purified from her uncleanness. I do not know that it is always necessary to come to the king for this purpose, though Omai assured me it was. If this be so, it may be one reason why he is, for the most part, travelling from island to island I saw this ceremony performed by him two or three times; and once by Feenou, to one of his own women; but as Omai was not then with me, I could not ask the occasion.

Taboo, as I have before observed, is a word of an extensive signification. Human sacrifices are called *tangata taboo;* and when anything is forbidden to be eaten, or made use of, they say that it is *taboo*. They tell us, that if the king should happen to go into a house belonging to a subject, that house would be *taboo*, and could never more be inhabited by the owner; so that wherever he travels, there are particular houses for his reception. Old Toobou, at this time, presided over the *taboo;* that is, if Omai comprehended the matter rightly, he and his deputies inspected all the produce of the island; taking care that every man should cultivate and plant his quota; and ordering what should be eaten and what

not. By this wise regulation they effectually guard against a famine; a sufficient quantity of ground is employed in raising provisions; and every article thus raised is secured from unnecessary waste. By another prudent regulation in their government, they have an officer over the police, or something like it. This department, when we were amongst them, was administered by Feenou; whose business we were told it was to punish all offenders, whether against the state or against individuals. He was also generalissimo, and commanded the warriors, when called out upon service; but, by all accounts, this is very seldom. The king frequently took some pains to inform us of Feenou's office; and among other things, told us that if he himself should become a bad man, Feenou would kill him. What I understood by this expression of being a bad man was, that if he did not govern according to law or custom, Feenou would be ordered, by the other great men, or by the people at large, to put him to death. There should seem to be no doubt, that a sovereign, thus liable to be controlled and punished for an abuse of power, cannot be called a despotic monarch.

When we consider the number of islands that compose this little state, and the distance at which some of them lie from the seat of government, attempts to throw off the yoke, and to acquire independence, it should seem, might be apprehended; but they tell us that this never happens. One reason why they are not thus disturbed, by domestic quarrels, may be this; that all the powerful chiefs, as we have already mentioned, reside at Tongataboo. They also secure the dependence of the other islands by the celerity of their operations; for if, at any time, a troublesome and popular man should start up in any of them, Feenou, or whoever holds his office, is immediately despatched thither to kill him. By this means, they crush a rebellion in its very infancy.

The orders or classes amongst their chiefs, or those who call themselves such, seemed to be almost as numerous as amongst us; but there are few in comparison that are lords of large districts of territory, the rest holding their lands under those principal barons, as they may be called. I was indeed told that when a man of property dies, everything he leaves behind him falls to the king; but that it is usual to give it to the eldest son of the deceased, with an obligation to make a provision out of it for the rest of the children. It is not the custom here, as at Otaheite, for the son, the moment he is born, to take from the father the homage and title; but he succeeds to them at his decease; so that their form of government is not only monarchical but hereditary. The order of succession to the crown has not been of late interrupted; for we know from a particular circumstance, that the Futtafaihes (Poulaho being only an addition to distinguish the king from the rest of his family) have reigned in a direct line, for at least one hundred and thirty-five years. Upon inquiring whether any account had been preserved amongst them of the arrival of Tasman's ships, we found that this history had been handed down to them from their ancestors, with an accuracy which marks that oral tradition may sometimes be depended upon. For they described the two ships as resembling ours, mentioning the place where they had anchored, their having staid but a few days; and their moving from that station to Annamooka. And by way of informing us how long ago this had happened, they told us the name of the Futtafaihe who was then king, and of those who had succeeded down to Poulaho, who is the fifth since that period; the first being an old man, at the time of the arrival of the ships.

From what has been said of the present king, it would be natural to suppose, that he had the highest rank of any person in the islands. But to our great surprise, we found it is not so, for Latoolibooloo, the person who was pointed out to me as king when I first visited Tongataboo, and three women, are, in some respects, superior to Poulaho himself. On our inquiring who these extraordinary personages were, whom they distinguished by the name and title of *Tammaha?* * we were told that the late king, Poulaho's father, had a sister of equal rank, and older than himself; that she, by a man who came from the island of Feejee, had a son and two daughters; and that these three persons, as well as their mother, rank above Futtafaihe the king. We endeavoured, in vain, to trace the reason of this singular pre-eminence of the *Tammahas;* for we could learn nothing besides this account of

* The reader need not be reminded that Tamoloa, which signifies a chief in the dialect of Hamao, and Tammaha become the same word by the change of a single letter the articulation of which is not very strongly marked.

their pedigree. The mother and one of the daughters, called Tooeelakaipa, live at Vavaoo. Latoolibooloo, the son, and the other daughter, whose name is Moungoula-kaipa, reside at Tongataboo. The latter is the woman who is mentioned to have dined with me on the 21st of June. This gave occasion to our discovering her superiority over the king, who would not eat in her presence, though she made no scruple to do so before him, and received from him the customary obeisance, by touching her foot. We never had an opportunity of seeing him pay this mark of respect to Latoolibooloo; but we have observed him leave off eating, and have his victuals put aside, when the latter came into the same house. Latoolibooloo assumed the privilege of taking anything from the people, even if it belonged to the king; and yet in the ceremony called *Natche*, he assisted only in the same manner as the other principal men. He was looked upon by his countrymen as a madman, and many of his actions seemed to confirm this judgment. At Eooa they showed me a good deal of land, said to belong to him; and I saw there a son of his, a child whom they distinguish by the same title as his father. The son of the greatest prince in Europe could not be more humoured and caressed than this little *Tammaha* was.

The language of the Friendly Islands has the greatest affinity imaginable to that of New Zealand, of Wateeoo, and Mangeea; and, consequently, to that of Otaheite, and the Society Islands. There are also many of their words the same with those used by the natives of Cocos Island, as appears from the vocabulary collected there by Le Maire and Schouten. The mode of pronunciation differs, indeed, considerably, in many instances, from that both of New Zealand and Otaheite; but still a great number of words are either exactly the same, or so little changed, that their common original may be satisfactorily traced. The language, as spoken at the Friendly Islands, is sufficiently copious for all the ideas of the people; and we had many proofs of its being easily adapted to all musical purposes, both in song and in recitative; besides being harmonious enough in common conversation. Its component parts, as far as our scanty acquaintance with it enabled us to judge, are not numerous; and in some of its rules, it agrees with other known languages. As, for instance, we could easily discern the several degrees of comparison, as used in the Latin; but none of the inflections of nouns and verbs.

We were able to collect several hundreds of the words; and, amongst these, are terms that express numbers as far as a hundred thousand; beyond which they never would reckon. It is probable, indeed, that they are not able to go farther; for, after having got thus far, we observed that they commonly used a word which expresses an indefinite number. A short specimen, selected from the larger vocabulary, is here inserted, with the corresponding words, of the same signification as used at Otaheite, on the opposite column; which, while it will give, as we may say, ocular demonstration of their being dialects of the same language, will, at the same time, point out the particular letters by the insertion, omission, or alteration of which the variations of the two dialects from each other have been effected.

It must be observed, however, that our vocabularies of this sort must necessarily be liable to great mistakes. The ideas of those from whom we were to learn the words were so different from ours, that it was difficult to fix them to the object of inquiry. Or, if this could be obtained, to learn an unknown tongue from an instructor, who did not know a single word of any language that his scholar was conversant with, could not promise to produce much. But even when these difficulties were surmounted, there still remained a fruitful source of mistake. I mean, inaccuracy in catching exactly the true sound of a word to which our ears had never been accustomed, from persons whose mode of pronunciation was, in general, so indistinct, that it seldom happened that any two of us, in writing down the same word from the same mouth, made use of the same vowels in representing it. Nay, we even very commonly differed about consonants, the sounds of which are least liable to ambiguity. Besides all this, we found by experience, that we had been led into strange corruptions of some of the most common words, either from the natives endeavouring to imitate us, or from our having misunderstood them. Thus, *cheeto* was universally used by us to express a thief, though totally different from the real word in the language of Tongataboo. The mistake arose from a prior one into which we had run when at New Zealand; for though the word that signifies thief there, be absolutely the same that belongs to the

dialect of the Friendly Islands (being *kaechau* at both places), yet, by some blunder, we had used the word *teete* first at New Zealand, and afterwards at Tongataboo, on our arrival there. The natives endeavouring to imitate us as nearly as they could, and so fabricating the word *cheeto*, this, by a complication of mistakes, was adopted by us as their own. All possible care has been taken to make the following table as correct as possible.

ENGLISH.	FRIENDLY ISLANDS.	OTAHEITE.
The sun	Elaa	Eraa.
Fire	Eafoi	Eahoi.
Thunder	Fatoore	Pateere.
Rain	Ooha	Eooa.
The wind	Matangee	Mataee.
Warm	Mafanna	Mahanna.
The clouds	Ao	Eao.
Land	Fonooa	Fenooa.
Water	Avy	Evy.
Sleep	Mohe	Moe.
A man	Tangata	Taata.
A woman	Vefaine	Waheine.
A young girl	Taheine	Toonea.
A servant, or person of mean rank	Tooa	Toutou, or Teou.
The dawn, or day-break	Aho	Aou.
The hair	Fooroo	Eroroo.
The tongue	Elelo	Erero.
The ear	Tareenga	Tareea.
The beard	Koomoo	Ooma.
The sea	Tahee	Taee.
A boat, or canoe	Wakka	Evaa.
Black	Oole	Ere.
Red	Goola	Oora, oore.
A lance, or spear	Tao	Tao.
A parent	Motooa	Madooa.
What is that?	Kohaeea?	Yahaeea?
To hold fast	Amou	Mou.
To wipe or clean anything	Horo	Horoee.
To rise up	Etoo	Atoo.
To cry or shed tears	Tangee	Taee.
To eat or chew	Eky	Ey.
Yes	Ai	Ai.
No	Kaee	Aee.
You	Koe	Oe.
I	Ou	Wou.
Ten	Ongofooro	Ahooroo.

Having now concluded my remarks on these islands and people, I shall take my final leave of them, after giving some account of the astronomical and nautical observations that were made during our stay. And first I must take notice, that the difference of longitude between Annamooka and Tongataboo is somewhat less than was marked in the chart and narrative of my last voyage. This error might easily arise, as the longitude of each was then found without any connexion with the other. But now the distance between them is determined to a degree of precision that excludes all possibility of mistake; which the following table will illustrate:—

The latitude of the observatory at Tongataboo, by the mean of several observations	21°	8′	19″	south.
The longitude, by the mean of one hundred and thirty-one sets of lunar observations, amounting to above a thousand observed distances between the moon, sun, and stars	184	55	18	east.
The difference of longitude, made by the time-keeper, between the above observatory and that at Annamooka	0	16	0	
Hence, the longitude of Annamooka is	185	11	18	east.
By the time-keeper it is—Greenwich rate	186	12	27	
New Zealand rate	184	37	0	
Its latitude	20	15	0	south.

N.B.—The observatory at Tongataboo was near the middle of the north side of the island; and that at Annamooka, on its west side; but the chart will elucidate this.

The time-keeper was too slow for mean time at Greenwich, on the first of July at noon, by $12^h\ 34^m\ 33^s.2$; and her daily rate, at that time, was losing, on mean time, $1^m.783$ per day. This rate will now be used for finding the longitude by the time-keeper; and 184° 55′ 18″, or $12^h\ 19^m\ 41^s.2$, will be taken as the true longitude of Tongataboo, east from Greenwich.

By the mean of several observations, the south end of the needle was found to dip

At Lefooga, one of the Hapaee islands	36°	55′	0″
Tongataboo	39	1½	0

The variation of the compass was found to be—

At Annamooka, on board	8°	30′	3½″	east.
Anchor off Koloo, between Annamooka and Hapaee	8	12	29½	
Anchor off Lefooga	10	11	40	
Tongataboo, on board	9	44	5½	
Ditto, on shore	10	12	58	

I can assign no reason why the variation is so much less at and near Annamooka, than at either of the other two places. I can only say, that there is no fault in the observations; and that the variation ought to be more at Annamooka than the above, as it has been found to be so to the northward, southward, eastward, and westward of it. But disagreements in the variation, greater than this, even in the same needle, have been often observed. And I should not have taken notice of this instance, but from a belief that the cause, whatever it is, exists in the place, and not in the needles; for Mr. Bayly found the same, or rather more difference.

The tides are more considerable at these islands, than at any other of my discoveries in this ocean, that lie within the tropics. At Annamooka it is high water, on the full and change days, nearly at six o'clock; and the tide rises and falls there, upon a perpendicular, about six feet. In the harbour of Tongataboo, it is high water, on the full and change days, at fifty minutes past six. The tide rises and falls on those days, four feet nine inches; and three feet six inches at the Quadratures. In the channels between the islands, which lie in this harbour, it flows near tide and half-tide; that is, the flood continues to run up near three hours, after it is high water by the shore; and the ebb continues to run down, after it is flood by the shore. It is only in these channels, and in a few other places near the shores, that the motion of the water or tide is perceivable; so that I can only guess at the quarter from which the flood comes. In the road of Annamooka, it sets west south-west, and the ebb the contrary; but it falls into the harbour of Tongataboo from the north-west, passes through the two narrow channels, on each side of Hoolaiva, where it runs with considerable rapidity, and then spends itself in the lagoon. The ebb returns the same way, and runs with rather greater force. The north-west tide is met at the entrance of the lagoon, by one from the east; but this, as I have before observed, was found to be very inconsiderable.

BOOK III

TRANSACTIONS AT OTAHEITE, AND THE SOCIETY ISLANDS; AND PROSECUTION OF THE VOYAGE TO THE COAST OF NORTH AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.—AN ECLIPSE OF THE MOON OBSERVED.—THE ISLAND TOOBOUAI DISCOVERED.—ITS SITUATION, EXTENT, AND APPEARANCE.—INTERCOURSE WITH ITS INHABITANTS.—THEIR PERSONS, DRESSES, AND CANOES DESCRIBED.—ARRIVAL IN OHEITEPEHA BAY AT OTAHEITE.—OMAI'S RECEPTION, AND IMPRUDENT CONDUCT.—ACCOUNT OF SPANISH SHIPS TWICE VISITING THE ISLAND.—INTERVIEW WITH THE CHIEF OF THIS DISTRICT.—THE OLLA, OR GOD, OF BOLABOLA.—A MAD PROPHET.—ARRIVAL IN MATAVAI BAY.

HAVING, as before related *, taken our final leave of the Friendly Islands, I now resume my narrative of the voyage. In the evening of the 17th of July, at eight o'clock, the body of Eaoo bore north-east by north, distant three or four leagues. The wind was now at east, and blew a fresh gale. With it I stood to the south, till half an hour past six o'clock the next morning, when a sudden squall from the same direction took our ship aback; and before the ships could be trimmed, on the other tack, the mainsail and the top-gallant sails were much torn.

The wind kept between the south-west, and south-east, on the 19th and 20th; afterward it veered to the east, north-east, and north. The night between the 20th and 21st, an epistle of the moon was observed as follows; being then in the latitude of 22° 57¼′ south

	Apparent time, A.M. H.	M.	S.	
Beginning, by Mr. King, at . .	0	32	50	Mean long. 186° 57½′
Mr. Bligh, at . .	0	33	25	,,
Myself, at . .	0	33	35	,,

* See the conclusion of chap. ix. book ii.

Apparent time, A.M.

	H.	M.	S.	
End, by Mr. King, at .	1	44	56	Mean long. 186° 28¼′. Time keep. 186° 58½′.
Mr. Bligh, at .	1	44	6	" "
Myself, at .	1	44	56	" "

The latitude and longitude are those of the ship, at 8h 56m A.M., being the time when the sun's altitude was taken for finding the apparent time. At the beginning of the eclipse, the moon was in the zenith; so that it was found most convenient to make use of the sextants; and to make the observations by the reflected image, which was brought down to a convenient altitude. The same was done at the end; except by Mr. King, who observed with a night telescope. Although the greatest difference between our several observations is more than fifty seconds, it, nevertheless, appeared to me, that two observers might differ more than double that time, in both the beginning and end. And though the times are noted to seconds, no such accuracy was pretended to. The odd seconds, set down above, arose by reducing the time, as given by the watch, to apparent time.

I continued to stretch to the east-south-east, with the wind at north-east and north, without meeting with any thing worthy of note, till seven o'clock in the evening of the 29th; when we had a sudden and very heavy squall of wind from the north. At this time, we were under single-reefed top-sails, courses, and stay-sails. Two of the latter were blown to pieces; and it was with difficulty that we saved the other sails. After this squall, we observed several lights moving about on board the Discovery; by which we concluded that something had given way; and, the next morning, we saw that her main-topmast had been lost. Both wind and weather continued very unsettled till noon this day, when the latter cleared up, and the former settled in the north-west quarter. At this time we were in the latitude of 28° 6′ south, and our longitude was 198° 23′ east. Here we saw some pintado birds, being the first since we left the land. On the 31st, at noon, Captain Clerke made a signal to speak with me. By the return of the boat, which I sent on board his ship, he informed me, that the head of the main-mast had been discovered to be sprung, in such a manner, as to render the rigging of another topmast very dangerous; and that, therefore, he must rig something lighter in its place. He also informed me, that he had lost his main-top-gallant-yard; and that he neither had another, nor a spar to make one, on board. The Resolution's sprit-sail top-sail-yard, which I sent him, supplied this want. The next day, we got up a jury top-mast, on which he set a mizen-top-sail; and this enabled him to keep way with the Resolution.

The wind was fixed in the western board; that is, from the north, round by the west to south, and I steered east, and north-east, without meeting with anything remarkable, till eleven o'clock in the morning of the 8th of August, when the land was seen, bearing north-north-east, nine or ten leagues distant. At first, it appeared in detached hills, like so many separate islands; but as we drew nearer, we found that they were all connected, and belonged to one and the same island. I steered directly for it, with a fine gale at south-east by south; and at half-past six o'clock in the afternoon, it extended from north by east, to north-north-east ¾ east, distant three or four leagues. The night was spent standing off and on; and, at day-break, the next morning, I steered for the north-west or lee side of the island; and, as we stood round its south, or south-west part, we saw it every where guarded by a reef of coral rock, extending, in some places, a full mile from the land, and a high surf breaking upon it. Some thought that they saw land to the southward of this island; but, as that was to the windward, it was left undetermined. As we drew near, we saw people on several parts of the coast, walking or running along-shore; and, in a little time, after we had reached the lee-side of the island, we saw them launch two canoes, into which above a dozen men got, and paddled toward us.

I now shortened sail, as well to give these canoes time to come up with us, as to sound for anchorage. At the distance of about half a mile from the reef, we found from forty to thirty-five fathoms' water, over a bottom of fine sand. Nearer in, the bottom was strewed with coral rocks. The canoes having advanced to about the distance of a pistol-shot from the ship, there stopped. Omai was employed, as he usually had been on such occasions,

to use all his eloquence to prevail upon the men in them to come nearer; but no entreaties could induce them to trust themselves within our reach. They kept eagerly pointing to the shore with their paddles, and calling to us to go thither; and several of their countrymen, who stood upon the beach, held up something white, which we considered also as an invitation to land. We could very well have done this, as there was good anchorage without the reef, and a break or opening in it, from whence the canoes had come out, which had no surf upon it, and where, if there was not water for the ships, there was more than sufficient for the boats; but I did not think proper to risk losing the advantage of a fair wind, for the sake of examining an island that appeared to be of little consequence. We stood in no need of refreshments, if I had been sure of meeting with them there; and having already been so unexpectedly delayed in my progress to the Society Islands, I was desirous of avoiding every possibility of farther retardment. For this reason, after making several unsuccessful attempts to induce these people to come alongside, I made sail to the north, and left them; but not without getting from them, during their vicinity to our ship, the name of their island, which they called Toobouai. It is situated in the latitude of 22° 15′ south; and in 210° 37′ east longitude. Its greatest extent, in any direction, exclusive of the reef, is not above five or six miles. On the north-west side, the reef appears in detached pieces, between which the sea seems to break in upon the shore. Small as the island is, there are hills in it of a considerable elevation. At the foot of the hills, is a narrow border of flat land, running quite round it, edged with a white sand beach. The hills are covered with grass, or some other herbage, except a few steep, rocky cliffs at one part, with patches of trees interspersed to their summits. But the plantations are more numerous in some of the valleys; and the flat border is quite covered with high, strong trees, whose different kinds we could not discern, except some cocoa-palms, and a few of the *etoa*. According to the information of the men in the canoes, their island is stocked with hogs and fowls; and produces the several fruits and roots that are found at the other islands in this part of the Pacific Ocean.

We had an opportunity, from the conversation we had with those who came off to us, of satisfying ourselves, that the inhabitants of Toobouai speak the Otaheite language; a circumstance that indubitably proves them to be of the same nation. Those of them whom we saw in the canoes, were a stout copper-coloured people, with straight black hair, which some of them wore tied in a bunch on the crown of the head, and others, flowing about the shoulders. Their faces were somewhat round and full, but the features, upon the whole, rather flat; and their countenances seemed to express some degree of natural ferocity. They had no covering but a piece of narrow stuff wrapped about the waist, and made to pass between the thighs, to cover the adjoining parts; but some of those whom we saw upon the beach, where about a hundred persons had assembled, were entirely clothed with a kind of white garment. We could observe, that some of our visitors, in the canoes, wore pearl shells, hung about the neck, as an ornament. One of them kept blowing a large conch-shell, to which a reed, near two feet long, was fixed; at first, with a continued tone of the same kind; but he afterward converted it into a kind of musical instrument, perpetually repeating two or three notes, with the same strength. What the blowing the conch portended, I cannot say; but I never found it the messenger of peace*.

Their canoes appeared to be about thirty feet long, and two feet above the surface of the water as they floated. The forepart projected a little, and had a notch cut across, as if intended to represent the mouth of some animal. The afterpart rose with a gentle curve to

* This instrument is described by Mr. Ellis as "used in war to stimulate action, by the priests in the temple, and also by the herald and others on board their fleets." He represents its sound as being "more horrific than that of the drum," and informs us that "the largest shells (of a species of murex) were usually selected for the purpose, and were sometimes above a foot in length, and seven or eight inches in diameter at the mouth. In order to facilitate the blowing of this trumpet, they made a perforation, about an inch in diameter, near the apex of the shell. Into this they inserted a bamboo cane, about three feet in length, which was secured by binding it to the shell with fine braid; the aperture was rendered air-tight by cementing the outsides of it with a resinous gum from the bread-fruit tree. These shells were blown when a procession walked to the temple, or their warriors marched to battle, at the inauguration of the king, during the worship at the temple, or when a tabu, or restriction, was imposed in the name of the gods. We have sometimes heard them blown. The sound is extremely loud, but the most monotonous and dismal that it is possible to imagine."—Ed.

the height of two or three feet, turning gradually smaller, and, as well as the upper part of the sides, was carved all over. The rest of the sides, which were perpendicular, were curiously incrusted with flat, white shells, disposed nearly in concentric semicircles, with the curve upward. One of the canoes carried seven, and the other eight, men; and they were managed with small paddles, whose blades were nearly round. Each of them had a pretty long outrigger; and they sometimes paddled with the two opposite sides together so close, that they seemed to be one boat with two outriggers; the rowers turning their faces occasionally to the stern, and pulling that way, without paddling the canoes round. When they saw us determined to leave them, they stood up in their canoes, and repeated something very loudly in concert; but we could not tell whether this was meant as a mark of their friendship or enmity. It is certain, however, that they had no weapons with them; nor could we perceive, with our glasses, that those on shore had any.

After leaving this island, from the discovery of which future navigators may possibly derive some advantage, I steered to the north, with a fresh gale at E. by S., and at daybreak in the morning of the 12th, we saw the island of Maitea. Soon after, Otaheite made its appearance; and at noon it extended from S.W. by W. to W.N.W.; the point of Oheitepeha Bay bearing W., about four leagues distant. I steered for this bay, intending to anchor there, in order to draw what refreshments I could from the south-east part of the island, before I went down to Matavai; from the neighbourhood of which station I expected my principal supply. We had a fresh gale easterly, till two o'clock in the afternoon; when, being about a league from the bay, the wind suddenly died away, and was succeeded by baffling, light airs from every direction, and calms by turns. This lasted about two hours. Then we had sudden squalls, with rain, from the east. These carried us before the bay, where we got a breeze from the land, and attempted in vain to work in to gain the anchoring place. So that, at last, about nine o'clock, we were obliged to stand out, and to spend the night at sea.

When we first drew near the island, several canoes came off to the ship, each conducted by two or three men; but as they were common fellows, Omai took no particular notice of them, nor they of him. They did not even seem to perceive that he was one of their countrymen, although they conversed with him for some time. At length, a chief whom I had known before, named Ootee, and Omai's brother-in-law, who chanced to be now at this corner of the island, and three or four more persons, all of whom knew Omai before he embarked with Captain Furneaux, came on board. Yet there was nothing either tender or striking in their meeting. On the contrary, there seemed to be a perfect indifference on both sides, till Omai having taken his brother down into the cabin, opened the drawer where he kept his red feathers and gave him a few. This being presently known amongst the rest of the natives upon deck, the face of affairs was entirely turned, and Ootee, who would hardly speak to Omai before, now begged that they might be *tayos**, and exchange names. Omai accepted of the honour, and confirmed it with a present of red feathers; and Ootee, by way of return, sent ashore for a hog. But it was evident to every one of us, that it was not the man, but his property they were in love with. Had he not shown them his treasure of red feathers, which is the commodity in greatest estimation at the island, a question much whether they would have bestowed even a cocoa-nut upon him. Such was Omai's first reception among his countrymen. I own I never expected it would be otherwise; but still, I was in hopes that the valuable cargo of presents with which the liberality of his friends in England had loaded him, would be the means of raising him into consequence, and of making him respected, and even courted by the first persons throughout the extent of the Society Islands. This could not but have happened, had he conducted himself with any degree of prudence; but instead of it, I am sorry to say, that he paid too little regard to the repeated advice of those who wished him well, and suffered himself to be duped by every designing knave.

From the natives who came off to us in the course of this day, we learnt that two ships had twice been in Oheitepeha Bay since my last visit to this island in 1774, and that they had left animals there, such as we had on board. But, on farther inquiry, we

* Friends.

found they were only hogs, dogs, goats, one bull, and the male of some other animal, which, from the imperfect description now given us, we could not find out. They told us that these ships had come from a place called Reema; by which we guessed that Lima, the capital of Peru, was meant, and that these late visitors were Spaniards. We were informed, that the first time they came, they built a house and left four men behind them, *viz.* two priests, a boy or servant, and a fourth person called Mateema, who was much spoken of at this time; carrying away with them, when they sailed, four of the natives; that in about ten months, the same two ships returned, bringing back two of the islanders, the other two having died at Lima; and that, after a short stay, they took away their own people; but that the house which they had built was left standing.

The important news of red feathers being on board our ships, having been conveyed on shore by Omai's friends, day had no sooner begun to break next morning, than we were surrounded by a multitude of canoes crowded with people, bringing hogs and fruit to market. At first, a quantity of feathers, not greater than what might be got from a tom-tit, would purchase a hog of forty or fifty pounds' weight. But as almost everybody in the ships was possessed of some of this precious article in trade, it fell in its value above five hundred per cent. before night. However, even then, the balance was much in our favour; and red feathers continued to preserve their superiority over every other commodity. Some of the natives would not part with a hog, unless they received an axe in exchange; but nails, and beads and other trinkets, which, during our former voyages had so great a run at this island, were now so much despised, that few would deign so much as to look at them.

There being but little wind all the morning, it was nine o'clock before we could get to an anchor in the bay; where we moored with two bowers. Soon after we had anchored, Omai's sister came on board to see him. I was happy to observe, that, much to the honour of them both, their meeting was marked with expressions of the tenderest affection, easier to be conceived than to be described. This moving scene having closed, and the ship being properly moored, Omai and I went ashore. My first object was to pay a visit to a man whom my friend represented as a very extraordinary personage indeed, for he said that he was the god of Bolabola. We found him seated under one of those small awnings which they usually carry in their larger canoes. He was an elderly man, and had lost the use of his limbs, so that he was carried from place to place upon a hand-barrow. Some called him *Olla* or *Orra*, which is the name of the god of Bolabola; but his own proper name was Etary. From Omai's account of this person, I expected to have seen some religious adoration paid to him. But, excepting some plantain-trees that lay before him, and upon the awning under which he sat, I could observe nothing by which he might be distinguished from their other chiefs. Omai presented to him a tuft of red feathers, tied to the end of a small stick; but, after a little conversation on indifferent matters with this Bolabola man, his attention was drawn to an old woman, the sister of his mother. She was already at his feet, and had them plentifully bedewed with tears of joy.

I left him with the old lady in the midst of a number of people who had gathered round him, and went to take a view of the house said to be built by the strangers who had lately been here. I found it standing at a small distance from the beach. The wooden materials of which it was composed seemed to have been brought hither ready prepared, to be set up occasionally, for all the planks were numbered. It was divided into two small rooms; and in the inner one were, a bedstead, a table, a bench, some old hats, and other trifles, of which the natives seemed to be very careful, as also of the house itself, which had suffered no hurt from the weather, a shed having been built over it. There were scuttles all around which served as air-holes; and, perhaps, they were also meant to fire from, with muskets, if ever this should be found necessary. At a little distance from the front stood a wooden cross, on the transverse part of which was cut the following inscription:

CHRISTUS VINCIT.

And, on the perpendicular part (which confirmed our conjecture, that the two ships were Spanish,)

CAROLUS III. IMPERAT. 1774.

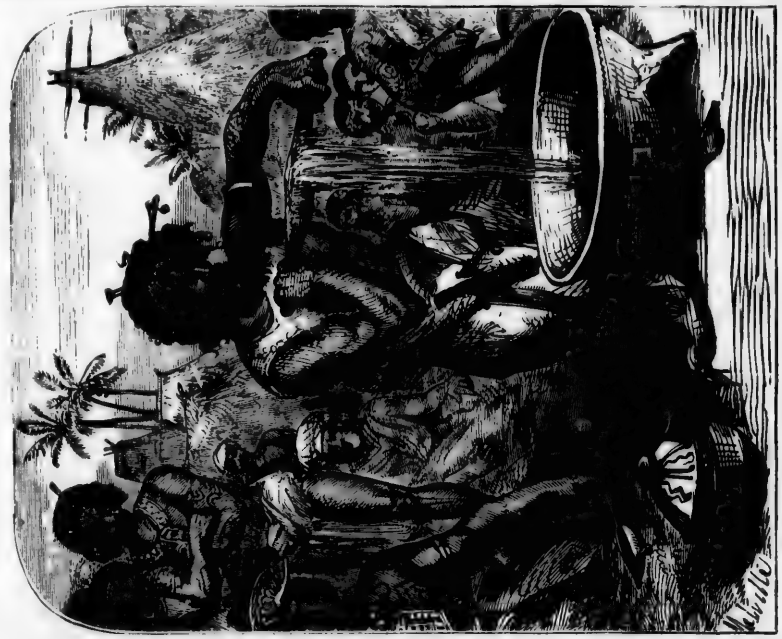
animal, which.
ld us that these
a, the capital of
rmed, that the
. two priests, a
of at this time;
out ten months,
wo having died
; but that the

een conveyed on
, than we were
fruit to market.
a tom-tit, would
in the ships was
ive hundred per
favour; and red
y. Some of the
; but nails, and
un at this island,
em.
e could get to an
e had anchored,
ch to the honour
affection, easier to
d the ship being
y a visit to a man
he said that he
nings which they
st the use of his
Some called him
proper name was
me religious ado-
m, and upon the
be distinguished
d to the end of a
is Bolabola man,
was already at his

d gathered round
rs who had lately
wooden materials
ared, to be set up
small rooms; and
r trifles, of which
d suffered no hurt
all around which
h muskets, if ever
d a wooden cross,

e two ships were

BURYING ALIVE IN FEEJEE.



NATIVES OF FEEJEE PREPARING KAVA, THE NATIONAL DRINK.

Plate XVIII. *Cook's Voyage.*

Au

On
ins

T
tho
the
this
the
este
I
pers
isla
thou
his
Wa
Obe
from
larg
me
A
supp
beve
stay
favo
thou
inte
whi
liam
Atla
also
doul
as f
to g
econ
no
my
beer
this
still
nece
thes
in ti
mos
that
enti
rem
with
whi
nigh
heal
shou
T

On the other side of the post, I preserved the memory of the prior visits of the English, by inscribing,

GEORGIUS TERTIUS REX,
ANNIS 1767,
1769, 1773, 1774, AND 1777.

The natives pointed out to us, near the foot of the cross, the grave of the commodore of the two ships, who had died here, while they lay in the bay the first time. His name, as they pronounced it, was Oreede. Whatever the intentions of the Spaniards in visiting this island might be, they seemed to have taken great pains to ingratiate themselves with the inhabitants, who, upon every occasion, mentioned them with the strongest expressions of esteem and veneration.

I met with no chief of any considerable note on this occasion, excepting the extraordinary personage above described. Waheiadooa, the sovereign of Tiaraboo (as this part of the island is called,) was now absent; and I afterwards found, that he was not the same person, though of the same name, with the chief whom I had seen here during my last voyage; but his brother, a boy of about ten years of age, who had succeeded upon the death of the elder Waheiadooa, about twenty months before our arrival. We also learned, that the celebrated Oberea was dead; but that Otoo, and all our other friends, were living. When I returned from viewing the house and cross erected by the Spaniards, I found Omai holding forth to a large company; and it was with some difficulty that he could be got away, to accompany me on board; where I had an important affair to settle.

As I knew that Otaheite and the neighbouring islands could furnish us with a plentiful supply of cocoa-nuts, the liquor of which is an excellent succedaneum for any artificial beverage, I was desirous of prevailing upon my people to consent to be abridged, during our stay here, of their stated allowance of spirits to mix with water. But as this stoppage of a favourite article, without assigning some reason, might have occasioned a general murmur, I thought it most prudent to assemble the ship's company, and to make known to them the intent of the voyage, and the extent of our future operations. To induce them to undertake which with cheerfulness and perseverance, I took notice of the rewards offered by Parliament to such of his Majesty's subjects as shall first discover a communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, in any direction whatever, in the northern hemisphere: and also to such as shall first penetrate beyond the 89th degree of northern latitude. I made no doubt, I told them, that I should find them willing to co-operate with me in attempting, as far as might be possible, to become entitled to one or both these rewards; but that, to give us the best chance of succeeding, it would be necessary to observe the utmost economy in the expenditure of our stores and provisions, particularly the latter, as there was no probability of getting a supply anywhere after leaving these islands. I strengthened my argument, by reminding them, that our voyage must last at least a year longer than had been originally supposed, by our having already lost the opportunity of getting to the North this summer. I begged them to consider the various obstructions and difficulties we might still meet with, and the aggravated hardships they would labour under, if it should be found necessary to put them to short allowance of any species of provisions in a cold climate. For these very substantial reasons, I submitted to them, whether it would not be better to be prudent in time, and rather than to run the risk of having no spirits left, when such a cordial would be most wanted, to consent to be without their grog now, when we had so excellent a liquor as that of cocoa-nuts to substitute in its place; but that, after all, I left the determination entirely to their own choice. I had the satisfaction to find, that this proposal did not remain a single moment under consideration; being unanimously approved of, immediately, without any objection. I ordered Captain Clerke to make the same proposal to his people; which they also agreed to. Accordingly, we stopped serving grog, except on Saturday nights, when the companies of both ships had full allowance of it, that they might drink the healths of their female friends in England; lest these, amongst the pretty girls of Otaheite, should be wholly forgotten.

The next day we began some necessary operations; to inspect the provisions that were

in the main and fore hold; to get the casks of beef and pork, and the coals, out of the ground tier; and to put some ballast in their place. The caulkers were set to work to caulk the ship, which she stood in great need of; having at times, made much water on our passage from the Friendly Islands. I also put on shore the bull, cows, horses, and sheep, and appointed two men to look after them while grazing; for I did not intend to leave any of them at this part of the island. During the two following days, it hardly ever ceased raining. The natives, nevertheless, came to us from every quarter, the news of our arrival having rapidly spread. Waheiadooa, though at a distance, had been informed of it; and, in the afternoon of the 16th, a chief, named Etorea, under whose tutorage he was, brought me two hogs as a present from him; and acquainted me, that he himself would be with us the day after. And so it proved; for I received a message from him the next morning, notifying his arrival, and desiring I would go ashore to meet him. Accordingly, Omai and I prepared to pay him a formal visit. On this occasion, Omai, assisted by some of his friends, dressed himself, not after the English fashion, nor that of Otaheite, nor that of Tongataboo, nor in the dress of any country upon earth, but in a strange medley of all that he was possessed of.

Thus equipped, on our landing, we first visited Etary; who, carried on a hand-barrow, attended us to a large house, where he was set down; and we seated ourselves on each side of him. I caused a piece of Tongataboo cloth to be spread out before us, on which I laid the presents I intended to make. Presently the young chief came, attended by his mother, and several principal men, who all seated themselves, at the other end of the cloth, facing us. Then a man who sat by me, made a speech, consisting of short and separate sentences; part of which was dictated by those about him. He was answered by one from the opposite side, near the chief. Etary spoke next; then Omai; and both of them were answered from the same quarter. These orations were entirely about my arrival, and connexions with them. The person who spoke last told me, amongst other things, that the men of *Reema*, that is, the Spaniards, had desired them not to suffer me to come into Oheitepeha Bay, if I should return any more to the island, for that it belonged to them; but that they were so far from paying any regard to this request, that he was authorised now to make a formal surrender of the province of Tiaraboo to me, and of every thing in it; which marks very plainly, that these people are no strangers to the policy of accommodating themselves to present circumstances. At length, the young chief was directed, by his attendants, to come and embrace me; and, by way of confirming this treaty of friendship, we exchanged names. The ceremony being closed, he and his friends accompanied me on board to dinner.

Omai had prepared a *maro*, composed of red and yellow feathers, which he intended for Otoo, the king of the whole island; and, considering where we were, it was a present of very great value. I said all that I could to persuade him not to produce it now, wishing him to keep it on board till an opportunity should offer of presenting it to Otoo, with his own hands. But he had too good an opinion of the honesty and fidelity of his countrymen to take my advice. Nothing would serve him but to carry it ashore, on this occasion, and to give it to Waheiadooa, to be by him forwarded to Otoo, in order to its being added to the royal *maro*. He thought, by this management, that he should oblige both chiefs; whereas he highly disobliged the one, whose favour was of the most consequence to him, without gaining any reward from the other. What I had foreseen happened. For Waheiadooa kept the *maro* for himself, and only sent to Otoo a very small piece of feathers; not the twentieth part of what belonged to the magnificent present. On the 19th, this young chief made me a present of ten or a dozen hogs, a quantity of fruit, and some cloth. In the evening we played off some fire-works, which both astonished and entertained the numerous spectators.

This day, some of our gentlemen, in their walks, found, what they were pleased to call, a Roman Catholic chapel. Indeed, from their account, this was not to be doubted; for they described the altar and every other constituent part of such a place of worship. However, as they mentioned, at the same time, that two men, who had the care of it, would not suffer them to go in, I thought that they might be mistaken, and had the curiosity to

pay a visit to it myself. The supposed chapel proved to be a *toopapaoo*, in which the remains of the late Waheiadooa lay, as it were, in state. It was in a pretty large house, which was inclosed with a low palisade. The *toopapaoo* was uncommonly neat, and resembled one of those little houses, or awnings, belonging to their large canoes. Perhaps it had originally been employed for that purpose. It was covered, and hung round, with cloth and mats of different colours, so as to have a pretty effect. There was one piece of scarlet broad cloth, four or five yards in length, conspicuous among the other ornaments; which, no doubt, had been a present from the Spaniards. This cloth, and a few tassels of feathers, which our gentlemen supposed to be silk, suggested to them the idea of a chapel; for whatever else was wanting to create a resemblance, their imagination supplied; and if they had not previously known that there had been Spaniards lately here, they could not possibly have made the mistake. Small offerings of fruit and roots seemed to be daily made at this shrine, as some pieces were quite fresh. These were deposited upon a *whatta*, or altar, which stood without the palisades; and within these we were not permitted to enter. Two men constantly attended, night and day, not only to watch over the place, but also to dress and undress the *toopapaoo*. For when I first went to survey it, the cloth and its appendages were all rolled up; but, at my request, the two attendants hung it out in order, first dressing themselves in clean white robes. They told me, that the chief had been dead twenty months.

Having taken in a fresh supply of water, and finished all our other necessary operations, on the 22d, I brought off the cattle and sheep, which had been put on shore here to graze; and made ready for sea. In the morning of the 23d, while the ships were unmooring, Omai and I landed, to take leave of the young chief. While we were with him, one of those enthusiastic persons, whom they call *Eatooas*, from a persuasion that they are possessed with the spirit of the Divinity, came and stood before us. He had all the appearance of a man not in his right senses; and his only dress was a large quantity of plantain leaves, wrapped round his waist. He spoke in a low, squeaking voice, so as hardly to be understood; at least, not by me. But Omai said, that he comprehended him perfectly, and that he was advising Waheiadooa not to go with me to Matavai; an expedition which I had never heard he intended, nor had I ever made such a proposal to him. The *Eatooa* also foretold, that the ships would not get to Matavai that day. But in this he was mistaken; though appearances now rather favoured his prediction, there not being a breath of wind in any direction. While he was prophesying, there fell a very heavy shower of rain, which made every one run for shelter but himself, who seemed not to regard it. He remained squeaking by us about half an hour, and then retired. No one paid any attention to what he uttered; though some laughed at him. I asked the chief, what he was, whether an *Earee*, or *Towtow?* and the answer I received was, that he was *taato eno;* that is, a bad man. And yet, notwithstanding this, and the little notice any of the natives seemed to take of the mad prophet, superstition has so far got the better of their reason, that they firmly believe such persons to be possessed with the spirit of the *Eatooa*. Omai seemed to be very well instructed about them. He said, that, during the fits that came upon them, they know nobody, not even their most intimate acquaintances; and that, if any one of them happens to be a man of property, he will very often give away every moveable he is possessed of, if his friends do not put them out of his reach; and, when he recovers, will inquire what had become of those very things, which he had, but just before distributed; not seeming to have the least remembrance of what he had done while the fit was upon him.

As soon as I got on board, a light breeze springing up at east, we got under sail, and steered for Matavai Bay; where the Resolution anchored the same evening. But the Discovery did not get in till the next morning; so that half of the man's prophecy was fulfilled.

CHAPTER II.—INTERVIEW WITH OTOO, KING OF THE ISLAND.—IMPRUDENT CONDUCT OF OMAI.—EMPLOYMENTS ON SHORE.—EUROPEAN ANIMALS LANDED.—PARTICULARS ABOUT A NATIVE WHO HAD VISITED LIMA—ABOUT OEDIDEE.—A REVOLT IN EIMEO.—WAR WITH THAT ISLAND DETERMINED UPON, IN A COUNCIL OF CHIEFS.—A HUMAN SACRIFICE ON THAT ACCOUNT.—A PARTICULAR RELATION OF THE CEREMONIES AT THE GREAT MORAI, WHERE THE SACRIFICE WAS OFFERED.—OTHER BARBAROUS CUSTOMS OF THIS PEOPLE.

About nine o'clock in the morning, Otoo, the king of the whole island, attended by a great number of canoes full of people, came from Oparre, his place of residence, and having landed on Matavai Point, sent a message on board, expressing his desire to see me there. Accordingly I landed, accompanied by Omai, and some of the officers. We found a prodigious number of people assembled on this occasion, and in the midst of them was the king, attended by his father, his two brothers, and three sisters. I went up first and saluted him, being followed by Omai, who kneeled and embraced his legs. He had prepared himself for this ceremony, by dressing himself in his very best suit of clothes, and behaved with a great deal of respect and modesty. Nevertheless, very little notice was taken of him. Perhaps envy had some share in producing this cold reception. He made the chief a present of a large piece of red feathers, and about two or three yards of gold cloth; and I gave him a suit of fine linen, a gold-laced hat, some tools, and, what was of more value than all the other articles, a quantity of red feathers, and one of the bonnets in use at the Friendly Islands.

After the hurry of this visit was over, the king and the whole royal family accompanied me on board, followed by several canoes, laden with all kind of provisions, in quantity sufficient to have served the companies of both ships for a week. Each of the family owned, or pretended to own, a part; so that I had a present from every one of them; and every one of them had a separate present in return from me; which was the great object in view. Soon after, the king's mother, who had not been present at the first interview, came on board, bringing with her a quantity of provisions and cloth, which she divided between me and Omai; for, although he was but little noticed at first by his countrymen, they no sooner gained the knowledge of his riches, than they began to court his friendship. I encouraged this as much as I could: for it was my wish to fix him with Otoo. As I intended to leave all my European animals at this island, I thought he would be able to give some instruction about the management of them, and about their use. Besides, I knew and saw, that the farther he was from his native island, he would be the better respected. But, unfortunately, poor Omai rejected my advice, and conducted himself in so imprudent a manner, that he soon lost the friendship of Otoo, and of every other person of note in Otaheite. He associated with none but vagabonds and strangers, whose sole views were to plunder him; and, if I had not interfered, they would not have left him a single article worth the carrying from the island. This necessarily drew upon him the ill-will of the principal chiefs; who found that they could not procure, from any one in the ships, such valuable presents as Omai bestowed on the lowest of the people, his companions.

As soon as we had dined, a party of us accompanied Otoo to Oparre, taking with us the poultry, with which we were to stock the island. They consisted of a peacock and hen (which Lord Besborough was so kind as to send me for this purpose a few days before I left London); a turkey-cock and hen; one gander, and three geese; a drake, and four ducks. All these I left at Oparre, in the possession of Otoo; and the geese and ducks began to breed, before we sailed. We found there, a gander, which the natives told us, was the same that Captain Wallis had given to Oberea ten years before; several goats; and the Spanish bull, whom they kept tied to a tree, near Otoo's house. I never saw a finer animal of his kind. He was now the property of Etary, and had been brought from Oheitepeha to this place, in order to be shipped for Bolabola. But it passes my comprehension, how they can contrive to carry him in one of their canoes. If we had not arrived, it would have been of little consequence who had the property of him, as, without a cow, he could be of no use; and none had been left with him. Though the natives told us that there were cows

on board the Spanish ships, and that they took them away with them, I cannot believe this; and should rather suppose, that they had died in the passage from Lima. The next day, I sent the three cows, that I had on board, to this bull; and the bull, which I had brought, the horse and mare, and sheep, I put ashore at Matavai. Having thus disposed of these passengers, I found myself lightened of a very heavy burthen. The trouble and vexation that attended the bringing of this living cargo thus far, is hardly to be conceived. But the satisfaction that I felt, in having been so fortunate as to fulfil his Majesty's humane design, in sending such valuable animals, to supply the wants of two worthy nations, sufficiently recompensed me for the many anxious hours I had passed, before this subordinate object of my voyage could be carried into execution.*

As I intended to make some stay here, we set up the two observatories on Matavai Point. Adjoining to them, two tents were pitched for the reception of a guard, and of such people as it might be necessary to leave on shore, in different departments. At this station, I intrusted the command to Mr. King; who, at the same time, attended the observations for ascertaining the going of the time-keeper, and other purposes. During our stay, various necessary operations employed the crews of both ships. The Discovery's main-mast was carried ashore, and made as good as ever. Our sails and water-casks were repaired; the ships were caulked; and the rigging all overhauled. We also inspected all the bread that we had on board in casks; and had the satisfaction to find, that but little of it was damaged.

On the 26th, I had a piece of ground cleared for a garden, and planted it with several articles; very few of which, I believe, the natives will ever look after. Some melons, potatoes, and two pine-apple plants, were in a fair way of succeeding, before we left the place. I had brought from the Friendly Islands several shaddock trees. These I also planted here; and they can hardly fail of success, unless their growth should be checked by the same premature curiosity, which destroyed a vine planted by the Spaniards at Oheitepeha A number of the natives got together, to taste the first fruit it bore; but, as the grapes were still sour, they considered it as little better than poison, and it was unanimously determined to tread it under foot. In that state, Omai found it by chance, and was overjoyed at the discovery. For he had a full confidence that, if he had but grapes, he could easily make wine. Accordingly, he had several slips cut from off the tree, to carry away with him; and we pruned and put in order the remains of it. Probably, grown wise by Omai's instructions, they may now suffer the fruit to grow to perfection, and not pass so hasty a sentence upon it again.

We had not been eight-and-forty hours at anchor in Matavai Bay, before we were visited by our old friends, whose names are recorded in the account of my last voyage. Not one of them came empty-handed; so that we had more provisions than we knew what to do with. What was still more, we were under no apprehensions of exhausting the island, which presented to our eyes every mark of the most exuberant plenty, in every article of refreshment.

Soon after our arrival here one of the natives, whom the Spaniards had carried with them to Lima, paid us a visit, but in his external appearance he was not distinguishable from the rest of his countrymen. However he had not forgot some Spanish words which he had acquired, though he pronounced them badly: amongst them the most frequent were *si Sennor;* and when a stranger was introduced to him he did not fail to rise up and accost him as well as he could. We also found here the young man whom we called Oedidee, but whose real name is Heete-heete. I had carried him from Ulietea in 1773, and brought him back in 1774, after he had visited the Friendly Islands, New Zealand, Easter Island and the Marquesas, and been on board my ship, in that extensive navigation, about seven months. He was at least as tenacious of his good-breeding as the man who had been at Lima; and Yes, sir, or If you please, sir, was as frequently repeated by him as *si Sennor* was by the other. Heete-heete, who is a native of Bolabola, had arrived in Otaheite about three months before, with no other intention, that we could learn, than to gratify his curiosity, or, perhaps, some

* We have before noticed, Vol. II. p. 5, that the cattle here alluded to, with the exception of the goats and pigs, all died. Fresh supplies have been introduced by the exertions of the Missionaries, which have succeeded well.—Ed.

other favourite passion, which are very often the only object of the pursuit of other travelling gentlemen. It was evident, however, that he preferred the modes, and even garb, of his countrymen to ours; for, though I gave him some clothes, which our Admiralty Board had been pleased to send for his use (to which I added a chest of tools, and a few other articles, as a present from myself), he declined wearing them after a few days. This instance, and that of the person who had been at Lima, may be urged as a proof of the strong propensity natural to man of returning to habits acquired at an early age, and only interrupted by accident. And perhaps it may be concluded, that even Omai, who had imbibed almost the whole English manners, will, in a very short time after our leaving him, like Oedidee and the visitor of Lima, return to his own native garments.

In the morning of the 27th a man came from Oheitepeha, and told us that two Spanish ships had anchored in that bay the night before; and in confirmation of this intelligence he produced a piece of coarse blue cloth, which he said he got out of one of the ships, and which indeed, in appearance, was almost quite new. He added, that Mateema was in one of the ships, and that they were to come down to Matavai in a day or two. Some other circumstances which he mentioned, with the foregoing ones, gave the story so much the air of truth, that I despatched Lieutenant Williamson, in a boat, to look into Oheitepeha bay; and, in the mean time, I put the ships into a proper posture of defence: for, though England and Spain were in peace when I left Europe, for aught I knew a different scene might, by this time, have opened. However, on farther inquiry, we had reason to think that the fellow who brought the intelligence had imposed upon us; and this was put beyond all doubt when Mr. Williamson returned next day, who made his report to me that he had been at Oheitepeha, and found that no ships were there now, and that none had been there since we left it. The people of this part of the island where we now were, indeed, told us from the beginning that it was a fiction invented by those of Tiaraboo: but what view they could have we were at a loss to conceive, unless they supposed that the report would have some effect in making us quit the island, and by that means deprive the people of Otaheite-nooe of the advantages they might reap from our ships continuing there, the inhabitants of the two parts of the island being inveterate enemies to each other.

From the time of our arrival at Matavai the weather had been very unsettled, with more or less rain every day, till the 29th, before which we were not able to get equal altitudes of the sun for ascertaining the going of the time-keeper. The same cause also retarded the caulking, and other necessary repairs of the ships. In the evening of this day the natives made a precipitate retreat, both from on board the ships and from our station on shore: for what reason we could not at first learn; though, in general, we guessed it arose from their knowing that some theft had been committed, and apprehending punishment on that account. At length I understood what had happened. One of the surgeon's mates had been in the country to purchase curiosities, and had taken with him four hatchets for that purpose. Having employed one of the natives to carry them for him, the fellow took an opportunity to run off with so valuable a prize. This was the cause of the sudden flight, in which Otoo himself and his whole family had joined; and it was with difficulty that I stopped them, after following them two or three miles. As I had resolved to take no measures for the recovery of the hatchets, in order to put my people upon their guard against such negligence for the future, I found no difficulty in bringing the natives back, and in restoring everything to its usual tranquillity.

Hitherto the attention of Otoo and his people had been confined to us; but, next morning, a new scene of business opened, by the arrival of some messengers from Eimeo, or (as it is much oftener called by the natives) Morea *, with intelligence that the people in that island were in arms; and that Otoo's partisans there had been worsted, and obliged to retreat to the mountains. The quarrel between the two islands, which commenced in 1774, as mentioned in the account of my last voyage, had, it seems, partly subsisted ever since. The formidable armament which I saw at that time, and described †, had sailed soon after I then left

* Morea, according to Dr. Forster, is a district in Eimeo. See his "Observations," p. 217.
† See Vol. i. page 472.

Otaheite; but the malcontents of Eimeo had made so stout a resistance, that the fleet had returned without effecting much; and now another expedition was necessary.

On the arrival of these messengers all the chiefs, who happened to be at Matavai, assembled at Otoo's house, where I actually was at the time, and had the honour to be admitted into their council. One of the messengers opened the business of the assembly in a speech of considerable length: but I understood little of it, besides its general purport, which was to explain the situation of affairs in Eimeo, and to excite the assembled chiefs of Otaheite to arm on the occasion. This opinion was combated by others, who were against commencing hostilities; and the debate was carried on with great order, no more than one man speaking at a time. At last they became very noisy, and I expected that our meeting would have ended like a Polish diet. But the contending great men cooled as fast as they grew warm, and order was soon restored. At length the party for war prevailed; and it was determined that a strong force should be sent to assist their friends in Eimeo; but this resolution was far from being unanimous. Otoo, during the whole debate, remained silent, except that, now and then, he addressed a word or two to the speakers. Those of the council who were for prosecuting the war applied to me for my assistance; and all of them wanted to know what part I would take. Omai was sent for to be my interpreter; but, as he could not be found, I was obliged to speak for myself, and told them, as well as I could, that as I was not thoroughly acquainted with the dispute, and as the people of Eimeo had never offended me, I could not think myself at liberty to engage in hostilities against them. With this declaration they either were, or seemed satisfied. The assembly then broke up; but before I left them Otoo desired me to come to him in the afternoon, and to bring Omai with me. Accordingly, a party of us waited upon him at the appointed time; and we were conducted by him to his father, in whose presence the dispute with Eimeo was again talked over. Being very desirous of devising some method to bring about an accommodation, I sounded the old chief on that head, but we found him deaf to any such proposal, and fully determined to prosecute the war. He repeated the solicitations which I had already resisted, about giving them my assistance. On our inquiring into the cause of the war, we were told that some years ago a brother of Waheadooa, of Tieraboo, was sent to Eimeo, at the request of Maheine, a popular chief of that island, to be their king; but that he had not been there a week before Maheine, having caused him to be killed, set up for himself, in opposition to Tierataboonooe, his sister's son, who became the lawful heir; or else had been pitched upon by the people of Otaheite, to succeed to the government on the death of the other.

Towha, who is a relation of Otoo, and chief of the district of Tettaha, a man of much weight in the island, and who had been commander-in-chief of the armament fitted out against Eimeo in 1774, happened not to be at Matavai at this time, and, consequently, was not present at any of these consultations. It however appeared that he was no stranger to what was transacted, and that he entered with more spirit into the affair than any other chief; for, early in the morning of the first of September, a messenger arrived from him to acquaint Otoo that he had killed a man, to be sacrificed to *Eatooa*, to implore the assistance of the god against Eimeo. This act of worship was to be performed at the great *morai* at Attahooroo; and Otoo's presence, it seems, was absolutely necessary on that solemn occasion.

That the offering of human sacrifices is part of the religious institutions of this island, had been mentioned by Mons. Bougainville, on the authority of the native whom he carried with him to France. During my last visit to Otaheite, and while I had opportunities of conversing with Omai on the subject, I had satisfied myself that there was too much reason to admit that such a practice, however inconsistent with the general humanity of the people, was here adopted. But as this was one of those extraordinary facts, about which many are apt to retain doubts, unless the relater himself has had ocular proof to confirm what he had heard from others, I thought this a good opportunity of obtaining the highest evidence of its certainty, by being present myself at the solemnity; and accordingly proposed to Otoo that I might be allowed to accompany him. To this he readily consented; and we immediately set out in my boat, with my old friend Potatou, Mr. Anderson, and Mr. Webber, Omai following in a canoe. In our way we landed upon a little island, which lies off Tettaha, where we found Towha and his retinue. After some little conversation between

the two chiefs on the subject of the war, Towha addressed himself to me, asking my assistance. When I excused myself he seemed angry, thinking it strange that I, who had always declared myself to be the friend of their island, would not now go and fight against its enemies. Before we parted he gave to Otoo two or three red feathers, tied up in a tuft; and a lean, half-starved dog was put into a canoe that was to accompany us. We then embarked again, taking on board a priest, who was to assist at the solemnity.

As soon as we landed at Attahooroo, which was about two o'clock in the afternoon, Otoo expressed his desire that the seamen might be ordered to remain in the boat; and that Mr. Anderson, Mr. Webber, and myself might take off our hats as soon as we should come to the *morai*, to which we immediately proceeded, attended by a great many men and some boys, but not one woman. We found four priests and their attendants, or assistants, waiting for us. The dead body, or sacrifice, was in a small canoe that lay on the beach, and partly in the wash of the sea, fronting the *morai*. Two of the priests, with some of their attendants, were sitting by the canoe, the others at the *morai*. Our company stopped about twenty or thirty paces from the priests. Here Otoo placed himself, we and a few others standing by him, while the bulk of the people remained at a greater distance.

The ceremonies now began. One of the priest's attendants brought a young plantain-tree and laid it down before Otoo. Another approached with a small tuft of red feathers, twisted on some fibres of the cocoa-nut husk, with which he touched one of the king's feet, and then retired with it to his companions. One of the priests, seated at the *morai*, facing those who were upon the beach, now began a long prayer; and, at certain times, sent down young plantain-trees, which were laid upon the sacrifice. During this prayer a man, who stood by the officiating priest, held in his hands two bundles, seemingly of cloth. In one of them, as we afterwards found, was the royal *maro;* and the other, if I may be allowed the expression, was the ark of the *Eatooa*. As soon as the prayer was ended, the priests at the *morai*, with their attendants, went and sat down by those upon the beach, carrying with them the two bundles. Here they renewed their prayers; during which the plantain-trees were taken, one by one, at different times, from off the sacrifice, which was partly wrapped up in cocoa leaves and small branches. It was now taken out of the canoe and laid upon the beach, with the feet to the sea. The priests placed themselves around it, some sitting and others standing; and one or more of them repeated sentences for about ten minutes. The dead body was now uncovered by removing the leaves and branches, and laid in a parallel direction with the sea shore. One of the priests then, standing at the feet of it, pronounced a long prayer, in which he was at times joined by the others, each holding in his hand a tuft of red feathers. In the course of this prayer some hair was pulled off the head of the sacrifice, and the left eye taken out, both of which were presented to Otoo wrapped up in a green leaf. He did not, however, touch it; but gave to the man who presented it the tuft of feathers which he had received from Towha: this, with the hair and eye, was carried back to the priests. Soon after Otoo sent to them another piece of feathers, which he had given me in the morning to keep in my pocket. During some part of this last ceremony a kingfisher making a noise in the trees, Otoo turned to me, saying, "That is the *Eatooa*," and seemed to look upon it to be a good omen.

The body was then carried a little way with its head towards the *morai*, and laid under a tree, near which were fixed three broad thin pieces of wood, differently but rudely carved. The bundles of cloth were laid on a part of the *morai*, and the tufts of red feathers were placed at the feet of the sacrifice, round which the priests took their stations; and we were now allowed to go as near as we pleased. He who seemed to be the chief priest sat at a small distance, and spoke for a quarter of an hour, but with different tones and gestures, so that he seemed often to expostulate with the dead person, to whom he constantly addressed himself; and sometimes asked several questions, seemingly with respect to the propriety of his having been killed. At other times he made several demands, as if the deceased either now had power himself, or interest with the divinity, to engage him to comply with such requests. Amongst which, we understood, he asked him to deliver Eimeo, Maheine its chief, the hogs, women, and other things of the island, into their hands; which was, indeed, the express intention of the sacrifice. He then chanted a prayer, which lasted half an hour, in a whin-

ing, melancholy tone, accompanied by two other priests, and in which Potatou and some others joined. In the course of this prayer some more hair was plucked by a priest from the head of the corpse, and put upon one of the bundles. After this the chief priest prayed alone, holding in his hand the feathers which came from Towha. When he had finished he gave them to another, who prayed in like manner. Then all the tufts of feathers were laid upon the bundles of cloth, which closed the ceremony at this place.

HUMAN SACRIFICE AT THE GREAT MORAI OF OTAHEITE.

The corpse was then carried up to the most conspicuous part of the *morai*, with the feathers, the two bundles of cloth, and the drums; the last of which beat slowly. The feathers and bundles were laid against the pile of stones, and the corpse at the foot of them. The priests having again seated themselves round it, renewed their prayers; while some of the attendants dug a hole about two feet deep, into which they threw the unhappy victim, and covered it with earth and stones. While they were putting him into the grave, a boy squeaked aloud, and Omai said to me, that it was the *Eatooa*. During this time, a fire having been made, the dog before mentioned was produced and killed, by twisting his neck and suffocating him. The hair was singed off, and the entrails taken out and thrown into the fire, where they were left to consume. But the heart, liver, and kidneys were only roasted, by being laid on the stones for a few minutes; and the body of the dog, after being besmeared with the blood which had been collected in a cocoa-nut shell, and dried over the fire, was, with the liver, &c., carried and laid down before the priests, who sat praying round the grave. They continued their ejaculations over the dog for some time, while two men, at intervals, beat on two drums very loud; and a boy screamed as before, in a loud shrill voice, three different times. This, as we were told, was to invite the *Eatooa* to feast on the banquet that they had prepared for him. As soon as the priests had ended their prayers, the carcase of the dog, with what belonged to it, were laid on a *whatta*, or scaffold, about six feet high, that stood close by, on which lay the remains of two other dogs, and of two pigs which had lately been sacrificed, and at this time emitted an intolerable stench. This kept us at a greater distance than would otherwise have been required of us. For after the victim was removed from the sea-side toward the *morai*, we were allowed to approach as near as we pleased. Indeed, after that, neither seriousness nor attention were much observed by the spectators. When the dog was put upon the *whatta*, the priests and attendants gave a kind of shout, which closed the ceremonies for the present. The day being now also closed, we were conducted to a house belonging to Potatou, where we were entertained and lodged for the night. We had been told that the religious rites were to be

renewed in the morning; and I would not leave the place, while anything remained to be seen.

Being unwilling to lose any part of the solemnity, some of us repaired to the scene of action pretty early, but found nothing going forward. However, soon after, a pig was sacrificed, and laid upon the same *whatta* with the others. About eight o'clock, Otoo took us again to the *morai*, where the priests and a great number of men were by this time assembled. The two bundles occupied the place in which we had seen them deposited the preceding evening; the two drums stood in the front of the *morai*, but somewhat nearer it than before; and the priests were beyond them. Otoo placed himself between the two drums, and desired me to stand by him. The ceremony began, as usual, with bringing a young plantain-tree, and laying it down at the king's feet. After this a prayer was repeated by the priests, who held in their hands several tufts of red feathers, and also a plume of ostrich feathers, which I had given to Otoo on my first arrival, and had been consecrated to this use. When the priests had made an end of the prayer, they changed their station, placing themselves between us and the *morai*, and one of them, the same person who had acted the principal part the day before, began another prayer, which lasted about half an hour. During the continuance of this, the tufts of feathers were, one by one, carried and laid upon the ark of the *Eatooa*.

Some little time after, four pigs were produced; one of which was immediately killed; and the others were taken to a sty hard by, probably reserved for some future occasion of sacrifice. One of the bundles was now untied, and it was found, as I have before observed, to contain the *maro*, with which these people invest their kings, and which seems to answer, in some degree, to the European ensigns of royalty. It was carefully taken out of the cloth in which it had been wrapped up, and spread at full length upon the ground before the priests. It is a girdle about five yards long and fifteen inches broad, and, from its name, seems to be put on in the same manner as is the common *maro*, or piece of cloth used by these people to wrap round the waist. It was ornamented with red and yellow feathers, but mostly with the latter, taken from a dove found upon the island. The one end was bordered with eight pieces, each about the size and shape of a horse-shoe, having their edges fringed with black feathers. The other end was forked, and the points were of different lengths. The feathers were in square compartments, ranged in two rows, and otherwise so disposed as to produce a pleasing effect. They had been first pasted or fixed upon some of their own country cloth, and then sewed to the upper end of the pendant which Captain Wallis had displayed, and left flying ashore, the first time that he landed at Matavai. This was what they told us, and we had no reason to doubt it, as we could easily trace the remains of an English pendant. About six or eight inches square of the *maro* was unornamented, there being no feathers upon that space, except a few that had been sent by Waheadooa, as already mentioned. The priests made a long prayer relative to this part of the ceremony; and, if I mistook not, they called it the prayer of the *maro*. When it was finished, the badge of royalty was carefully folded up, put into the cloth, and deposited again upon the *morai*.

The other bundle, which I have distinguished by the name of the ark, was next opened at one end. But we were not allowed to go near enough to examine its mysterious contents. The information we received was, that the *Eatooa*, to whom they had been sacrificing, and whose name is *Ooro*, was concealed in it; or rather, what is supposed to represent him. This sacred repository is made of the twisted fibres of the husk of the cocoa-nut, shaped somewhat like a large fid or sugar-loaf, that is, roundish, with one end much thicker than the other. We had very often got small ones from different people, but never knew their use before.

By this time the pig that had been killed was cleaned, and the entrails taken out. These happened to have a considerable share of those convulsive motions, which often appear in different parts after an animal is killed, and this was considered by the spectators as a very favourable omen to the expedition, on account of which the sacrifices had been offered. After being exposed for some time, that those who chose might examine their appearances, the entrails were carried to the priests and laid down before them. While one of their number

prayed, another inspected the entrails more narrowly and kept turning them gently with a stick. When they had been sufficiently examined, they were thrown into the fire and left to consume. The sacrificed pig, and its liver, &c. were now put upon the *whatta*, where the dog had been deposited the day before; and then all the feathers, except the ostrich-plume, were inclosed with the *Eatooa* in the ark; and the solemnity finally closed.

Four double canoes lay upon the beach, before the place of sacrifice, all the morning. On the forepart of each of these was fixed a small platform covered with palm-leaves tied in mysterious knots; and this also is called a *morai*. Some cocoa-nuts, plantains, pieces of bread-fruit, fish, and other things, lay upon each of these naval *morais*. We were told that they belonged to the *Eatooa*, and that they were to attend the fleet designed to go against Eimeo. The unhappy victim offered to the object of their worship upon this occasion seemed to be a middle-aged man, and, as we were told, was a *towtow*, that is, one of the lowest class of the people. But, after all my inquiries, I could not learn that he had been pitched upon on account of any particular crime committed by him meriting death. It is certain, however, that they generally make choice of such guilty persons for their sacrifice, or else of common low fellows, who stroll about from place to place and from island to island, without having any fixed abode, or any visible way of getting an honest livelihood, of which description of men enough are to be met with at these islands. Having had an opportunity of examining the appearance of the body of the poor sufferer now offered up, I could observe that it was bloody about the head and face, and a good deal bruised upon the right temple; which marked the manner of his being killed. And we were told, that he had been privately knocked on the head with a stone.

Those who are devoted to suffer, in order to perform this bloody act of worship, are never apprised of their fate till the blow is given that puts an end to their existence. Whenever any one of the great chiefs thinks a human sacrifice necessary on any particular emergency, he pitches upon the victim. Some of his trusty servants are then sent, who fall upon him suddenly, and put him to death with a club or by stoning him. The king is next acquainted with it, whose presence at the solemn rites that follow is, as I was told, absolutely necessary; and, indeed, on the present occasion, we could observe that Otoo bore a principal part. The solemnity itself is called *Poore Eree*, or chief's prayer; and the victim who is offered up *Taata-taboo*, or consecrated man. This is the only instance where we have heard the word *taboo* used at this island, where it seems to have the same mysterious signification as at Tonga, though it is there applied to all cases where things are not to be touched. But at Otaheite, the word *raa* serves the same purpose, and is full as extensive in its meaning.

The *morai* (which, undoubtedly, is a place of worship, sacrifice, and burial, at the same time), where the sacrifice was now offered, is that where the supreme chief of the whole island is always buried, and is appropriated to his family and some of the principal people. It differs little from the common ones, except in extent. Its principal part is a large oblong pile of stones, lying loosely upon each other, about twelve or fourteen feet high, contracted towards the top, with a square area on each side loosely paved with pebble stones, under which the bones of the chiefs are buried. At a little distance from the end nearest the sea, is the place where the sacrifices are offered; which, for a considerable extent, is also loosely paved. There is here a very large scaffold or *whatta*, on which the offerings of fruits and other vegetables are laid. But the animals are deposited on a smaller one already mentioned, and the human sacrifices are buried under different parts of the pavement. There are several other relics which ignorant superstition had scattered about this place, such as small stones raised in different parts of the pavement, some with bits of cloth tied round them, others covered with it; and, upon the side of the large pile which fronts the area, are placed a great many pieces of carved wood, which are supposed to be sometimes the residence of their divinities, and, consequently, held sacred. But one place, more particular than the rest, is a heap of stones at one end of the large *whatta*, before which the sacrifice was offered, with a kind of platform at one side. On this are laid the skulls of all the human sacrifices, which are taken up after they have been several months under ground. Just above them are placed a great number of the pieces of wood; and it was also here where the

maro, and the other bundle supposed to contain the god *Ooro* (and which I call the ark), were laid during the ceremony; a circumstance which denotes its agreement with the altar of other nations.

It is much to be regretted that a practice so horrid in its own nature and so destructive of that inviolable right of self-preservation which every one is born with, should be found still existing; and (such is the power of superstition to counteract the first principles of humanity!) existing amongst a people in many other respects emerged from the brutal manners of savage life. What is still worse, it is probable that these bloody rites of worship are prevalent throughout all the wide-extended islands of the Pacific Ocean. The similarity of customs and language, which our late voyages have enabled us to trace between the most distant of these islands, makes it not unlikely that some of the most important articles of their religious institutions should agree. And, indeed, we have the most authentic information that human sacrifices continue to be offered at the Friendly Islands. When I described the *Natche* at *Tonge-taboo*, I mentioned that, on the approaching sequel of that festival, we had been told that ten men were to be sacrificed. This may give us an idea of the extent of this religious massacre in that island. And though we should suppose that never more than one person is sacrificed, on any single occasion, at Otaheite, it is more than probable that these occasions happen so frequently as to make a shocking waste of the human race; for I counted no less than forty-nine skulls of former victims lying before the *morai*, where we saw one more added to the number. And as none of those skulls had as yet suffered any considerable change from the weather, it may hence be inferred, that no great length of time had elapsed since, at least, this considerable number of unhappy wretches had been offered upon this altar of blood.

The custom, though no consideration can make it cease to be abominable, might be thought less detrimental, in some respects, if it served to impress any awe for the divinity or reverence for religion upon the minds of the multitude. But this is so far from being the case, that though a great number of people had assembled at the *morai* on this occasion, they did not seem to show any proper reverence for what was doing or saying during the celebration of the rites. And Omai happening to arrive after they had begun, many of the spectators flocked round him, and were engaged the remainder of the time in making him relate some of his adventures, which they listened to with great attention, regardless of the solemn offices performing by their priests. Indeed the priests themselves, except the one who chiefly repeated the prayers, either from their being familiarised to such objects, or from want of confidence in the efficacy of their institutions, observed very little of that solemnity which is necessary to give to religious performances their due weight. Their dress was only an ordinary one; they conversed together without scruple; and the only attempt made by them to preserve any appearance of decency, was by exerting their authority to prevent the people from coming upon the very spot where the ceremonies were performed, and to suffer us, as strangers, to advance a little forward. They were, however, very candid in their answers to any questions that were put to them concerning the institution. And particularly, on being asked what the intention of it was? they said that it was an old custom, and was agreeable to their god, who delighted in, or, in other words, came and fed upon the sacrifices; in consequence of which he complied with their petitions. Upon its being objected that he could not feed on these, as he was neither seen to do it, nor were the bodies of the animals quickly consumed; and that, as to the human victim, they prevented his feeding on him by burying him. But to all this they answered, that he came in the night, but invisibly, and fed only on the soul or immaterial part, which, according to their doctrine, remains about the place of sacrifice, until the body of the victim be entirely wasted by putrefaction.

It were much to be wished that this deluded people may learn to entertain the same horror of murdering their fellow-creatures, in order to furnish such an invisible banquet to their god, as they now have of feeding, corporeally, on human flesh themselves. And yet we have great reason to believe that there was a time when they were cannibals. We were told (and, indeed, partly saw it), that it is a necessary ceremony, when a poor wretch is sacrificed, for the priest to take out the left eye. This he presents to the king, holding it

to his mouth, which he desires him to open; but, instead of putting it in, immediately withdraws it. This they call "eating the man," or "food for the chief;" and, perhaps, we may observe here some traces of former times, when the dead body was really feasted upon. But not to insist upon this, it is certain that human sacrifices are not the only barbarous custom we find still prevailing amongst this benevolent, humane people. For, besides cutting out the jaw-bones of their enemies slain in battle, which they carry about as trophies, they, in some measure, offer their dead bodies as a sacrifice to the *Eatooa*. Soon after a battle, in which they have been victors, they collect all the dead that have fallen into their hands, and bring them to the *morai*, where, with a great deal of ceremony, they dig a hole, and bury them all in it, as so many offerings to the gods; but their skulls are never after taken up.

Their own great chiefs, that fall in battle, are treated in a different manner. We were informed that their late king, Tootaha, Tubourai-tamaide, and another chief, who fell with them in the battle, fought with those of Tiaraboo, and were brought to this *morai*, at Attahooroo. There their bowels were cut out by the priests, before the great altar, and the bodies afterwards buried in three different places, which were pointed out to us in the great pile of stones that compose the most conspicuous part of this *morai*. And their common men, who also fell in this battle, were all buried in one hole, at the foot of the pile. This, Omai, who was present, told me was done the day after the battle, with much pomp and ceremony, and in the midst of a great concourse of people, as a thanksgiving-offering to the *Eatooa*, for the victory they had obtained, while the vanquished had taken refuge in the mountains. There they remained a week or ten days, till the fury of the victors was over, and a treaty set on foot, by which it was agreed that Otoo should be declared king of the whole island; and the solemnity of investing him with the *maro* was performed at the same *morai*, with great pomp, in the presence of all the principal men of the country.

CHAPTER III.—CONFERENCE WITH TOWHA.—HEEVAS DESCRIBED.—OMAI AND OEDIDEE GIVE DINNERS.—FIREWORKS EXHIBITED.—A REMARKABLE PRESENT OF CLOTH.—MANNER OF PRESERVING THE BODY OF A DEAD CHIEF.—ANOTHER HUMAN SACRIFICE.—RIDING ON HORSEBACK.—OTOO'S ATTENTION TO SUPPLY PROVISIONS AND PREVENT THEFTS.—ANIMALS GIVEN TO HIM.—ETARY, AND THE DEPUTIES OF A CHIEF, HAVE AUDIENCES.—A MOCK-FIGHT OF TWO WAR CANOES.—NAVAL STRENGTH OF THESE ISLANDS.—MANNER OF CONDUCTING A WAR.

The close of the very singular scene exhibited at the *morai*, which I have faithfully described in the last chapter, leaving us no other business in Attahooroo, we embarked about noon, in order to return to Matavai; and, in our way, visited Towha, who had remained on the little island, where we met him the day before. Some conversation passed between Otoo and him, on the present posture of public affairs; and then the latter solicited me, once more, to join them in their war against Eimeo. By my positive refusal I entirely lost the good graces of this chief. Before we parted, he asked us if the solemnity at which we had been present, answered our expectations; what opinion we had of its efficacy; and whether we performed such acts of worship in our own country? During the celebration of the horrid ceremony, we had preserved a profound silence; but, as soon as it was closed, had made no scruple in expressing our sentiments very freely about it to Otoo and those who attended him; of course, therefore, I did not conceal my detestation of it in this conversation with Towha. Besides the cruelty of the bloody custom, I strongly urged the unreasonableness of it; telling the chief that such a sacrifice, far from making the *Eatooa* propitious to their nation, as they ignorantly believed, would be the means of drawing down his vengeance; and that, from this very circumstance, I took upon me to judge that their intended expedition against Maheine would be unsuccessful. This was venturing pretty far upon conjecture, but still I thought that there was little danger of being mistaken. For I found that there were three parties in the island, with regard to this war; one extremely violent for it, another perfectly indifferent about the matter, and the third openly declaring

themselves friends to Maheine and his cause. Under these circumstances of disunion distracting their councils, it was not likely that such a plan of military operations would be settled as could insure even a probability of success. In conveying our sentiments to Towha on the subject of the late sacrifice, Omai was made use of as our interpreter; and he entered into our arguments with so much spirit that the chief seemed to be in great wrath; especially when he was told that if he had put a man to death in England, as he had done here, his rank would not have protected him from being hanged for it. Upon this he exclaimed, *Maeno! maeno*! [vile! vile!] and would not hear another word. During this debate many of the natives were present, chiefly the attendants and servants of Towha himself; and when Omai began to explain the punishment that would be inflicted in England upon the greatest man if he killed the meanest servant, they seemed to listen with great attention, and were, probably, of a different opinion from that of their master on this subject.

After leaving Towha we proceeded to Oparre, where Otoo pressed us to spend the night. We landed in the evening; and on our road to his house had an opportunity of observing in what manner these people amuse themselves, in their private *heevas*. About a hundred of them were found sitting in a house; and in the midst of them were two women, with an old man behind each of them, beating very gently upon a drum; and the women, at intervals singing in a softer manner than I ever heard at their other diversions. The assembly listened with great attention, and were seemingly almost absorbed in the pleasure the music gave them; for few took any notice of us, and the performers never once stopped. It was almost dark before we reached Otoo's house, where we were entertained with one of their public *heevas*, or plays, in which his three sisters appeared as the principal characters. This was what they call a *heeva raä*, which is of such a nature that nobody is to enter the house or area where it is exhibited. When the royal sisters are the performers this is always the

HEEVA RAA DANCE OF WOMEN.

case. Their dress on this occasion was truly picturesque and elegant; and they acquitted themselves in their parts in a very distinguished manner; though some comic interlude, performed by four men, seemed to yield greater pleasure to the audience, which was numerous. The next morning we proceeded to Matavai, leaving Otoo at Oparre; but his

mother, sisters, and several other women, attended me on board, and Otoo himself followed me soon after.

While Otoo and I were absent from the ships they had been sparingly supplied with fruit, and had few visitors. After our return we again overflowed with provisions and with company. On the 14th a party of us dined ashore with Omai, who gave excellent fare, consisting of fish, fowls, pork, and puddings. After dinner I attended Otoo, who had been one of the party, back to his house, where I found all his servants very busy getting a quantity of provisions ready for me. Amongst other articles there was a large hog, which they killed in my presence. The entrails were divided into eleven portions, in such a manner that each of them contained a bit of everything. These portions were distributed to the servants, and some dressed theirs in the same oven with the hog, while others carried off, undressed, what had come to their share. There was also a large pudding, the whole process in making which I saw. It was composed of bread-fruit, ripe plantains, taro, and palm or pandanus nuts, each rasped, scraped, or beat up fine, and baked by itself. A quantity of juice, expressed from cocoa-nut kernels, was put into a large tray, or wooden vessel. The other articles, hot from the oven, were deposited in this vessel; and a few hot stones were also put in, to make the contents simmer. Three or four men made use of sticks to stir the several ingredients, till they were incorporated one with another, and the juice of the cocoa-nut was turned to oil; so that the whole mass, at last, became of the consistency of a hasty-pudding. Some of these puddings are excellent, and few that we make in England equal them. I seldom or never dined without one when I could get it, which was not always the case. Otoo's hog being baked, and the pudding which I have described, being made, they, together with two living hogs, and a quantity of bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, were put into a canoe, and sent on board my ship, followed by myself and all the royal family.

The following evening, a young ram of the Cape breed, that had been lambed, and, with great care, brought up on board the ship, was killed by a dog. Incidents are of more or less consequence, as connected with situation. In our present situation, desirous as I was to propagate this useful race amongst these islands, the loss of the ram was a serious misfortune; as it was the only one I had of that breed; and I had only one of the English breed left. In the evening of the 7th, we played off some fire-works before a great concourse of people. Some were highly entertained with the exhibition; but by far the greater number of spectators were terribly frightened; insomuch that it was with difficulty we could prevail upon them to keep together to see the end of the show. A table-rocket was the last. It flew off the table, and dispersed the whole crowd in a moment; even the most resolute among them fled with precipitation.

The next day a party of us dined with our former ship-mate, Oedidee, on fish and pork. The hog weighed about thirty pounds; and it may be worth mentioning, that it was alive, dressed, and brought upon the table, within the hour. We had but just dined, when Otoo came, and asked me if my belly was full? On my answering in the affirmative, he said, "Then come along with me." I accordingly went with him to his father's, where I found some people employed in dressing two girls with a prodigious quantity of fine cloth, after a very singular fashion. The one end of each piece of cloth, of which there was a good many, was held up over the heads of the girls, while the remainder was wrapped round their bodies, under the arm-pits. Then the upper ends were let fall, and hung down in folds to the ground, over the other, so as to bear some resemblance to a circular hoop-petticoat. Afterward, round the outside of all, were wrapped several pieces of differently coloured cloth, which considerably increased the size; so that it was not less than five or six yards in circuit, and the weight of this singular attire was as much as the poor girls could support. To each were hung two *taames*, or breast-plates, by way of enriching the whole, and giving it a picturesque appearance. Thus equipped, they were conducted on board the ship, together with several hogs, and a quantity of fruit, which, with the cloth, was a present to me from Otoo's father. Persons, of either sex, dressed in this manner, are called *atee;* but, I believe, it is never practised except when large presents of cloth are to be made. At least, I never saw it practised upon any other occasion; nor, indeed, had I ever such a

present before; but both Captain Clerke and I had cloth given to us afterward, thus wrapped round the bearers. The next day, I had a present of five hogs, and some fruit, from Otoo; and one hog, and some fruit, from each of his sisters. Nor were other provisions wanting. For two or three days, great quantities of mackerel had been caught by the natives, within the reef, in seines; some of which they brought to the ships and tents, and sold.

Otoo was not more attentive to supply our wants, by a succession of presents, than he was to contribute to our amusement, by a succession of diversions. A party of us having gone down to Oparre, on the 10th, he treated us with what may be called a play. His three sisters were the actresses; and the dresses they appeared in were new and elegant; that is, more so than we had usually met with at any of these islands. But the principal object I had in view, this day, in going to Oparre, was to take a view of an embalmed corpse, which some of our gentlemen had happened to meet with at that place, near the residence of Otoo. On inquiry, I found it to be the remains of Tee, a chief well known to me, when I was at this Island, during my last voyage. It was lying in a *toopapaoo*, more elegantly constructed than their common ones, and in all respects similar to that lately seen by us at Oheitepeha, in which the remains of Waheadooa are deposited, embalmed in the same manner. When we arrived at the place, the body was under cover, and wrapped up in cloth, within the *toopapaoo;* but at my desire, the man who had the care of it brought it out, and laid it upon a kind of bier, in such a manner, that we had as full a view of it as we could wish; but we were not allowed to go within the pales that inclosed the *toopapaoo*. After he had thus exhibited the corpse, he hung the place with mats and cloth, so disposed as to produce a very pretty effect. We found the body not only entire in every part; but, what surprised us much more, was, that putrefaction seemed scarcely to be begun, as there was not the least disagreeable smell proceeding from it, though the climate is one of the hottest, and Tee had been dead above four months. The only remarkable alteration that had happened, was a shrinking of the muscular parts of the eyes; but the hair and nails were in their original state, and still adhered firmly; and the several joints were quite pliable, or in that kind of relaxed state which happens to persons who faint suddenly. Such were Mr. Anderson's remarks to me, who also told me, that, on his inquiring into the method of effecting this preservation of their dead bodies, he had been informed that soon after their death, they are disembowelled, by drawing the intestines, and other *viscera*, out at the *anus;* and the whole cavity is then filled or stuffed with cloth, introduced through the same part; that when any moisture appeared on the skin, it was carefully dried up, and the bodies afterward rubbed all over with a large quantity of perfumed cocoa-nut oil; which, being frequently repeated, preserved them a great many months; but that, at last, they gradually moulder away. This was the information Mr. Anderson received; for my own part, I could not learn any more about their mode of operation than what Omai told me, who said, that they made use of the juice of a plant which grows amongst the mountains; of cocoa-nut oil; and of frequent washing with sea water. I was also told that the bodies of all their great men, who died a natural death, are preserved in this manner; and that they expose them to public view for a considerable time after. At first, they are laid out every day, when it does not rain; afterward, the intervals become greater and greater: and, at last, they are seldom to be seen.

In the evening, we returned from Oparre, where we left Otoo, and all the royal family; and I saw none of them till the 12th, when all but the chief himself paid me a visit. He, as they told me, was gone to Attahooroo, to assist, this day, at another human sacrifice, which the chief of Tiaraboo had sent thither to be offered up at the *morai*. This second instance, within the course of a few days, was too melancholy a proof how numerous the victims of this bloody superstition are amongst this humane people. I would have been present at this sacrifice, too, had I known of it in time; for now it was too late. From the very same cause, I missed being present at a public transaction which had passed at Oparre the preceding day, when Otoo, with all the solemnities observed on such occasions, restored to the friends and followers of the late king Tootaha the lands and possessions which had been withheld from them ever since his death. Probably the new sacrifice was the concluding ceremony of what may be called the reversal of attainder. The following

evening, Otoo returned from exercising this most disagreeable of all his duties as sovereign; and, the next day, being now honoured with his company, Captain Clerke and I, mounted on horseback, took a ride round the plain of Matavai, to the very great surprise of a great train of people who attended on the occasion, gazing upon us with as much astonishment as if we had been centaurs. Omai, indeed, had, once or twice before this, attempted to get on horseback; but he had as often been thrown off, before he could contrive to seat himself; so that this was the first time they had seen anybody ride a horse. What Captain Clerke and I began, was, after this, repeated every day, while we staid, by one or another of our people; and yet the curiosity of the natives continued still unabated. They were exceedingly delighted with these animals, after they had seen the use that was made of them; and, as far as I could judge, they conveyed to them a better idea of the greatness of other nations than all the other novelties put together that their European visiters had carried amongst them. Both the horse and mare were in good case, and looked extremely well.*

The next day, Etary, or Olla, the god of Bolabola, who had, for several days past, been in the neighbourhood of Matavai, removed to Oparre, attended by several sailing canoes. We were told, that Otoo did not approve of his being so near our station, where his people could more easily invade our property. I must do Otoo the justice to say, that he took every method prudence could suggest to prevent thefts and robberies; and it was more owing to his regulations than to our circumspection that so few were committed. He had taken care to erect a little house or two on the other side of the river, behind our post, and two others close to our tents, on the bank between the river and the sea. In all these places some of his own people constantly kept watch; and his father generally resided on Matavai point; so that we were, in a manner, surrounded by them. Thus stationed, they not only guarded us in the night from thieves, but could observe everything that passed in the day; and were ready to collect contributions from such girls as had private connexions with our people, which was generally done every morning. So that the measures adopted by him to secure our safety, at the same time served the more essential purpose of enlarging his own profits.

Otoo informing me that his presence was necessary at Oparre, where he was to give audience to the great personage from Bolabola; and asking me to accompany him, I readily consented, in hopes of meeting with something worth our notice. Accordingly, I went with him, in the morning of the 16th, attended by Mr. Anderson. Nothing, however, occurred on this occasion, that was either interesting or curious. We saw Etary and his followers present some coarse cloth and hogs to Otoo; and each article was delivered with some ceremony, and a set speech. After this, they, and some of their chiefs, held a consultation about the expedition to Eimeo. Etary at first seemed to disapprove of it, but at last his objections were over-ruled. Indeed, it appeared, next day, that it was too late to deliberate about this measure; and that Towha, Potatou, and another chief, had already gone upon the expedition with the fleet of Attahooroo. For a messenger arrived in the evening with intelligence that they had reached Eimeo, and that there had been some skirmishes, without much loss or advantage on either side.

In the morning of the 18th, Mr. Anderson, myself, and Omai, went again with Otoo to Oparre, and took with us the sheep which I intended to leave upon the island, consisting of an English ram and ewe, and three Cape ewes; all which I gave to Otoo. As all the three cows had taken the bull, I thought I might venture to divide them, and carry some to Ulietea. With this view I had them brought before us, and proposed to Etary, that if he would leave his bull with Otoo, he should have mine, and one of the three cows; adding, that I would carry them for him to Ulietea; for I was afraid to remove the Spanish bull, lest some accident should happen to him, as he was a bulky spirited beast. To this proposal of mine Etary at first made some objections, but at last agreed to it, partly through the persuasion of Omai. However, just as the cattle were putting into the boat, one of Etary's followers valiantly opposed any exchange whatever being made. Finding this, and suspect-

* These horses, which were Omai's property, proved a useless present, and the breed was suffered to become extinct. Mr. Ellis states that "they appear to have been regarded by him as mere objects of curiosity, and when occasionally ridden, it was to inspire terror, or excite admiration, in the minds of the inhabitants."—Ed.

ing that Etary had only consented to the proposed arrangement, for the present moment, to please me, and that after I was gone he might take away his bull, and then Otoo would not have one, I thought it best to drop the idea of an exchange, as it could not be made with the mutual consent of both parties, and finally determined to leave them all with Otoo, strictly enjoining him never to suffer them to be removed from Oparre, not even the Spanish bull, nor any of the sheep, till he should get a stock of young ones; which he might then dispose of to his friends, and send to the neighbouring islands.

This being settled, we left Etary and his party to ruminate upon their folly, and attended Otoo to another place hard by, where we found the servants of a chief, whose name I forgot to ask, waiting with a hog, a pig, and a dog, as a present from their master to the sovereign. These were delivered with the usual ceremonies, and with an harangue in form, in which the speaker, in his master's name, inquired after the health of Otoo, and of all the principal people about him. This compliment was echoed back in the name of Otoo, by one of his ministers; and then the dispute with Eimeo was discussed, with many arguments for and against it. The deputies of this chief were for prosecuting the war with vigour, and advised Otoo to offer a human sacrifice. On the other hand, a chief who was in constant attendance on Otoo's person opposed it, seemingly, with great strength of argument. This confirmed me in the opinion that Otoo himself never entered heartily into the spirit of this war. He now received repeated messages from Towha, strongly soliciting him to hasten to his assistance. We were told that his fleet was in a manner surrounded by that of Maheine; but that neither the one nor the other durst hazard an engagement.

After dining with Otoo we returned to Matavai, leaving him at Oparre. This day, and also the 19th, we were very sparingly supplied with fruit. Otoo hearing of this, he and his brother, who had attached himself to Captain Clerke, came from Oparre between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, with a large supply for both ships. This marked his humane attention more strongly than anything he had hitherto done for us. The next day, all the royal family came with presents, so that our wants were not only relieved, but we had more provisions than we could consume. Having got all our water on board, the ships being caulked, the rigging overhauled, and everything put in order, I began to think of leaving the island, that I might have sufficient time to spare for visiting others in this neighbourhood. With this view we removed from the shore our observatories and instruments, and bent the sails. Early the next morning Otoo came on board to acquaint me that all the war canoes of Matavai, and of the three other districts adjoining, were going to Oparre to join those belonging to that part of the island; and that there would be a general review there. Soon after, the squadron of Matavai was all in motion; and, after parading a while about the bay, assembled ashore near the middle of it. I now went in my boat to take a view of them.

Of those with stages on which they fight, or what they call their war-canoes, there were about sixty, with near as many more of a smaller size. I was ready to have attended them to Oparre; but, soon after, a resolution was taken by the chiefs that they should not move till the next day. I looked upon this to be a fortunate delay, as it afforded me a good opportunity to get some insight into their manner of fighting. With this view, I expressed my wish to Otoo that he would order some of them to go through the necessary manœuvres. Two were, accordingly ordered out into the bay, in one of which Otoo, Mr. King, and myself were embarked, and Omai went on board the other. When we had got sufficient sea-room, we faced and advanced upon each other, and retreated by turns, as quick as our rowers could paddle. During this, the warriors on the stages flourished their weapons, and played a hundred antic tricks, which could answer no other end, in my judgment, than to work up their passions and prepare them for fighting. Otoo stood by the side of our stage, and gave the necessary orders when to advance and when to retreat. In this, great judgment and a quick eye combined together seemed requisite to seize every advantage that might offer, and to avoid giving any advantage to the adversary. At last, after advancing and retreating from each other at least a dozen times, the two canoes closed head to head, or stage to stage; and, after a short conflict, the troops on our stage were supposed to be all killed, and we were boarded by Omai and his associates. At that very instant, Otoo and

all our paddlers leaped overboard, as if reduced to the necessity of endeavouring to save their lives by swimming.

If Omai's information is to be depended upon, their naval engagements are not always conducted in this manner. He told me, that they sometimes begin with lashing the two vessels together, head to head, and then fight till all the warriors are killed on one side or the other. But this close combat, I apprehend, is never practised but when they are determined to conquer or die. Indeed, one or the other must happen; for all agree that they never give quarter, unless it be to reserve their prisoners for a more cruel death the next day. The power and strength of these islands lie entirely in their navies. I never heard of a general engagement on land; and all their decisive battles are fought on the water*. If the time and place of conflict are fixed upon by both parties, the preceding day and night are spent in diversions and feasting. Toward morning they launch the canoes, put everything in order, and with the day begin the battle, the fate of which generally decides the dispute. The vanquished save themselves by a precipitate flight; and such as reach the shore fly with their friends to the mountains; for the victors, while their fury lasts, spare neither the aged, women, nor children. The next day they assemble at the *morai*, to return thanks to the *Eatooa* for the victory, and to offer up the slain as sacrifices, and the prisoners also, if they have any. After this, a treaty is set on foot, and the conquerors for the most part obtain their own terms, by which particular districts of lands, and sometimes whole islands, change their owners. Omai told us that he was once taken a prisoner by the men of Bolabola, and carried to that island, where he and some others would have been put to death the next day if they had not found means to escape in the night.

As soon as this mock fight was over, Omai put on his suit of armour, mounted a stage in one of the canoes, and was paddled all along the shore of the bay; so that every one had a full view of him. His coat of mail did not draw the attention of his countrymen so much as might have been expected. Some of them, indeed, had seen a part of it before; and there were others, again, who had taken such a dislike to Omai, from his imprudent conduct at this place, that they would hardly look at anything, however singular, that was exhibited by him.

CHAPTER IV.—THE DAY OF SAILING FIXED.—PEACE MADE WITH EIMEO.—DEBATES ABOUT IT, AND OTOO'S CONDUCT BLAMED.—A SOLEMNITY AT THE MORAI ON THE OCCASION, DESCRIBED BY MR. KING.—OBSERVATIONS UPON IT.—INSTANCE OF OTOO'S ART.—OMAI'S WAR-CANOE, AND REMARKS UPON HIS BEHAVIOUR.—OTOO'S PRESENT, AND MESSAGE TO THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN.—REFLECTIONS ON OUR MANNER OF TRAFFIC, AND ON THE GOOD TREATMENT WE MET WITH AT OTAHEITE.—ACCOUNT OF THE EXPEDITION OF THE SPANIARDS.—THEIR FICTIONS TO DEPRECIATE THE ENGLISH.—WISHES EXPRESSED THAT NO SETTLEMENT MAY BE MADE.—OMAI'S JEALOUSY OF ANOTHER TRAVELLER.

Early in the morning of the 22nd, Otoo and his father came on board, to know when I proposed sailing. For, having been informed that there was a good harbour at Eimeo, I had told them that I should visit that island on my way to Huaheine; and they were desirous of taking a passage with me, and of their fleet sailing at the time to reinforce Towha. As I was ready to take my departure, I left it to them to name the day, and the Wednesday following was fixed upon, when I was to take on board Otoo, his father, mother, and, in short, the whole family. These points being settled, I proposed setting out immediately for Oparre, where all the fleet fitted out for the expedition was to assemble this day, and to be reviewed.

* This people have a natural aptitude for the sea. When the late lamented Mr. Williams published his "Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands," the natives had made great progress in many departments of useful knowledge, but especially in building small vessels of from twenty to fifty tons. "More than twenty of these," he stated, "were sailing from island to island when he left, two of which belonged to the queen, and were employed in fetching cargoes of pearl and pearl-shells from a group of islands to the eastward of Tahiti. These were exchanged with the English and American vessels for clothing and other articles." Such was the progress made in 1837, since which time the people have been on the advance.—Ed.

I had but just time to get into my boat, when news was brought that Towha had concluded a treaty with Maheine, and had returned with his fleet to Attahooroo. This unexpected event made all further proceedings in the military way quite unnecessary, and the war-canoes, instead of rendezvousing at Oparre, were ordered home to their respective districts. This alteration, however, did not hinder me from following Otoo to Oparre, accompanied by Mr. King and Omai. Soon after our arrival, and while dinner was preparing, a messenger arrived from Eimeo, and related the conditions of the peace, or rather of the truce, it being only for a limited time. The terms were disadvantageous to Otaheite; and much blame was thrown upon Otoo, whose delay in sending reinforcements had obliged Towha to submit to a disgraceful accommodation. It was even currently reported that Towha, resenting his not being supported, had declared, that as soon as I could leave the island he would join his forces to those of Tiaraboo, and attack Otoo at Matavai or Oparre. This called upon me to declare, in the most public manner, that I was determined to espouse the interest of my friend against any such combination; and that whoever presumed to attack him, should feel the weight of my heavy displeasure when I returned again to their island. My declaration probably had the desired effect; and if Towha had any such hostile intention at first, we soon heard no more of the report. Whappai, Otoo's father, highly disapproved of the peace, and blamed Towha very much for concluding it. This sensible old man wisely judged, that my going down with them to Eimeo must have been of singular service to their cause, though I should take no other part whatever in the quarrel. And it was upon this that he built his arguments, and maintained that Otoo had acted properly by waiting for me, though this had prevented his giving assistance to Towha so soon as he expected.

Our debates at Oparre, on this subject, were hardly ended before a messenger arrived from Towha, desiring Otoo's attendance the next day at the *morai* in Attahooroo, to give thanks to the gods for the peace he had concluded; at least, such was Omai's account to me of the object of this solemnity. I was asked to go; but being much out of order, was obliged to decline it. Desirous, however, of knowing what ceremonies might be observed on so memorable an occasion, I sent Mr. King and Omai, and returned on board my ship, attended by Otoo's mother, his three sisters, and eight more women. At first I thought that this numerous train of females came into my boat with no other view than to get a passage to Matavai. But when we arrived at the ship, they told me they intended passing the night on board, for the express purpose of undertaking the cure of the disorder I complained of; which was a pain of the rheumatic kind, extending from the hip to the foot. I accepted the friendly offer, had a bed spread for them upon the cabin floor, and submitted myself to their directions. I was desired to lay myself down amongst them. Then, as many of them as could get round me, began to squeeze me with both hands, from head to foot, but more particularly on the parts where the pain was lodged, till they made my bones crack, and my flesh became a perfect mummy. In short, after undergoing this discipline about a quarter of an hour, I was glad to get away from them. However, the operation gave me immediate relief, which encouraged me to submit to another rubbing-down before I went to bed; and it was so effectual, that I found myself pretty easy all the night after. My female physicians repeated their prescription the next morning before I went ashore, and again in the evening when they returned on board; after which I found the pains entirely removed; and the cure being perfected, they took their leave of me the following morning. This they call *romee;* an operation which, in my opinion, far exceeds the flesh-brush, or anything of the kind that we make use of externally. It is universally practised amongst these islanders; being sometimes performed by the men, but more generally by the women. If at any time one appears languid and tired, and sits down by any one of them, they immediately begin to practise the *romee* upon his legs; and I have always found it to have an exceeding good effect*.

In the morning of the 25th, Otoo, Mr. King, and Omai, returned from Attahooroo: and Mr. King gave me the following account of what he had seen: "Soon after you left me, a second messenger came from Towha, to Otoo, with a plantain-tree. It was sunset when we

* See Captain Wallis's account of the same operation performed on himself, and his first lieutenant, in "Hawkesworth's Collection," vol. i. p. 463. London edit.

embarked in a canoe and left Oparre: about nine o'clock we landed at Tettaha, at that extremity which joins to Attahooroo. Before we landed, the people called to us from the shore, probably to tell us that Towha was there. The meeting of Otoo and this chief I expected would afford some incident worthy of observation. Otoo and his attendants went and seated themselves on the bench, close to the canoe in which Towha was. He was then asleep; but his servants having awaked him, and mentioning Otoo's name, immediately a plantain-tree and a dog were laid at Otoo's feet; and many of Towha's people came and talked with him, as I conceived, about their expedition to Eimeo. After I had, for some time, remained seated close to Otoo, Towha neither stirring from his canoe, nor holding any conversation with us, I went to him. He asked me if *Toote* was angry with him. I answered, No: that he was his *taio;* and that he had ordered me to go to Attahooroo to tell him so. Omai now had a long conversation with this chief; but I could gather no information of any kind from him. On my returning to Otoo, he seemed desirous that I should go to eat, and then to sleep. Accordingly, Omai and I left him. On questioning Omai, he said, the reason of Towha's not stirring from his canoe was his being lame; but that, presently, Otoo and he would converse together in private. This seemed true; for, in a little time, those we left with Otoo came to us; and, about ten minutes after, Otoo himself arrived, and we all went to sleep in his canoe.

"The next morning, the *ava* was in great plenty. One man drank so much that he lost his senses. I should have supposed him to be in a fit, from the convulsions that agitated him. Two men held him, and kept plucking off his hair by the roots. I left this spectacle to see another more affecting. This was the meeting of Towha and his wife, and a young girl, whom I understood to be his daughter. After the ceremony of cutting their heads, and discharging a tolerable quantity of blood and tears, they washed, embraced the chief, and seemed unconcerned. But the young girl's sufferings were not yet come to an end. Terridiri* arrived; and she went, with great composure, to repeat the same ceremonies to him, which she had just performed on meeting her father. Towha had brought a large war-canoe from Eimeo, I inquired if he had killed the people belonging to her; and was told, that there was no man in her when she was captured.

"We left Tettaha, about ten or eleven o'clock, and landed, close to the *morai* of Attahooroo, a little after noon. There lay three canoes, hauled upon the beach, opposite the *morai*, with three hogs exposed in each: their sheds, or awnings, had something under them which I could not discern. We expected the solemnity to be performed the same afternoon; but as neither Towha nor Potatou had joined us, nothing was done. A chief from Eimeo came with a small pig, and a plantain-tree, and placed them at Otoo's feet. They talked some time together; and the Eimeo chief often repeating the words, *Warry, warry*, 'false,' I supposed that Otoo was relating to him what he had heard, and that the other denied it.

"The next day (Wednesday), Towha and Potatou, with about eight large canoes, arrived, and landed near the *morai*. Many plantain-trees were brought, on the part of different chiefs, to Otoo. Towha did not stir from his canoe. The ceremony began by the principal priest bringing out the *maro*, wrapped up, and a bundle shaped like a large sugar-loaf. These were placed at the head of what I understood to be a grave. Then three priests came and sat down opposite, that is, at the other end of the grave; bringing with them a plantain-tree, the branch of some other tree, and the sheath of the flower of the cocoa-nut tree. The priests, with these things in their hands, separately repeated sentences; and, at intervals, two, and sometimes all three, sung a melancholy ditty, little attended to by the people. This praying and singing continued for an hour. Then, after a short prayer, the principal priest uncovered the *maro;* and Otoo rose up, and wrapped it about him, holding, at the same time, in his hand, a cap or bonnet, composed of the red feathers of the tail of the tropic-bird, mixed with other feathers of a dark colour. He stood in the middle space, facing the three priests, who continued their prayers for about ten minutes; when a man, starting from the crowd, said something which ended with the word *heiva!* and the crowd echoed back

* Terridiri was Oberea's son. See an account of the royal family of Otaheite, Vol. I. p. 6[illegible]

to him, three times, *Earee!* This, as I had been told before, was the principal part of the solemnity.

"The company now moved to the opposite side of the great pile of stones, where is what they call the king's *morai;* which is not unlike a large grave. Here the same ceremony was performed over again, and ended in three cheers. The *maro* was now wrapped up, and increased in its splendour by the addition of a small piece of red feathers, which one of the priests gave Otoo when he had it on, and which he stuck into it. From this place the people went to a large hut, close by the *morai*, where they seated themselves in much greater order than is usual among them. A man of Tiaraboo then made an oration, which lasted about ten minutes. He was followed by an Attahooroo man; afterward Potatou spoke with much greater fluency and grace than any of them; for, in general, they spoke in short, broken sentences, with a motion of the hand that was rather awkward. Tooteo, Otoo's orator, spoke next, and after him a man from Eimeo. Two or three more speeches were made; but not much attended to. Omai told me, that the speeches declared that they should not fight, but all be friends. As many of the speakers expressed themselves with warmth, possibly there were some recriminations and protestations of their good intentions. In the midst of their speaking, a man of Attahooroo got up, with a sling fastened to his waist, and a large stone placed upon his shoulder. After parading near a quarter of an hour in the open space, repeating something in a singing tone, he threw the stone down. This stone, and a plantain-tree that lay at Otoo's feet, were, after the speeches ended, carried to the *morai;* and one of the priests, and Otoo with him, said something upon the occasion.

"On our return to Oparre, the sea-breeze having set in, we were obliged to land, and had a pleasant walk through almost the whole extent of Tettaha to Oparre. A tree, with two bundles of dried leaves suspended upon it, marked the boundary of the two districts. The man who had performed the ceremony of the stone and sling came with us. With him Otoo's father had a long conversation. He seemed very angry. I understood he was enraged at the part Towha had taken in the Eimeo business."

From what I can judge of this solemnity, as thus described by Mr. King, it had not been wholly a thanksgiving, as Omai told us, but rather a confirmation of the treaty, or perhaps both. The grave, which Mr. King speaks of, seems to be the very spot where the celebration of the rites began, when the human sacrifice, at which I was present, was offered, and before which the victim was laid, after being removed from the sea-side. It is at this part of the *morai*, also, that they first invest their kings with the *maro*. Omai, who had been present when Otoo was made king, described to me the whole ceremony, when we were here; and I find it to be almost the same as this that Mr. King has now described, though we understood it to be upon a very different occasion. The plantain-tree, so often mentioned, is always the first thing introduced, not only in all their religious ceremonies, but in all their debates, whether of a public or private nature. It is also used on other occasions; perhaps many more than we know of. While Towha was at Eimeo, one or more messengers came from him to Otoo every day. The messenger always came with a young plantain-tree in his hand, which he laid down at Otoo's feet, before he spoke a word; then seated himself before him, and related what he was charged with. I have seen two men in such high dispute that I expected they would proceed to blows; yet, on one laying a plantain-tree before the other, they have both become cool, and carried on the argument without farther animosity. In short, it is, upon all occasions, the olive-branch of these people.

The war with Eimeo, and the solemn rites which were the consequence of it, being thus finally closed, all our friends paid us a visit on the 26th; and, as they knew that we were upon the point of sailing, brought with them more hogs than we could take off their hands. For, having no salt left, to preserve any, we wanted no more than for present use. The next day, I accompanied Otoo to Oparre; and, before I left it, I looked at the cattle and poultry, which I had consigned to my friend's care, at that place. Every thing was in a promising way; and properly attended unto. Two of the geese and two of the ducks were sitting; but the pea and turkey hens had not begun to lay. I got from Otoo four goats; two of which I intended to leave at Ulietea, where none had as yet been introduced; and

the other two, I proposed to reserve for the use of any other islands I might meet with in my passage to the north.

A circumstance which I shall now mention of Otoo, will show that these people are capable of much address and art to gain their purposes. Amongst other things which, at different times, I had given to this chief was a spying-glass. After having it in his possession two or three days, tired of its novelty, and probably finding it of no use to him, he carried it privately to Captain Clerke, and told him, that, as he had been his very good friend, he had got a present for him, which he knew would be agreeable. "But," says Otoo, "you must not let *Toote* know it; because he wants it, and I would not let him have it." He then put the glass into Captain Clerke's hands; at the same time, assuring him, that he came honestly by it. Captain Clerke at first declined accepting it; but Otoo insisted upon it, and left it with him. Some days after, he put Captain Clerke in mind of the glass; who, though he did not want it, was yet desirous of obliging Otoo; and thinking that a few axes would be of more use at this island, produced four to give him in return. Otoo no sooner saw this, than he said, "*Toote* offered me five for it." "Well," says Captain Clerke, "if that be the case, your friendship for me shall not make you a loser, and you shall have six axes." These he accepted; but desired again, that I might not be told what he had done.

Our friend Omai got one good thing at this island for the many good things he gave away. This was a very fine double sailing canoe, completely equipped, and fit for the sea. Some time before, I had made up for him, a suit of English colours; but he thought these too valuable to be used at this time; and patched up a parcel of colours, such as flags and pendants, to the number of ten or a dozen, which he spread on different parts of this vessel, all at the same time; and drew together as many people to look at her, as a man-of-war would, dressed, in a European port. These streamers of Omai were a mixture of English, French, Spanish, and Dutch, which were all the European colours that he had seen. When I was last at this island, I gave to Otoo an English jack and pendant, and to Towha a pendant; which I now found they had preserved with the greatest care. Omai had also provided himself with a good stock of cloth and cocoa-nut oil, which are not only in greater plenty, but much better, at Otaheite than at any of the Society Islands; insomuch, that they are articles of trade. Omai would not have behaved so inconsistently, and so much unlike himself, as he did, in many instances, but for his sister and brother-in-law, who, together with a few more of their acquaintance, engrossed him entirely to themselves, with no other view than to strip him of everything he had got. And they would, undoubtedly, have succeeded in their scheme, if I had not put a stop to it in time, by taking the most useful articles of his property into my possession. But even this would not have saved Omai from ruin, if I had suffered these relations of his to have gone with, or to have followed us to, his intended place of settlement, Huaheine. This they had intended; but I disappointed their farther views of plunder, by forbidding them to show themselves in that island, while I remained in the neighbourhood; and they knew me too well not to comply.

On the 28th, Otoo came on board, and informed me, that he had got a canoe, which he desired I would take with me, and carry home, as a present from him to the *Earee rahie no Pretane;* it being the only thing, he said, that he could send worth his Majesty's acceptance. I was not a little pleased with Otoo for this mark of his gratitude. It was a thought entirely his own, not one of us having given him the least hint about it; and it showed that he fully understood to whom he was indebted for the most valuable presents that he had received. At first, I thought that this canoe had been a model of one of their vessels of war; but I soon found that it was a small *ivahah*, about sixteen feet long. It was double, and seemed to have been built for the purpose; and was decorated with all those pieces of carved work, which they usually fix upon their canoes. As it was too large for me to take on board, I could only thank him for his good intentions; but it would have pleased him much better, if his present could have been accepted.

We were detained here some days longer than I expected, by light breezes from the west, and calms by turns; so that we could not get out of the bay. During this time, the ships were crowded with our friends, and surrounded by a multitude of canoes; for not one would leave the place till we were gone. At length, at three o'clock in the afternoon of

the 29th, the wind came at east, and we weighed anchor. As soon as the ships were under sail, at the request of Otoo, and to gratify the curiosity of his people, I fired seven guns, loaded with shot; after which, all our friends, except him, and two or three more, left us with such marks of affection and grief, as sufficiently showed how much they regretted our departure. Otoo being desirous of seeing the ship sail, I made a stretch out to sea, and then in again; when he also bid us farewell, and went ashore in his canoe. The frequent visits we have lately paid to this island, seem to have created a full persuasion that the intercourse will not be discontinued. It was strictly enjoined to me by Otoo, to request, in his name, the *Earee rahie no Pretane*, to send him, by the next ships, red feathers, and the birds that produce them; axes; half a dozen muskets, with powder and shot; and by no means to forget horses.

I have occasionally mentioned my receiving considerable presents from Otoo, and the rest of the family, without specifying what returns I made. It is customary for these people, when they make a present, to let us know what they expect in return; and we find it necessary to gratify them; so that what we get by way of present, comes dearer than what we get by barter. But as we were sometimes pressed by occasional scarcity, we could have recourse to our friends for a present, or supply, when we could not get our wants relieved by any other method; and therefore, upon the whole, this way of traffic was full as advantageous to us as to the natives. For the most part, I paid for each separate article as I received it, except in my intercourse with Otoo. His presents generally came so fast upon me, that no account was kept between us. Whatever he asked for, that I could spare, he had whenever he asked for it; and I always found him moderate in his demands.

If I could have prevailed upon Omai to fix himself at Otaheite, I should not have left it so soon as I did; for there was not a probability of our being better or cheaper supplied with refreshments at any other place, than we continued to be here, even at the time of our leaving it. Besides, such a cordial friendship and confidence subsisted between us and the inhabitants, as could hardly be expected anywhere else; and, it was a little extraordinary, that this friendly intercourse had never once been suspended by any untoward accident; nor had there been a theft committed that deserves to be mentioned. Not that I believe their morals, in this respect, to be much mended; but am rather of opinion, that their regularity of conduct was owing to the fear the chiefs were under of interrupting a traffic which they might consider as the means of securing to themselves a more considerable share of our commodities than could have been got by plunder or pilfering. Indeed, this point I settled at the first interview with their chiefs, after my arrival. For, observing the great plenty that was in the island, and the eagerness of the natives to possess our various articles of trade, I resolved to make the most of these two favourable circumstances, and explained myself, in the most decisive terms, that I would not suffer them to rob us, as they had done upon many former occasions. In this Omai was of great use, as I instructed him to point out to them the good consequences of their honest conduct; and the fatal mischiefs they must expect to suffer by deviating from it.

It is not always in the power of the chiefs to prevent robberies; they are frequently robbed themselves; and complain of it as a great evil. Otoo left the most valuable thing he had from me in my possession, till the day before we sailed; and the reason he gave for it was, that they were nowhere so safe. Since the bringing in of new riches, the inducements to pilfering must have increased. The chiefs, sensible of this, are now extremely desirous of chests. They seemed to set much value upon a few the Spaniards had left amongst them; and they were continually asking us for some. I had one made for Otoo, the dimensions of which, according to his own directions, were eight feet in length, five in breadth, and about three in depth. Locks and bolts were not a sufficient security; but it must be large enough for two people to sleep upon, by way of guarding it in the night.

It will appear a little extraordinary, that we, who had a smattering of their language, and Omai, besides, for an interpreter, could never get any clear account of the time when the Spaniards arrived, how long they staid, and when they departed. The more we inquired into this matter, the more we were convinced of the inability of most of these

people to remember, or note the time, when past events happened; especially if it exceeded ten or twenty months. It, however, appeared, by the date of the inscription upon the cross, and by the information we received from the most intelligent of the natives, that two ships arrived at Oheitepeha in 1774, soon after I left Matavai, which was in May, the same year. They brought with them the house and live-stock before mentioned. Some said, that, after landing these things, and some men, they sailed in quest of me, and returned in about ten days But I have some doubt of the truth of this, as they were never seen, either at Huaheine or at Ulietea. The live-stock they left here consisted of one bull, some goats, hogs, and dogs, and the male of some other animal; which we afterwards found to be a ram, and, at this time, was at Bolabola, whither the bull was also to have been transported.

The hogs are of a large kind; have already greatly improved the breed originally found by us upon the island; and, at the time of our late arrival, were very numerous. Goats are, also, in tolerable plenty; there being hardly a chief of any note that has not got some. As to the dogs that the Spaniards put ashore, which are of two or three sorts, I think they would have done the island a great deal more service, if they had hanged them all, instead of leaving them upon it. It was to one of them that my young ram fell a victim. When these ships left the islands, four Spaniards remained behind. Two were priests, one a servant, and the fourth made himself very popular among the natives, who distinguish him by the name of Mateema. He seems to have been a person who had studied their language; or, at least, to have spoken it so as to be understood; and to have taken uncommon pains to impress the minds of the islanders with the most exalted ideas of the greatness of the Spanish nation, and to make them think meanly of the English. He even went so far as to assure them, that we no longer existed as an independent nation; that *Pretane* was only a small island, which they, the Spaniards, had entirely destroyed; and for me, that they had met with me at sea, and, with a few shot, had sent my ship, and every soul in her, to the bottom; so that my visiting Otaheite, at this time, was, of course, very unexpected. All this, and many other improbable falsehoods, did this Spaniard make these people believe. If Spain had no other views in this expedition but to depreciate the English, they had better have kept their ships at home; for my returning again to Otaheite was considered as a complete confutation of all that Mateema had said.

With what design the priests staid, we can only guess If it was to convert the natives to the catholic faith, they have not succeeded in any one instance. But it does not appear that they ever attempted it; for, if the natives are to be believed, they never conversed with them, either on this, or on any other subject. The priests resided constantly in the house at Oheitepeha; but Mateema roved about, visiting most parts of the island. At length, after he and his companions had staid ten months, two ships came to Oheitepeha, took them on board, and sailed again in five days. This hasty departure shows, that, whatever design the Spaniards might have had upon this island, they had now laid it aside. And yet, as I was informed by Otoo, and many others, before they went away, they would have the natives believe that they still meant to return, and to bring with them houses, all kinds of animals, and men and women, who were to settle, live, and die on the island. Otoo, when he told me this, added, that if the Spaniards should return, he would not let them come to Matavai Fort, which, he said, was ours. It was easy to see that the idea pleased him; little thinking that the completion of it would at once deprive him of his kingdom, and the people of their liberties. This shows with what facility a settlement might be made at Otaheite; which, grateful as I am for repeated good offices, I hope will never happen. Our occasional visits may, in some respects, have benefited its inhabitants; but a permanent establishment amongst them, conducted as most European establishments amongst Indian nations have unfortunately been, would, I fear, give them just cause to lament that our ships had ever found them out. Indeed, it is very unlikely that any measure of this kind should ever be seriously thought of, as it can neither serve the purposes of public ambition, nor of private avarice; and, without such inducements, I may pronounce that it will never be undertaken.

I have already mentioned the visit that I had from one of the two natives of this island, who had been carried by the Spaniards to Lima. I never saw him afterward; which I

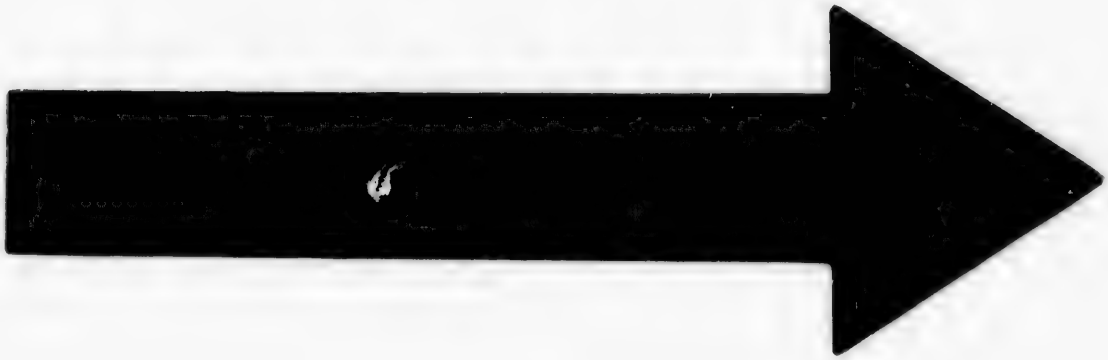
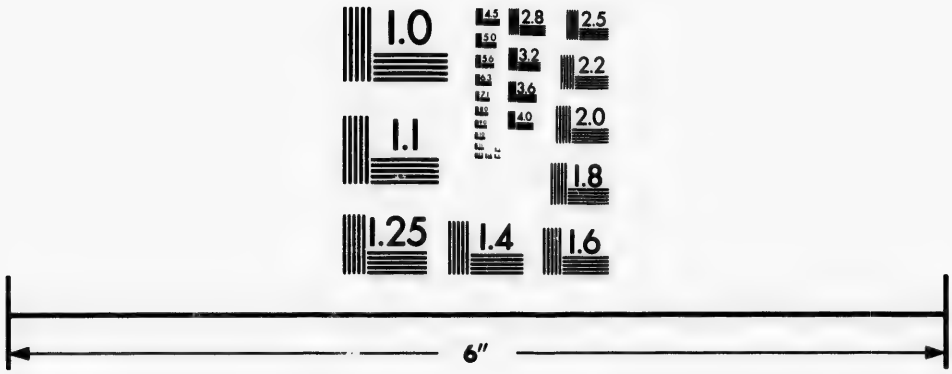


IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)



Photographic
Sciences
Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

2.8
2.5
3.2
3.6
2.2
4.0
2.0
1.8
1.1
1.0

rather wondered at, as I had received him with uncommon civility. I believe, however, that Omai had kept him at a distance from me, by some rough usage; jealous that there should be another traveller upon the island who might vie with himself. Our touching at Teneriffe was a fortunate circumstance for Omai; as he prided himself in having visited a place belonging to Spain as well as this man. I did not meet with the other, who had returned from Lima; but Captain Clerke, who had seen him, spoke of him as a low fellow, and as a little out of his senses. His own countrymen, I found, agreed in the same account of him. In short, these two adventurers seemed to be held in no esteem. They had not, indeed, been so fortunate as to return home with such valuable acquisitions of property as we had bestowed upon Omai; and with the advantages he reaped from his voyage to England, it must be his own fault if he should sink into the same state of insignificance.

CHAPTER V.—ARRIVAL AT EIMEO.—TWO HARBOURS THERE, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THEM.—VISIT FROM MAHEINE, CHIEF OF THE ISLAND.—HIS PERSON DESCRIBED.—A GOAT STOLEN, AND SENT BACK WITH THE THIEF.—ANOTHER GOAT STOLEN, AND SECRETED.—MEASURES TAKEN ON THE OCCASION.—EXPEDITION ACROSS THE ISLAND.—HOUSES AND CANOES BURNT.—THE GOAT DELIVERED UP, AND PEACE RESTORED.—SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ISLAND, ETC.

As I did not give up my design of touching at Eimeo, at daybreak, in the morning of the 30th, after leaving Otaheite, I stood for the north end of the island; the harbour, which I wished to examine, being at that part of it. Omai, in his canoe, having arrived there long before us, had taken some necessary measures to show us the place. However, we were not without pilots, having several men of Otaheite on board, and not a few women. Not caring to trust entirely to these guides, I sent two boats to examine the harbour, and, on their making the signal for safe anchorage, we stood in with the ships, and anchored close up to the head of the inlet, in ten fathoms water, over a bottom of soft mud, and moored with a hawser fast to the shore. This harbour, which is called Taloo, is situated upon the north side of the island, in the district of Oboonohoo, or Poonohoo. It runs in south, or south by east, between the hills, above two miles. For security and goodness of its bottom, it is not inferior to any harbour that I have met with at any of the islands in this ocean; and it has this advantage over most of them, that a ship can sail in and out with the reigning trade-wind; so that the access and recess are equally easy. There are several rivulets that fall into it. The one at the head is so considerable as to admit boats to go a quarter of a mile up, where we found the water perfectly fresh. Its banks are covered with the *pooroo* tree, as it is called by the natives, which makes good firing, and which they set no value upon; so that wood and water are to be got here with great facility. On the same side of the island, and about two miles to the eastward, is the harbour of Parowroah, much larger within than that of Taloo; but the entrance, or opening in the reef, (for the whole island is surrounded with a reef of coral rock,) is considerably narrower, and lies to leeward of the harbour. These two defects are so striking, that the harbour of Taloo must always have a decided preference. It is a little extraordinary, that I should have been three times at Otaheite before, and have once sent a boat to Eimeo, and yet not know till now that there was a harbour in it; on the contrary, I always understood there was not; whereas there are not only the two above mentioned, but one or two more on the south side of the island; but these last are not so considerable as the two we have just described.

We had no sooner anchored than the ships were crowded with the inhabitants, whom curiosity alone brought on board; for they had nothing with them for the purposes of barter. But, the next morning, this deficiency was supplied; several canoes then arriving from more distant parts, which brought with them abundance of bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and a few hogs. These they exchanged for hatchets, nails, and beads, for red feathers were not so much sought after here as at Otaheite. The ship being a good deal pestered with rats, I hauled her within thirty yards of the shore, as near as the depth of water would allow, and made a path for them to get to the land, by fastening hawsers to the trees. It is said that

this experiment has sometimes succeeded; but, I believe, we got clear of very few, if any, of the numerous tribe that haunted us.

In the morning of the 2d, Maheine, the chief of the island, paid me a visit. He approached the ship with great caution, and it required some persuasion to get him on board. Probably, he was under some apprehensions of mischief from us, as friends of the Otaheiteans; these people not being able to comprehend how we can be friends with any one, without adopting, at the same time, his cause against his enemies. Maheine was accompanied by his wife, who, as I was informed, is sister to Oamo of Otaheite, of whose death we had an account while we were at this island. I made presents to both of them, of such things as they seemed to set the highest value upon; and after a stay of about half an hour, they went away. Not long after, they returned with a large hog, which they meant as a return for my present; but I made them another present to the full value of it. After this, they paid a visit to Captain Clerke.

This chief, who with a few followers has made himself in a manner independent of Otaheite, is between forty and fifty years old. He is bald-headed, which is rather an uncommon appearance in these islands at that age. He wore a kind of turban, and seemed ashamed to show his head. But whether they themselves considered this deficiency of hair as a mark of disgrace, or whether they entertained a notion of our considering it as such, I cannot say. We judged that the latter supposition was the truth, from this circumstance, that they had seen us shave the head of one of their people, whom we had caught stealing. They therefore concluded that this was the punishment usully inflicted by us upon all thieves; and one or two of our gentlemen, whose heads were not overburthened with hair, we could observe, lay under violent suspicions of being *tetos*. In the evening, Omai and I mounted on horseback, and took a ride along the shore to the eastward. Our train was not very numerous, as Omai had forbid the natives to follow us; and many complied, the fear of giving offence getting the better of their curiosity. Towha had stationed his fleet in this harbour; and though the war lasted but a few days, the marks of its devastation were everywhere to be seen. The trees were stripped of their fruit; and all the houses in the neighbourhood had been pulled down or burnt.

Having employed two or three days in getting up all our spirit-casks to tar their heads, which we found necessary to save them from the efforts of a small insect to destroy them, we hauled the ship off into the stream on the 6th, in the morning, intending to put to sea the next day; but an accident happened that prevented it, and gave me a good deal of trouble. We had sent our goats ashore in the daytime to graze, with two men to look after them; notwithstanding which precaution, the natives had contrived to steal one of them this evening. The loss of this goat would have been of little consequence, if it had not interfered with my views of stocking other islands with these animals; but this being the case, it became necessary to recover it if possible. The next morning we got intelligence, that it had been carried to Maheine, the chief, who was at this time at Parowroah harbour. Two old men offered to conduct any of my people whom I might think proper to send to him, to bring back the goat. Accordingly, I despatched them in a boat, charged with a threatening message to Maheine, if the goat was not immediately given up to me, and also the thief.

It was only the day before, that this chief had requested me to give him two goats. But, as I could not spare them, unless at the expense of other islands that might never have another opportunity to get any, and had, besides, heard that there were already two upon this island, I did not gratify him. However, to show my inclination to assist his views in this respect, I desired Tidooa, an Otaheite chief who was present, to beg Otoo, in my name, to send two of these animals to Maheine; and, by way of insuring a compliance with this request, I sent to Otoo, by this chief, a large piece of red feathers, equal to the value of the two goats that I required. I expected that this arrangement would have been satisfactory to Maheine and all the other chiefs of the island; but the event showed that I was mistaken. Not thinking that any one would dare to steal a second, at the very time I was taking measures to recover the first, the goats were put ashore again this morning; and in

the evening a boat was sent to bring them on board. As our people were getting them into the boat, one was carried off undiscovered. It being immediately missed, I made no doubt of recovering it without much trouble, as there had not been time to carry it to any considerable distance. Ten or twelve of the natives set out soon after, different ways, to bring it back or to look for it; for not one of them would own that it was stolen, but all tried to persuade us that it had strayed into the woods; and, indeed, I thought so myself. I was convinced to the contrary, however, when I found that none of those who went in pursuit of it returned; so that their only view was to amuse me, till their prize was beyond my reach; and night coming on, put a stop to all further search. About this time the boat returned with the other goat, bringing also one of the men who had stolen it; the first instance of the kind that I had met with amongst these islands.

The next morning, I found that most of the inhabitants in the neighbourhood had moved off, carrying with them a corpse which lay on a *toopapaoo* opposite the ship; and that Maheine himself had retired to the most distant part of the island. It seemed now no longer doubtful, that a plan had been laid to steal what I had refused to give; and that, though they had restored one, they were resolved to keep the other, which was a she-goat and big with kid. I was equally fixed in my resolution that they should not keep it. I therefore applied to the two old men who had been instrumental in getting back the first. They told me that this had been carried to Watea, a district on the south side of the island, by Hamoa, the chief of that place; but that, if I would send anybody for it, it would be delivered up. They offered to conduct some of my people across the island; but on my learning from them that a boat might go and return the same day, I sent one, with two petty officers, Mr. Roberts and Mr. Shuttleworth; one to remain with the boat, in case she could not get to the place, while the other should go with the guides, and one or two of our people. Late in the evening the boat returned, and the officers informed me, that after proceeding as far in the boat as rocks and shoals would permit, Mr. Shuttleworth with two marines and one of the guides landed and travelled to Watea, to the house of Hamoa, where the people of the place amused them for some time, by telling them that the goat would soon be brought, and pretended they had sent for it. It, however, never came, and the approach of night obliged Mr. Shuttleworth to return to the boat without it.

I was now very sorry that I had proceeded so far, as I could not retreat with any tolerable credit, and without giving encouragement to the people of the other islands we had yet to visit, to rob us with impunity. I asked Omai and the two old men what methods I should next take; and they, without hesitation, advised me to go with a party of men into the country, and shoot every soul I should meet with. This bloody counsel I could not follow but I resolved to march a party of men across the island; and at daybreak the next morning, set out with thirty-five of my people, accompanied by one of the old men, by Omai, and three or four of his attendants. At the same time, I ordered Lieutenant Williamson with three armed boats round the western part of the island to meet us.

I had no sooner landed with my party, than the few natives who still remained in the neighbourhood fled before us. The first man that we met with upon our march ran some risk of his life; for Omai, the moment he saw him, asked me if he should shoot him; so fully was he persuaded that I was going to carry his advice into execution. I immediately ordered both him and our guide to make it known, that I did not intend to hurt, much less to kill, a single native. These glad tidings flew before us like lightning, and stopped the flight of the inhabitants; so that no one quitted his house or employment afterward. As we began to ascend the ridge of hills over which lay our road, we got intelligence that the goat had been carried that way before us; and, as we understood, could not as yet have passed the hills; so that we marched up in great silence, in hopes of surprising the party who were bearing off the prize. But when we had got to the uppermost plantation on the side of the ridge, the people there told us, that what we were in search of had, indeed, been kept there the first night, but had been carried the next morning to Watea by Hamoa. We then crossed the ridge without making any further inquiry, till we came within sight of Watea, where some people showed us Hamoa's house, and told us that the goat was there,

so that I made no doubt of getting it immediately upon my arrival. But when I reached the house, to my very great surprise, the few people we met with denied that they had ever seen it, or knew anything about it; even Hamoa himself came and made the same declaration.

On our first coming to the place, I observed several men running to and fro in the woods, with clubs and bundles of darts in their hands; and Omai, who followed them, had some stones thrown at him, so that it seemed as if they had intended to oppose any step I should take by force; but, on seeing my party was too strong, had dropped the design. I was confirmed in this notion, by observing that all their houses were empty. After getting a few of the people of the place together, I desired Omai to expostulate with them on the absurdity of the conduct they were pursuing; and to tell them that, from the testimony of many on whom I could depend, I was well assured that the goat was in their possession, and, therefore, insisted upon its being delivered up, otherwise I would burn their houses and canoes. But notwithstanding all that I or Omai could say, they continued to deny their having any knowledge of it. The consequence was, that I set fire to six or eight houses, which were presently consumed, with two or three war-canoes that lay contiguous to them. This done, I marched off to join the boats, which were about seven or eight miles from us; and, in our way, we burned six more war-canoes, without any one attempting to oppose us; on the contrary, many assisted, though, probably, more out of fear than good-will. In one place, Omai, who had advanced a little before, came back with information that a great many men were getting together to attack us. We made ready to receive them, but instead of enemies we found petitioners with plantain-trees in their hands, which they laid down at my feet, and begged that I would spare a canoe that lay close by, which I readily complied with.

At length, about four in the afternoon, we got to the boats, that were waiting at Wharrarade, the district belonging to Tiarataboonoue; but this chief, as well as all the principal people of the place, had fled to the hills; though I touched not a single thing that was their property, as they were the friends of Otoo. After resting ourselves here about an hour, we set out for the ships, where we arrived about eight o'clock in the evening. At that time, no account of the goat had been received; so that the operations of this day had not produced the desired effect.

Early next morning, I despatched one of Omai's men to Maheine, with this peremptory message, that if he persisted in his refusal, I would not leave him a single canoe upon the island, and that he might expect a continuation of hostilities as long as the stolen animal remained in his possession. And, that the messenger might see that I was in earnest, before he left me I sent the carpenter to break up three or four canoes that lay ashore at the head of the harbour. The plank was carried on board, as materials for building a house for Omai, at the place where he intended to settle. I afterward went, properly accompanied, to the next harbour, where we broke up three or four more canoes, and burned an equal number; and then returned on board about seven in the evening. On my arrival I found that the goat had been brought back about half an hour before; and, on inquiry, it appeared that it had come from the very place where I had been told the day before, by the inhabitants, that they knew nothing of it. But in consequence of the message I sent to the chief in the morning, it was judged prudent to trifle with me no longer. Thus ended this troublesome and rather unfortunate business; which could not be more regretted on the part of the natives, than it was on mine. And it grieved me to reflect, that, after refusing the pressing solicitations of my friends at Otaheite, to favour their invasion of this island, I should so soon find myself reduced to the necessity of engaging in hostilities against its inhabitants, which, perhaps, did them more mischief than they had suffered from Towha's expedition.

The next morning our intercourse with the natives was renewed; and several canoes brought to the ships bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts to barter; from whence it was natural for me to draw this conclusion, that they were conscious it was their own fault if I had treated them with severity; and that the cause of my displeasure being removed, they had a full confidence that no further mischief would ensue. About nine o'clock we weighed, with a

breeze down the harbour; but it proved so faint and variable, that it was noon before we got out to sea, when I steered for Huaheine, attended by Omai in his canoe. He did not depend entirely upon his own judgment, but had got on board a pilot. I observed, that they shaped as direct a course for the island as I could do. At Eimeo we abundantly supplied the ships with fire-wood. We had not taken in any at Otaheite, where the procuring this article would have been very inconvenient; there not being a tree at Matavai but what is useful to the inhabitants. We also got here good store of refreshments, both in hogs and vegetables; that is, bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts; little else being in season. I do not know that there is any difference between the produce of this island and of Otaheite; but there is a very striking difference in their women, that I can by no means account for. Those of Eimeo are of low stature, have a dark hue, and, in general, forbidding features. If we met with a fine woman amongst them, we were sure, upon inquiry, to find that she had come from some other island.

The general appearance of Eimeo is very different from that of Otaheite. The latter rising in one steep hilly body, has little low land, except some deep valleys; and the flat border that surrounds the greatest part of it, toward the sea. Eimeo, on the contrary, has hills running in different directions, which are very steep and rugged, leaving in the interspaces very large valleys, and gently-rising grounds about their sides. These hills, though of a rocky disposition, are in general covered almost to their tops with trees; but the lower parts, on the sides, frequently only with fern. At the bottom of the harbour where we lay, the ground rises gently to the foot of the hills which run across nearly in the middle of the island; but its flat border, on each side, at a very small distance from the sea, becomes quite steep. This gives it a romantic cast, which renders it a prospect superior to anything we saw at Otaheite. The soil, about the low grounds, is a yellowish and pretty stiff mould; but, upon the lower hills, it is blacker and more loose; and the stone that composes the hills is, when broken, of a bluish colour, but not very compact texture, with some particles of *glimmer* interspersed. These particulars seem worthy of observation. Perhaps the reader will think differently of my judgment. when I add, that, near the station of our ships, were two large stones, or rather rocks, concerning which the natives have some superstitious notions. They consider them as *Eatooas*, or divinities; saying that they are brother and sister, and that they came, by some supernatural means, from Ulietea.

CHAPTER VI.—ARRIVAL AT HUAHEINE.—COUNCIL OF THE CHIEFS.— OMAI'S OFFERINGS, AND SPEECH TO THE CHIEFS.— HIS ESTABLISHMENT IN THIS ISLAND AGREED TO.—A HOUSE BUILT AND GARDEN PLANTED FOR HIM.—SINGULARITY OF HIS SITUATION—MEASURES TAKEN TO INSURE HIS SAFETY.—DAMAGE DONE BY COCKROACHES ON BOARD THE SHIPS.—A THIEF DETECTED AND PUNISHED.—FIRE-WORKS EXHIBITED.—ANIMALS LEFT WITH OMAI.—HIS FAMILY.—WEAPONS.—INSCRIPTIONS ON HIS HOUSE.—HIS BEHAVIOUR ON THE SHIP'S LEAVING THE ISLAND.—SUMMARY VIEW OF HIS CONDUCT AND CHARACTER.— ACCOUNT OF THE TWO NEW ZEALAND YOUTHS.

Having left Eimeo, with a gentle breeze and fine weather, at daybreak the next morning we saw Huaheine, extending from south-west by west, half west, to west by north. At noon we anchored at the north entrance of Owharre harbour, which is on the west side of the island. The whole afternoon was spent in warping the ships into a proper berth, and mooring. Omai entered the harbour just before us, in his canoe, but did not land. Nor did he take much notice of any of his countrymen, though many crowded to see him; but far more of them came off to the ships, insomuch that we could hardly work on account of their numbers. Our passengers presently acquainted them with what we had done at Eimeo, and multiplied the number of houses and canoes that we had destroyed, by ten at least. I was not sorry for this exaggerated account; as I saw that it made a great impression upon all who heard it; so that I had hopes it would induce the inhabitants of this island to behave better to us than they had done during my former visits. While I was at Otaheite. I had learned that my old friend Oree was no longer the chief of Huaheine; and that, at

this time, he resided at Ulietea. Indeed, he never had been more than regent during the minority of Taireetareea, the present *Earee rahie;* but he did not give up the regency till he was forced. His two sons, Opoony and Towha, were the first who paid me a visit, coming on board before the ship was well in the harbour, and bringing a present with them.

Our arrival brought all the principal people of the island to our ships on the next morning, being the 13th. This was just what I wished, as it was high time to think of settling Omai; and the presence of these chiefs, I guessed, would enable me to do it in the most satisfactory manner. He now seemed to have an inclination to establish himself at Ulietea; and if he and I could have agreed about the mode of bringing that plan to bear, I should have had no objection to adopt it. His father had been dispossessed by the men of Bolabola, when they conquered Ulietea, of some land in that island; and I made no doubt of being able to get it restored to the son in an amicable manner. For that purpose it was necessary that he should be upon good terms with those who now were masters of the island; but he was too great a patriot to listen to any such thing, and was vain enough to suppose that I would reinstate him in his forfeited lands by force. This made it impossible to fix him at Ulietea, and pointed out to me Huaheine as the proper place. I therefore resolved to avail myself of the presence of the chief men of the island, and to make this proposal to them.

After the hurry of the morning was over, we got ready to pay a formal visit to Taireetareea, meaning then to introduce his business. Omai dressed himself very properly on the occasion, and prepared a handsome present for the chief himself, and another for his *Eatooa.* Indeed, after he had got clear of the gang that surrounded him at Otaheite, he behaved with such prudence as to gain respect. Our landing drew most of our visitors from the ships; and they, as well as those that were on shore, assembled in a large house. The concourse of people, on this occasion, was very great; and amongst them, there appeared to be a greater proportion of personable men and women than we had ever seen in one assembly at any of these new islands. Not only the bulk of the people seemed in general much stouter and fairer than those of Otaheite, but there was also a much greater number of men who appeared to be of consequence, in proportion to the extent of the island; most of whom had exactly the corpulent appearance of the chiefs of Wateeo. We waited some time for Taireetareea, as I would do nothing till the *Earee rahie* came; but when he appeared, I found that his presence might have been dispensed with, as he was not above eight or ten years of age. Omai, who stood at a little distance from this circle of great men, began with making his offering to the gods, consisting of red feathers, cloth, &c. Then followed another offering, which was to be given to the gods by the chief; and, after that, several other small pieces and tufts of red feathers were presented. Each article was laid before one of the company, who, I understood, was a priest, and was delivered with a set speech or prayer, spoken by one of Omai's friends, who sat by him, but mostly dictated by himself. In these prayers, he did not forget his friends in England, nor those who had brought him safe back. The *Earee rahie no Pretane*, Lord Sandwich, *Toote, Tatee**, were mentioned in every one of them. When Omai's offerings and prayers were finished, the priest took each article, in the same order in which it had been laid before him, and after repeating a prayer, sent it to the *morai;* which, as Omai told us, was at a great distance, otherwise the offerings would have been made there.

These religious ceremonies having been performed, Omai sat down by me, and we entered upon business, by giving the young chief my present, and receiving his in return; and, all things considered, they were liberal enough on both sides. Some arrangements were next agreed upon, as to the manner of carrying on the intercourse betwixt us; and I pointed out the mischievous consequences that would attend their robbing us, as they had done during my former visits. Omai's establishment was then proposed to the assembled chiefs.

He acquainted them, "That he had been carried by us into our country, where he was well received by the great king and his *Earees*, and treated with every mark of regard and affection, while he staid amongst us; that he had been brought back again, enriched by our liberality with a variety of articles, which would prove very useful to his countrymen; and

* Cook and Clerke.

that, besides the two horses which were to remain with him, several other new and valuable animals had been left at Otaheite, which would soon multiply, and furnish a sufficient number for the use of all the islands in the neighbourhood. He then signified to them, that it was my earnest request, in return for all my friendly offices, that they would give him a piece of land, to build a house upon, and to raise provisions for himself and servants; adding, that, if this could not be obtained for him at Huaheine, either by gift or by purchase, I was determined to carry him to Ulietea*, and fix him there."

Perhaps I have here made a better speech for my friend than he actually delivered; but these were the topics I dictated to him. I observed, that what he concluded with, about carrying him to Ulietea, seemed to meet with the approbation of all the chiefs; and I instantly saw the reason. Omai had, as I have already mentioned, vainly flattered himself, that I meant to use force in restoring him to his father's lands in Ulietea, and he had talked idly, and without any authority from me, on this subject, to some of the present assembly; who dreamed of nothing less than a hostile invasion of Ulietea, and of being assisted by me to drive the Bolabola men out of that island. It was of consequence, therefore, that I should undeceive them; and in order to this, I signified, in the most peremptory manner, that I neither would assist them in such an enterprise, nor suffer it to be put in execution, while I was in their seas; and that, if Omai fixed himself in Ulietea, he must be introduced as a friend, and not forced upon the Bolabola men as their conqueror.

This declaration gave a new turn to the sentiments of the council. One of the chiefs immediately expressed himself to this effect: "That the whole island of Huaheine, and everything in it, were mine; and that, therefore, I might give what portion of it I pleased to my friend." Omai, who, like the rest of his countrymen, seldom sees things beyond the present moment, was greatly pleased to hear this; thinking, no doubt, that I should be very liberal, and give him enough. But to offer what it would have been improper to accept, I considered as offering nothing at all; and, therefore, I now desired, that they would not only assign the particular spot, but also the exact quantity of land which they would allot for the settlement. Upon this, some chiefs, who had already left the assembly, were sent for, and after a short consultation among themselves, my request was granted, by general consent, and the ground immediately pitched upon, adjoining to the house where our meeting was held. The extent, along the shore of the harbour, was about two hundred yards, and its depth, to the foot of the hill, somewhat more; but a proportional part of the hill was included in the grant.

This business being settled to the satisfaction of all parties, I set up a tent ashore, established a post, and erected the observatories. The carpenters of both ships were also set to work, to build a small house for Omai, in which he might secure the European commodities that were his property. At the same time, some hands were employed in making a garden for his use; planting shaddocks, vines, pine-apples, melons, and the seeds of several other vegetable articles, all of which I had the satisfaction of observing to be in a flourishing state before I left the island. Omai now began seriously to attend to his own affairs, and repented heartily of his ill-judged prodigality while at Otaheite. He found at Huaheine, a brother, a sister, and a brother-in-law, the sister being married. But these did not plunder him, as he had lately been by his other relations. I was sorry, however, to discover, that though they were too honest to do him any injury, they were of too little consequence in the island to do him any positive good. They had neither authority nor influence to protect his person or his property; and in that helpless situation, I had reason to apprehend that he ran great risk of being stripped of everything he had got from us, as soon as he should cease to have us within his reach, to enforce the good behaviour of his countrymen, by an immediate appeal to our irresistible power.

A man who is richer than his neighbours is sure to be envied by numbers, who wish to see him brought down to their own level. But in countries where civilisation, law, and religion impose their restraints, the rich have a reasonable ground of security. And, besides,

* Now known as Ioretea or Raiatea. The difference in sound seems to arise from the same indistinctness of pronunciation which led Captain Cook to write "Bolabola" for "Borabora," and, as will be seen in a subsequent page, to call the god, called Oraa by Mr. Anderson, and Oro by the Missionaries, Olla.—Ed.

new and valuable
a sufficient number
them, that it was
give him a piece
servants; adding,
by purchase, I was

lly delivered; but
cluded with, about
fs; and I instantly
red himself, that I
he had talked idly,
ent assembly; who
assisted by me to
efore, that I should
ory manner, that I
n execution, while
be introduced as a

One of the chiefs
of Huaheine, and
tion of it I pleased
sees things beyond
ubt, that I should
e been improper to
desired, that they
of land which they
left the assembly,
st was granted, by
he house where our
about two hundred
ortional part of the

up a tent ashore,
oth ships were also
the European com-
mployed in making
the seeds of several
in a flourishing state
ffairs, and repented
uaheine, a brother,
not plunder him, as
scover, that though
quence in the island
o protect his person
d that he ran great
hould cease to have
n immediate appeal

mbers, who wish to
vilisation, law, and
ity. And, besides,

een in a subsequent page,
Mr. Anderson, and Oro by

WAR DANCE OF FEEJEE ISLANDERS.

Plate XIX. *Cook's Voyages.*

there being in all such communities a diffusion of property, no single individual need fear that the efforts of all the poorer sort can ever be united to injure him, exclusively of others who are equally the objects of envy. It was very different with Omai. He was to live amongst those who are strangers, in a great measure, to any other principle of action, besides the immediate impulse of their natural feelings. But what was his principal danger? He was to be placed in the very singular situation of being the only rich man in the community to which he was to belong; and having, by a fortunate connexion with us, got into his possession an accumulated quantity of a species of treasure which none of his countrymen could create, by any art or industry of their own,—while all coveted a share of this envied wealth, it was natural to apprehend, that all would be ready to join in attempting to strip its sole proprietor. To prevent this, if possible, I desired him to make a proper distribution of some of his moveables to two or three of the principal chiefs, who being thus gratified themselves, might be induced to take him under their patronage, and protect him from the injuries of others. He promised to follow my advice, and I heard, with satisfaction, before I sailed, that this very prudent step had been taken. Not trusting, however, entirely to the operation of gratitude, I had recourse to the more forcible motive of intimidation. With this view, I took every opportunity of notifying to the inhabitants, that it was my intention to return to their island again, after being absent the usual time; and that if I did not find Omai in the same state of security in which I was now to leave him, all those whom I should then discover to have been his enemies, might expect to feel the weight of my resentment. This threatening declaration will probably have no inconsiderable effect, for our successive visits of late years have taught these people to believe that our ships are to return at certain periods; and while they continue to be impressed with such a notion, which I thought it a fair stratagem to confirm, Omai has some prospect of being permitted to thrive upon his new plantation.

While we lay in this harbour, we carried ashore the bread remaining in the bread-room, to clear it of vermin. The number of cockroaches that infested the ship at this time is incredible; the damage they did us was very considerable, and every method devised by us to destroy them proved ineffectual. These animals, which at first were a nuisance, like all other insects, had now become a real pest, and so destructive that few things were free from their ravages; if food of any kind was exposed only for a few minutes, it was covered with them, and they soon pierced it full of holes resembling a honeycomb. They were particularly destructive to birds, which had been stuffed and preserved as curiosities, and, what was worse, were uncommonly fond of ink; so that the writing on the labels, fastened to different articles, was quite eaten out; and the only thing that preserved books from them was the closeness of the binding, which prevented these devourers getting between the leaves. According to Mr. Anderson's observations, they were of two sorts, the *Blatta orientalis* and *germanica*. The first of these had been carried home in the ship from her former voyage, where they withstood the severity of the hard winter in 1776, though she was in dock all the time. The others had only made their appearance since our leaving New Zealand, but had increased so fast, that they now not only did all the mischief mentioned above, but had even got amongst the rigging, so that when a sail was loosened, thousands of them fell upon the decks. The *orientales*, though in infinite numbers, scarcely came out but in the night, when they made everything in the cabins seem as if in motion, from the particular noise in crawling about; and, besides their disagreeable appearance, they did great mischief to our bread, which was so bespattered with their excrement, that it would have been badly relished by delicate feeders.

The intercourse of trade and friendly offices was carried on between us and the natives without being disturbed by any one accident, till the evening of the 22d, when a man found means to get into Mr. Bayly's observatory, and to carry off a sextant, unobserved. As soon as I was made acquainted with the theft, I went ashore, and got Omai to apply to the chiefs, to procure restitution. He did so, but they took no steps toward it, being more attentive to a *heeva* that was then acting, till I ordered the performers of the exhibition to desist. They were now convinced that I was in earnest, and began to make some inquiry after the thief, who was sitting in the midst of them quite unconcerned, inasmuch that I was in great doubt

WAR DANCE OF FEEJEE ISLANDERS.

Cook's Voyages.

Plate XIX.

of his being the guilty person, especially as he denied it. Omai, however, assuring me that he was the man, I sent him on board the ship, and there confined him. This raised a general ferment amongst the assembled natives, and the whole body fled, in spite of all my endeavours to stop them. Having employed Omai to examine the prisoner, with some difficulty he was brought to confess where he had laid the sextant; but, as it was now dark, he could not find it till daylight the next morning, when it was brought back unhurt. After this, the natives recovered from their fright, and began to gather about us as usual; and as to the thief, he appearing to be a hardened scoundrel, I punished him more severely than I had done any culprit before. Besides having his head and beard shaved, I ordered both his ears to be cut off, and then dismissed him.

This, however, did not deter him from giving us farther trouble; for, in the night between the 24th and 25th, a general alarm was spread, occasioned, as was said, by one of our goats being stolen by this very man; on examination, we found that all was safe in that quarter. Probably, the goats were so well guarded, that he could not put his design in execution. But his hostilities had succeeded against another object, and it appeared that he had destroyed and carried off several vines and cabbage-plants in Omai's grounds; and he publicly threatened to kill him, and to burn his house, as soon as we should leave the island. To prevent the fellow's doing me and Omai any more mischief, I had him seized and confined on board the ship, with a view of carrying him off the island; and it seemed to give general satisfaction to the chiefs that I meant thus to dispose of him. He was from Bolabola; but there were too many of the natives here ready to assist him in any of his designs, whenever he should think of executing them. I had always met with more troublesome people in Huaheine than in any other of the neighbouring islands; and it was only fear and the want of opportunities that induced them to behave better now. Anarchy seemed to prevail amongst them; their nominal sovereign, the *Earee rahie*, as I have before observed, was but a child, and I did not find that there was any one man, or set of men, who managed the government for him; so that, whenever any misunderstanding happened between us, I never knew, with sufficient precision, where to make application, in order to bring about an accommodation, or to procure redress. The young chief's mother would, indeed, sometimes exert herself; but I did not perceive that she had greater authority than many others.

Omai's house being nearly finished, many of his moveables were carried ashore on the 26th. Amongst a variety of other useless articles was a box of toys, which, when exposed to public view, seemed greatly to please the gazing multitude; but as to his pots, kettles, dishes, plates, drinking-mugs, glasses, and the whole train of our domestic accommodations, hardly any one of his countrymen would so much as look at them. Omai himself now began to think that they were of no manner of use to him,—that a baked hog was more savoury food than a boiled one,—that a plantain-leaf made as good a dish or plate as pewter,—and that a cocoa-nut shell was as convenient a goblet as a black-jack; and, therefore, he very wisely disposed of as many of these articles of English furniture for the kitchen and pantry, as he could find purchasers for, amongst the people of the ships, receiving from them, in return, hatchets, and other iron tools, which had a more intrinsic value in this part of the world, and added more to his distinguishing superiority over those with whom he was to pass the remainder of his days. In the long list of the presents bestowed upon him in England, fire-works had not been forgot. Some of these we exhibited in the evening of the 28th, before a great concourse of people, who beheld them with a mixture of pleasure and fear; what remained after the evening's entertainment, were put in order and left with Omai, agreeably to their original destination. Perhaps we need not lament it as a serious misfortune, that the far greater share of this part of his cargo had been already expended in exhibitions at other islands, or rendered useless by being kept so long.

Between midnight and four in the morning of the 30th, the Bolabola man, whom I had in confinement, found means to make his escape out of the ship. He carried with him the shackle of the bilboo bolt that was about his leg, which was taken from him as soon as he got on shore, by one of the chiefs, and given to Omai, who came on board very early in the morning, to acquaint me that his mortal enemy was again let loose upon him. Upon inquiry, it appeared that not only the sentry placed over the prisoner, but the whole watch upon the

quarter-deck where he was confined, had laid themselves down to sleep. He seized the opportunity to take the key of the irons out of the binnacle drawer, where he had seen it put, and set himself at liberty. This escape convinced me that my people had been very remiss in their night duty, which made it necessary to punish those who were now in fault, and to establish some new regulations to prevent the like negligence for the future. I was not a little pleased to hear afterward, that the fellow who escaped had transported himself to Ulietea; in this, seconding my views of putting him a second time in irons.

As soon as Omai was settled in his new habitation, I began to think of leaving the island, and got everything off from the shore this evening except the horse and mare, and a goat big with kid, which were left in the possession of our friend, with whom we were now finally to part. I also gave him a boar and two sows of the English breed, and he had got a sow or two of his own. The horse covered the mare while we were at Otaheite, so that I consider the introduction of a breed of horses into these islands as likely to have succeeded by this valuable present.

The history of Omai will, perhaps, interest a very numerous class of readers, more than any other occurrence of a voyage, the objects of which do not, in general, promise much entertainment. Every circumstance, therefore, which may serve to convey a satisfactory account of the exact situation in which he was left, will be thought worth preserving; and the following particulars are added, to complete the view of his domestic establishment. He had picked up at Otaheite four or five *Toutous;* the two New Zealand youths remained with him, and his brother and some others joined him at Huaheine, so that his family consisted already of eight or ten persons, if that can be called a family to which not a single female as yet belonged, nor, I doubt, was likely to belong, unless its master became less volatile; at present, Omai did not seem at all disposed to take unto himself a wife. The house which we erected for him was twenty-four feet by eighteen, and ten feet high. It was composed of boards, the spoils of our military operations at Eimeo; and, in building it, as few nails as possible were used, that there might be no inducement, from the love of iron, to pull it down. It was settled that, immediately after our departure, he should begin to build a large house after the fashion of his country, one end of which was to be brought over that which we had erected so as to enclose it entirely for greater security. In this work, some of the chiefs promised to assist him; and if the intended building should cover the ground which he marked out, it will be as large as most upon the island*.

His European weapons consisted of a musket, bayonet, and cartouch-box; a fowling-piece, two pairs of pistols, and two or three swords or cutlasses. The possession of these made him quite happy, which was my only view in giving him such presents; for I was always of opinion that he would have been happier without fire-arms, and other European weapons, than with them; as such implements of war, in the hands of one whose prudent use of them I had some grounds for mistrusting, would rather increase his dangers than establish his superiority. After he had got on shore everything that belonged to him, and was settled in his house, he had most of the officers of both ships, two or three times, to dinner; and his table was always well supplied with the very best provisions that the island produced. Before I sailed, I had the following inscription cut upon the outside of his house:—

GEORGIUS TERTIUS, REX, 2 NOVEMBRIS, 1777.
NAVES { RESOLUTION, JAC. COOK, PR.
DISCOVERY, CAR. CLERKE, PR.

* Some account of the subsequent career of Omai is given at page 5 of this volume. In addition to what is there stated, Mr. Ellis informs us that "within the limits of the grant made to Captain Cooke for his friend Mai, some of the missionaries who in 1809 took shelter in Huaheine, after their expulsion from Otaheite in 1808, erected their temporary habitations. A few yards distant from the spot in which Mai's house stood, and immediately in front of the dark and glossy-leaved shaddock here planted by Captain Cook, the first building for the worship of Jehovah was erected; and on the same spot the first school in Huaheine was opened, in which the use of letters and the principles of religion were inculcated. Nearly in front of the site of Mai's dwelling now stands the residence of Pohuetea and Teraimano, to whom, by right of patrimony, Beritani [the name given by Omai to his estate], belongs. It was, when I was last there, in 1824, one of the most neat, substantial, and convenient modern houses in the settlement, containing two stories and eight apartments. The district around, which when we arrived was altogether uncultivated, and overrun with brushwood growing in wild luxuriance, has been cleared; the garden has been again enclosed, and planted with many useful vegetable productions of the tropical regions. It is cultivated by two proprietors, who, there is reason to hope, are decided Christians."—Ed

On the 2d of November, at four in the afternoon, I took the advantage of a breeze which then sprung up at east, and sailed out of the harbour. Most of our friends remained on board till the ships were under sail, when, to gratify their curiosity, I ordered five guns to be fired. They then all took their leave, except Omai, who remained till we were at sea. We had come to sail by a hawser fastened to the shore. In casting the ship it parted, being cut by the rocks, and the outer end was left behind, as those who cast it off did not perceive that it was broken; so that it became necessary to send a boat to bring it on board. In this boat Omai went ashore, after taking a very affectionate farewell of all the officers. He sustained himself with a manly resolution till he came to me. Then his utmost efforts to conceal his tears failed; and Mr. King, who went in the boat, told me that he wept all the time in going ashore.

It was no small satisfaction to reflect that we had brought him safe back to the very spot from which he was taken. And yet, such is the strange nature of human affairs, that it is probable we left him in a less desirable situation than he was in before his connexion with us. I do not by this mean, that because he has tasted the sweets of civilised life, he must become more miserable from being obliged to abandon all thoughts of continuing them. I confine myself to this single disagreeable circumstance, that the advantages he received from us have placed him in a more hazardous situation with respect to his personal safety. Omai, from being much caressed in England, lost sight of his original condition, and never considered in what manner his acquisitions, either of knowledge or of riches, would be estimated by his countrymen at his return; which were the only things he could have to recommend him to them now more than before, and on which he could build either his future greatness or happiness. He seemed even to have mistaken their genius in this respect, and, in some measure, to have forgotten their customs, otherwise he must have known the extreme difficulty there would be in getting himself admitted as a person of rank, where there is, perhaps, no instance of a man's being raised from an inferior station by the greatest merit. Rank seems to be the very foundation of all distinction here, and, of its attendant, power; and so pertinaciously, or rather blindly adhered to, that, unless a person has some degree of it, he will certainly be despised and hated if he assumes the appearance of exercising any authority. This was really the case, in some measure, with Omai; though his countrymen were pretty cautious of expressing their sentiments while we remained among them. Had he made a proper use of the presents he brought with him from England, this, with the knowledge he had acquired by travelling so far, might have enabled him to form the most useful connexions; but we have given too many instances, in the course of our narrative, of his childish inattention to this obvious means of advancing his interest. His schemes seemed to be of a higher, though ridiculous nature; indeed, I might say meaner, for revenge, rather than a desire of becoming great, appeared to actuate him from the beginning. This, however, may be excused, if we consider that it is common to his countrymen. His father was, doubtless, a man of considerable property in Ulietea, when that island was conquered by those of Bolabola, and, with many others sought refuge in Huaheine, where he died, and left Omai with some other children, who by that means became totally dependent. In this situation he was taken up by Captain Furneaux, and carried to England. Whether he really expected, from his treatment there, that any assistance would be given him against the enemies of his father and his country, or whether he imagined that his own personal courage and superiority of knowledge would be sufficient to dispossess the conquerors of Ulietea, is uncertain; but, from the beginning of the voyage, this was his constant theme. He would not listen to our remonstrances on so wild a determination, but flew into a passion if more moderate and reasonable counsels were proposed for his advantage. Nay, so infatuated and attached to his favourite scheme was he, that he affected to believe these people would certainly quit the conquered island as soon as they should hear of his arrival at Otaheite. As we advanced, however, on our voyage, he became more sensible of his error; and, by the time we reached the Friendly Islands, had even such apprehensions of his reception at home, that, as I have mentioned in my journal, he would fain have staid behind at Tongataboo, under Fenou's protection. At these islands he squandered away much of his European treasure very unnecessarily; and he was equally imprudent, as I also took notice of above, at Tiaraboo,

where he could have no view of making friends, as he had not any intention of remaining there. At Mataiva he continued the same [illegible]derate behaviour, till I absolutely put a stop to his profusion; and he formed such in[illegible] connexions there, that Otoo, who was at first much disposed to countenance him, afterwards openly expressed his dislike of him, on account of his conduct. It was not, however, too late to recover his favour; and he might have settled to great advantage in Otaheite, as he had formerly lived several years there, and was now a good deal noticed by Towha, whose valuable present of a very large double canoe we have seen above The objection to admitting him to some rank would have also been much lessened if he had fixed at Otaheite, as a native will always find it more difficult to accomplish such a change of state amongst his countrymen than a stranger, who naturally claims respect. But Omai remained undetermined to the last, and would not, I believe, have adopted my plan of settlement in Huaheine, if I had not so explicitly refused to employ force in restoring him to his father's possessions. Whether the remains of his European wealth, which, after all his improvident waste, was still considerable, will be more prudently administered by him, or whether the steps I took, as already explained, to insure him protection in Huaheine shall have proved effectual, must be left to the decision of future navigators of this ocean, with whom it cannot but be a principal object of curiosity to trace the future fortunes of our traveller. At present, I can only conjecture that his greatest danger will arise from the very impolitic declarations of his antipathy to the inhabitants of Bolabola; for these people, from a principle of jealousy, will, no doubt, endeavour to render him obnoxious to those of Huaheine; as they are at peace with that island at present, and may easily effect their designs, many of them living there. This is a circumstance which, of all others, he might the most easily have avoided; for they were not only free from any aversion to him, but the person mentioned before, whom we found at Tiaraboo as an ambassador, priest, or god, absolutely offered to reinstate him in the property that was formerly his father's. But he refused this peremptorily; and, to the very last, continued determined to take the first opportunity that offered of satisfying his revenge in battle. To this, I guess, he is not a little spurred by the coat of mail he brought from England; clothed in which, and in possession of some fire-arms, he fancies that he shall be invincible

Whatever faults belonged to Omai's character, they were more than overbalanced by his great good nature and docile disposition. During the whole time he was with me, I very seldom had reason to be seriously displeased with his general conduct. His grateful heart always retained the highest sense of the favours he had received in England; nor will he ever forget those who honoured him with their protection and friendship during his stay there. He had a tolerable share of understanding, but wanted application and perseverance to exert it; so that his knowledge of things was very general, and, in many instances, imperfect. He was not a man of much observation. There were many useful arts, as well as elegant amusements, amongst the people of the Friendly Islands, which he might have conveyed to his own, where they probably would have been readily adopted, as being so much in their own way. But I never found that he used the least endeavour to make himself master of any one. This kind of indifference is, indeed,

OMAI.

the characteristic foible of his nation. Europeans have visited them, at times, for these ten years past; yet we could not discover the slightest trace of any attempt to profit by this intercourse; nor have they hitherto copied after us in any one thing. We are not, therefore, to expect that Omai will be able to introduce many of our arts and customs among them, or much improve those to which they have been long habituated. I am confident, however, that he will endeavour to bring to perfection the various fruits and vegetables we planted, which will be no small acquisition. But the greatest benefit these islands are likely to receive from Omai's travels will be in the animals that have been left upon them, which, probably, they never would have got had he not come to England. When these multiply, of which I think there is little doubt, Otaheite and the Society Islands will equal, if not exceed, any place in the known world for provisions.

Omai's return, and the substantial proofs he brought back with him of our liberality, encouraged many to offer themselves as volunteers to attend me to *Pretane*. I took every opportunity of expressing my determination to reject all such applications. But, notwithstanding this, Omai, who was very ambitious of remaining the only great traveller, being afraid lest I might be prevailed upon to put others in a situation of rivalling him, frequently put me in mind, that Lord Sandwich had told him no others of his countrymen were to come to England.

If there had been the most distant probability of any ship being again sent to New Zealand, I would have brought the two youths of that country home with me, as both of them were very desirous of continuing with us. Tiaroona, the eldest, was an exceedingly well-disposed young man, with strong natural sense, and capable of receiving any instruction. He seemed to be fully sensible of the inferiority of his own country to these islands, and resigned himself, though perhaps with reluctance, to end his days in ease and plenty in Huaheine. But the other was so strongly attached to us, that he was taken out of the ship and carried ashore by force. He was a witty, smart boy; and on that account much noticed on board.

CHAPTER VII.—ARRIVAL AT ULIETEA.—ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS.—A MARINE DESERTS, AND IS DELIVERED UP.—INTELLIGENCE FROM OMAI.—INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN CLERKE.—ANOTHER DESERTION, OF A MIDSHIPMAN AND A SEAMAN.—THREE OF THE CHIEF PERSONS OF THE ISLAND CONFINED ON THAT ACCOUNT.—A DESIGN TO SEIZE CAPTAINS COOK AND CLERKE DISCOVERED.—THE TWO DESERTERS BROUGHT BACK, AND THE PRISONERS RELEASED.—THE SHIPS SAIL.—REFRESHMENTS RECEIVED AT ULIETEA.—PRESENT AND FORMER STATE OF THAT ISLAND.—ACCOUNT OF ITS DETHRONED KING, AND OF THE LATE REGENT OF HUAHEINE.

The boat which carried Omai ashore never to join us again, having returned to the ship with the remainder of the hawser, we hoisted her in, and immediately stood over for Ulietea, where I intended to touch next. At ten o'clock at night we brought to till four the next morning, when we made sail round the south end of the island for the harbour of Ohamaneno. We met with calms and light airs of wind from different directions, by turns, so that at noon we were still a league from the entrance of the harbour. While we were thus detained, my old friend Oreo, chief of the island, with his son, and Pootoe his son-in-law, came off to visit us. Being resolved to push for the harbour, I ordered all the boats to be hoisted out, and sent them ahead to tow, being assisted by a slight breeze from the southward. This breeze failed too soon, and being succeeded by one from the east, which blew right out of the harbour we were obliged to come to an anchor at its entrance, at two o'clock, and to warp in, which employed us till night set in. As soon as we were within the harbour, the ships were surrounded with canoes filled with people, who brought hogs and fruit to barter with us for our commodities; so that, wherever we went, we found plenty.

Next morning, being the 4th, I moored the ship, head and stern, close to the north shore, at the head of the harbour; hauled up the cables on deck; and opened one of the ballast-ports. From this a slight stage was made to the land, being at the distance of about twenty

feet, with a view to get clear of some of the rats that continued to infest us. The Discovery moored alongside the south shore for the same purpose. While this work was going forward, I returned Oreo's visit. The present I made him, on the occasion, consisted of a linen gown, a shirt, a red-feathered cap from Tongataboo, and other things of less value. I then brought him, and some of his friends, on board to dinner.

On the 6th, we set up the observatories, and got the necessary instruments on shore. The two following days, we observed the sun's azimuths, both on board and ashore, with all the compasses, in order to find the variation; and in the night of the latter, we observed an occultation of *s Capricorni*, by the moon's dark limb. Mr. Bayly and I agreed in fixing the time of its happening at six minutes and fifty-four seconds and a half past ten o'clock. Mr. King made it half a second sooner. Mr. Bayly observed with the achromatic telescope belonging to the Board of Longitude; Mr. King, with the reflector belonging to the board; and I made use of my own reflector, of eighteen inches. There was also an immersion of π *Capricorni* behind the moon's dark limb, some time before; but it was observed by Mr. Bayly alone. I attempted to trace it, with a small achromatic; but found its magnifying power not sufficient.

Nothing worthy of note happened, till the night between the 12th and 13th, when John Harrison, a marine, who was sentinel at the observatory, deserted; carrying with him his musket and accoutrements. Having in the morning got intelligence which way he had moved off, a party was sent after him; but they returned in the evening, after an ineffectual inquiry and search. The next day, I applied to the chief to interest himself in this matter. He promised to send a party of his men after him, and gave me hopes that he should be brought back the same day. But this did not happen; and I had reason to suspect that no steps had been taken by him. We had, at this time, a great number of the natives about the ships, and some thefts were committed; the consequence of which being dreaded by them, very few visitors came near us the next morning. The chief himself joined in the alarm, and he and his whole family fled. I thought this a good opportunity to oblige them to deliver up the deserter; and having got intelligence that he was at a place called Hamoa, on the other side of the island, I went thither with two armed boats, accompanied by one of the natives; and, in our way, we found the chief, who also embarked with me. I landed about a mile and a half from the place, with a few people, and marched quickly up to it, lest the sight of the boats should give the alarm, and allow the man time to escape to the mountains. But this precaution was unnecessary; for the natives there had got information of my coming, and were prepared to deliver him up. I found Harrison, with the musket lying before him, sitting down between two women, who, the moment that I entered the house, rose up to plead in his behalf. As it was highly proper to discourage such proceedings, I frowned upon them, and bid them be gone. Upon this they burst into tears, and walked off. Paha, the chief of the district, now came with a plantain tree, and a sucking pig, which he would have presented to me, as a peace-offering. I rejected it, and ordered him out of my sight; and having embarked with the deserter on board the first boat that arrived, returned to the ships. After this, harmony was again restored. The fellow had nothing to say in his defence, but that the natives had enticed him away; and this might in part be true, as it was certain that Paha, and also the two women above mentioned, had been at the ship the day before he deserted. As it appeared that he had remained upon his post till within a few minutes of the time when he was to have been relieved, the punishment that I inflicted upon him was not very severe.

Though we had separated from Omai, we were still near enough to have intelligence of his proceeding; and I had desired to hear from him. Accordingly, about a fortnight after our arrival at Ulietea, he sent two of his people in a canoe; who brought me the satisfactory intelligence, that he remained undisturbed by the people of the island, and that everything went well with him, except that his goat had died in kidding. He accompanied this intelligence with a request, that I would send him another goat, and two axes. Being happy to have this additional opportunity of serving him, the messengers were sent back to Huaheine, on the 18th, with the axes, and two kids, male and female, which were spared for him out of the Discovery.

The next day, I delivered to Captain Clerke instructions how to proceed, in case of being separated from me, after leaving these islands; and it may not be improper to give them a place here.

"BY CAPTAIN JAMES COOK,

COMMANDER OF HIS MAJESTY'S SLOOP THE RESOLUTION.

"Whereas the passage from the Society Islands to the northern coast of America is of considerable length, both in distance and in time, and as a part of it must be performed in the very depth of winter, when gales of wind and bad weather must be expected, and may, possibly, occasion a separation, you are to take all imaginable care to prevent this. But if, notwithstanding all our endeavours to keep company, you should be separated from me, you are first to look for me where you last saw me. Not seeing me in five days, you are to proceed (as directed by the Instructions of their Lordships, a copy of which you have already received) for the coast of New Albion; endeavouring to fall in with it in the latitude of 45°. In that latitude, and at a convenient distance from the land, you are to cruise for me ten days. Not seeing me in that time, you are to put into the first convenient port, in or to the north of that latitude, to recruit your wood and water, and to procure refreshments.

"During your stay in port, you are constantly to keep a good look-out for me. It will be necessary, therefore, to make choice of a station situated as near the sea-coast as is possible, the better to enable you to see me when I shall appear in the offing. If I do not join you before the 1st of next April, you are to put to sea, and proceed northward to the latitude 56°; in which latitude, and at a convenient distance from the coast, never exceeding fifteen leagues, you are to cruise for me till the 10th of May.

"Not seeing me in that time, you are to proceed northward, and endeavour to find a passage into the Atlantic Ocean, through Hudson's or Baffin's Bays, as directed by the above-mentioned Instructions. But if you should fail in finding a passage through either of the [illegible] bays, or by any other way, as the season of the year may render it unsafe for you to remain in high latitudes, you are to repair to the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, in Kamtschatka, in order to refresh your people, and to pass the winter.

"But, nevertheless, if you find that you cannot procure the necessary refreshments at the said port, you are at liberty to go where you shall judge most proper; taking care, before you depart, to leave with the governor an account of your intended destination, to be delivered to me upon my arrival: and in the spring of the ensuing year, 1779, you are to repair back to the above-mentioned port, endeavouring to be there by the 10th of May, or sooner. If, on your arrival, you receive no orders from, or account of me, so as to justify your pursuing any other measures than what are pointed out in the before-mentioned Instructions, your future proceedings are to be governed by them. You are also to comply with such parts of said Instructions as have not been executed, and are not contrary to these orders. And in case of your inability, by sickness or otherwise, to carry these, and the Instructions of their Lordships, into execution, you are to be careful to leave them with the next officer in command, who is hereby required to execute them in the best manner he can.

"Given under my hand, on board the Resolution, at Ulietea, the 18th day of November, 1777. "J. COOK.

"TO CAPTAIN CHARLES CLERKE,

Commander of His Majesty's Sloop The Discovery."

While we lay moored to the shore, we heeled, and scrubbed both sides of the bottoms of the ships. At the same time, we fixed some tin-plates under the binds; first taking off the old sheathing, and putting in a piece unfilled, over which the plates were nailed. These plates I had from the ingenious Mr. Pelham, secretary to the Commissioners for Victualling His Majesty's Navy; with a view of trying whether tin would answer the same end as copper, on the bottoms of ships.

On the 24th, in the morning, I was informed that a midshipman and a seaman, both belonging to the Discovery, were missing. Soon after, we learned from the natives, that they went away in a canoe the preceding evening, and were, at this time, at the other end

of the island. As the midshipman was known to have expressed a desire to remain at these islands, it seemed pretty certain that he and his companion had gone off with this intention; and Captain Clerke set out in quest of them with two armed boats, and a party of marines. His expedition proved fruitless; for he returned in the evening, without having got any certain intelligence where they were. From the conduct of the natives, Captain Clerke seemed to think, that they intended to conceal the deserters; and, with that view, had amused him with false information the whole day, and directed him to search for them in places where they were not to be found. The captain judged right; for the next morning we were told, that our runaways were at Otaha. As these two were not the only persons in the ships who wished to end their days at these favourite islands, in order to put a stop to any further desertion, it was necessary to get them back at all events; and that the natives might be convinced that I was in earnest, I resolved to go after them myself; having observed, from repeated instances, that they seldom offered to deceive me with false information. Accordingly, I set out the next morning with two armed boats; being accompanied by the chief himself. I proceeded, as he directed, without stopping anywhere, till we came to the middle of the east side of Otaha. There we put ashore; and Oreo despatched a man before us, with orders to seize the deserters, and keep them till we should arrive with the boats. But when we got to the place where we expected to find them, we were told that they had quitted this island, and gone over to Bolabola the day before. I did not think proper to follow them thither, but returned to the ships; fully determined, however, to have recourse to a measure which, I guessed, would oblige the natives to bring them back.

In the night, Mr. Bayly, Mr. King, and myself observed an immersion of Jupiter's third satellite. It happened by the observation of

Mr. Bayly, at	2^h	37^m	54^s	in the morning.
Mr. King, at	2	37	24	
Myself, at	2	37	44	

Mr. Bayly and Mr. King observed, with Dollond's three and a half feet achromatic telescope, and with the greatest magnifying power. I observed, with a two-feet Gregorian reflector, made by Bird.

Soon after daybreak, the chief, his son, daughter, and son-in-law, came on board the Resolution. The three last I resolved to detain, till the two deserters should be brought back. With this view, Captain Clerke invited them to go on board his ship; and as soon as they arrived there, confined them in his cabin. The chief was with me when the news reached him. He immediately acquainted me with it, supposing that this step had been taken without my knowledge, and consequently without my approbation. I instantly undeceived him; and then he began to have apprehensions as to his own situation, and his looks expressed the utmost perturbation of mind. But I soon made him easy as to this, by telling him, that he was at liberty to leave the ship whenever he pleased, and to take such measures as he should judge best calculated to get our two men back; that, if he succeeded, his friends on board the Discovery should be delivered up; if not, that I was determined to carry them away with me. I added, that his own conduct, as well as that of many of his people, in not only assisting these two men to escape, but in being, even at this very time, assiduous in enticing others to follow them, would justify any step I could take to put a stop to such proceedings. This explanation of the motives upon which I acted, and which we found means to make Oreo and his people, who were present, fully comprehend, seemed to recover them, in a great measure, from that general consternation into which they were at first thrown. But, if relieved from apprehensions about their own safety, they continued under the deepest concern for those who were prisoners. Many of them went under the Discovery's stern in canoes, to bewail their captivity, which they did with long and loud exclamations. Poedooa! for so the chief's daughter was called, resounded from every quarter; and the women seemed to vie with each other in mourning her fate, with more significant expressions of their grief than tears and cries; for there were many bloody heads upon the occasion. Oreo himself did not give way to unavailing lamentations, but instantly began his exertions to recover our deserters, by despatching a canoe to Bolabola, with a

message to Opoony, the sovereign of that island, acquainting him with what had happened, and requesting him to seize the two fugitives, and send them back. The messenger, who was no less a man than the father of Pootoe, Oreo's son-in-law, before he set out came to receive my commands. I strictly enjoined him not to return without the deserters; and to tell Opoony from me, that if they had left Bolabola, he must send canoes to bring them back; for I suspected that they would not long remain in one place.

The consequence, however, of the prisoners was so great, that the natives did not think proper to trust to the return of our people for their release; or, at least, their impatience was so great, that it hurried them to make an attempt which might have involved them in still greater distress, had it not been fortunately prevented. Between five and six o'clock in the evening, I observed that all their canoes in and about the harbour began to move off, as if some sudden panic had seized them. I was ashore, abreast of the ship at the time, and inquired in vain to find out the cause; till our people called to us from the Discovery, and told us that a party of the natives had seized Captain Clerke and Mr. Gore, who had walked out a little way from the ships. Struck with the boldness of this plan of retaliation, which seemed to counteract me so effectually in my own way, there was no time to deliberate. I instantly ordered the people to arm; and, in less than five minutes, a strong party, under the command of Mr. King, was sent to rescue our two gentlemen. At the same time, two armed boats and a party under Mr. Williamson went after the flying canoes, to cut off their retreat to the shore. These several detachments were hardly out of sight, before an account arrived, that we had been misinformed; upon which I sent and called them all in.

It was evident, however, from several corroborating circumstances, that the design of seizing Captain Clerke had really been in agitation amongst the natives. Nay, they made no secret in speaking of it the next day But their first and great plan of operations was to have laid hold of me. It was my custom every evening to bathe in the fresh water. Very often I went alone, and always without arms. Expecting me to go as usual this evening, they had determined to seize me, and Captain Clerke too, if he had accompanied me. But I had, after confining Oreo's family, thought it prudent to avoid putting myself in their power; and had cautioned Captain Clerke and the officers not to go far from the ships. In the course of the afternoon, the chief asked me, three several times, if I would not go to the bathing-place; and when he found, at last, that I could not be prevailed upon, he went off with the rest of his people, in spite of all I could do or say to stop him. But as I had no suspicion at this time of their design, I imagined that some sudden fright had seized them, which would, as usual, soon be over. Finding themselves disappointed as to me, they fixed on those who were more in their power. It was fortunate for all parties, that they did not succeed; and not less fortunate that no mischief was done on the occasion; for not a musket was fired, except two or three to stop the canoes. To that firing, perhaps, Messrs. Clerke and Gore owed their safety*; for at that very instant, a party of the natives armed with clubs were advancing toward them; and on hearing the report of the muskets, they dispersed. This conspiracy, as it may be called, was first discovered by a girl, whom one of the officers had brought from Huaheine. She, overhearing some of the Ulieteans say, that they would seize Captain Clerke and Mr. Gore, ran to acquaint the first of our people that she met with. Those who were charged with the execution of the design threatened to kill her, as soon as we should leave the island, for disappointing them. Being aware of this, we contrived that her friends should come some days after and take her out of the ship, to convey her to a place of safety, where she might lie concealed, till they should have an opportunity of sending her back to Huaheine.

On the 27th, our observatories were taken down, and every thing we had ashore carried on board; the moorings of the ships were cast off, and we transported them a little way down the harbour, where they came to an anchor again. Toward the afternoon, the natives began to shake off their fears, gathering round and on board the ships as usual; and the awkward transaction of the day before seemed to be forgotten on both sides. The following

* Perhaps they owed their safety principally to Captain Clerke's walking with a pistol in his hand, which he once fired. This circumstance is omitted both in Captain Cook's and in Mr. Anderson's journal; but is here mentioned on the authority of Captain King.

night, the wind blew in hard squalls from south to east, attended with heavy showers of rain. In one of the squalls, the cable, by which the Resolution was riding, parted just without the hawse. We had another anchor ready to let go, so that the ship was presently brought up again. In the afternoon, the wind became moderate; and we hooked the end of the best small bower cable, and got it again into the hawse.

Oreo, the chief, being uneasy as well as myself, that no account had been received from Bolabola, set out this evening for that island, and desired me to follow down the next day with the ships. This was my intention; but the wind which kept us in the harbour, brought Oreo back from Bolabola with the two deserters. They had reached Otaha the same night they deserted; but finding it impossible to get to any of the islands to the eastward (which was their intention), for want of wind, they had proceeded to Bolabola, and from thence to the small island Toobaee, where they were taken by the father of Pootoe, in consequence of the first message sent to Opoony. As soon as they were on board, the three prisoners were released. Thus ended an affair which had given me much trouble and vexation. Nor would I have exerted myself so resolutely on the occasion, but for the reason before mentioned, and to save the son of a brother officer from being lost to his country.

The wind continued constantly between the north and west, and confined us in the harbour till eight o'clock in the morning of the 7th of December; when we took the advantage of a light breeze which then sprung up at north-east, and with the assistance of all the boats got out to sea, with the Discovery in company.

During the last week, we had been visited by people from all parts of the island, who furnished us with a large stock of hogs and green plantains. So that the time we lay windbound in the harbour was not entirely lost; green plantains being an excellent substitute for bread, as they will keep good a fortnight or three weeks. Besides this supply of provisions, we also completed our wood and water.

The inhabitants of Ulietea seemed, in general smaller and blacker than those of the other neighbouring islands, and appeared also less orderly, which, perhaps, may be considered as the consequence of their having become subject to the natives of Bolabola. Oreo, their chief, is only a sort of deputy of the sovereign of this island; and the conquest seems to have lessened the number of subordinate chiefs resident among them; so that they are less immediately under the inspection of those whose interest it is to enforce due obedience to authority. Ulietea, though now reduced to this humiliating state, was formerly, as we were told, the most eminent of this cluster of islands; and, probably, the first seat of government; for they say, that the present royal family of Otaheite is descended from that which reigned here before the late revolution. Ooroo, the dethroned monarch of Ulietea, was still alive when we were at Huaheine, where he resides a royal wanderer, furnishing, in his person, an instance of the instability of power; but what is more remarkable, of the respect paid by these people to particular families, and to the customs which have once conferred sovereignty; for they suffer Ooroo to preserve all the ensigns which they appropriate to majesty, though he has lost his dominions.

We saw a similar instance of this while we were at Ulietea. One of the occasional visitors I now had was my old friend Oree, the late chief of Huaheine. He still preserved his consequence; came always at the head of a numerous body of attendants; and was always provided with such presents as were very acceptable. This chief looked much better now than I had ever seen him during either of my former voyages*. I could account for his improving in health as he grew older, only from his drinking less copiously of the *ava* in his present station as a private gentleman, than he had been accustomed to do when he was regent

* Captain Cook had seen Oree in 1769, when he commanded the Endeavour; also twice during his second voyage in 1772.

CHAPTER VIII.—ARRIVAL AT BOLABOLA.—INTERVIEW WITH OPOONY.—REASONS FOR PURCHASING MONSIEUR BOUGAINVILLE'S ANCHOR.—DEPARTURE FROM THE SOCIETY ISLANDS.—PARTICULARS ABOUT BOLABOLA.—HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF OTAHA AND ULIETEA.—HIGH REPUTATION OF THE BOLABOLA MEN.—ANIMALS LEFT THERE AND AT ULIETEA.—PLENTIFUL SUPPLY OF PROVISIONS, AND MANNER OF SALTING PORK ON BOARD.—VARIOUS REFLECTIONS RELATIVE TO OTAHEITE AND THE SOCIETY ISLANDS.—ASTRONOMICAL AND NAUTICAL OBSERVATIONS MADE THERE.

As soon as we had got clear of the harbour, we took leave of Ulietea, and steered for Bolabola. The chief if not sole object I had in view by visiting that island, was to procure from its monarch, Opoony, one of the anchors which Monsieur de Bougainville had lost at Otaheite. This having afterward been taken up by the natives there, had, as they informed me, been sent by them as a present to that chief. My desire to get possession of it did not arise from our being in want of anchors; but having expended all the hatchets and other iron tools which we had brought from England, in purchasing refreshments, we were now reduced to the necessity of creating a fresh assortment of trading articles, by fabricating them out of the spare iron we had on board; and, in such conversions, and in the occasional uses of the ships, great part of that had been already expended. I thought that M. de Bougainville's anchor would supply our want of this useful material; and I made no doubt that I should be able to tempt Opoony to part with it.

Oreo, and six or eight men more from Ulietea, took a passage with us to Bolabola. Indeed, most of the natives in general, except the chief himself, would have gladly taken a passage with us to England. At sunset, being the length of the south point of Bolabola, we shortened sail, and spent the night making short boards. At day-break, on the 8th, we made sail for the harbour, which is on the west side of the island. The wind was scant, so that we had to ply up, and it was nine o'clock before we got near enough to send away a boat to sound the entrance; for I had thoughts of running the ships in, and anchoring for a day or two. When the boat returned, the master who was in her reported, that though, at the entrance of the harbour the bottom was rocky, there was good ground within, and the depth of water twenty-seven and twenty-five fathoms; and that there was room to turn the ships in, the channel being one-third of a mile broad. In consequence of this report, we attempted to work the ships in; but the tide, as well as the wind, being against us, after making two or three trips, I found that it could not be done, till the tide should turn in our favour. Upon this, I gave up the design of carrying the ships into the harbour; and having ordered the boats to be got ready, I embarked in one of them, accompanied by Oreo and his companions; and was rowed in for the island.

We landed where the natives directed us; and soon after I was introduced to Opoony, in the midst of a great concourse of people. Having no time to lose, as soon as the necessary formality of compliments was over, I asked the chief to give me the anchor, and produced the present I had prepared for him, consisting of a linen night-gown, a shirt, some gauze handkerchiefs, a looking-glass, some beads, and other toys, and six axes. At the sight of these last, there was a general outcry. I could only guess the cause, by Opoony's absolutely refusing to receive my present, till I should get the anchor. He ordered three men to go and deliver it to me; and, as I understood, I was to send, by them, what I thought proper in return. With these messengers, we set out in our boats for an island, lying at the north side of the entrance into the harbour, where the anchor had been deposited. I found it to be neither so large, nor so perfect, as I expected. It had originally weighed seven hundred pounds, according to the mark that was upon it; but the ring, with part of the shank, and the two points were now wanting. I was no longer at a loss to guess the reason of Opoony's refusing my present. He doubtless thought that it so much exceeded the value of the anchor in its present state, that I should be displeased when I saw it. Be this as it may, I took the anchor as I found it, and sent him every article of the present that I at first intended. Having thus completed my negotiation, I returned on board; and having hoisted

in the boats, made sail from the island to the north. While the boats were hoisting in, some of the natives came off, in three or four canoes, to see the ships, as they said. They brought with them a few cocoa-nuts, and one pig, which was the only one we got at the island. I make no doubt, however, that, if we had staid till the next day, we should have been plentifully supplied with provisions; and, I think, the natives would feel themselves disappointed, when they found that we were gone. But as we had already a very good stock both of hogs and of fruit on board, and very little of anything left to purchase more, I could have no inducement to defer any longer the prosecution of our voyage.

The harbour of Bolabola, called Oteavanooa, situated on the west side of the island, is one of the most capacious that I ever met with; and though we did not enter it, it was a satisfaction to me, that I had an opportunity of employing my people to ascertain its being a proper place for the reception of ships. The high double-peaked mountain, which is in the middle of the island, appeared to be barren on the east side; but on the west side, has trees or bushes on its most craggy parts. The lower grounds, all round, towards the sea, are covered with cocoa-palms and bread-fruit trees, like the other islands of this ocean; and the many little islets that surround it on the inside of the reef, add both to the amount of its vegetable productions, and to the number of its inhabitants. But still, when we consider its very small extent, being not more than eight leagues in compass, it is rather remarkable, that its people should have attempted, or have been able to achieve the conquest of Ulietea and Otaha, the former of which islands is, of itself, at least double its size. In each of my three voyages, we had heard much of the war that produced this great revolution. The result of our inquiries, as to the circumstances attending it, may amuse the reader; and I give it as a specimen of the history of our friends in this part of the world, as related to us * by themselves.

Ulietea and Otaha, which adjoins it, lived long in friendship, or, as the natives express it, were considered as two brothers, inseparable by any interested views. They also admitted the island of Huaheine as their friend, though not so intimate. Otaha, however, like a traitor, leagued with Bolabola, and they resolved jointly to attack Ulietea; whose people called in their friends of Huaheine, to assist them against these two powers. The men of Bolabola were encouraged by a priestess, or rather prophetess, who foretold, that they should be successful; and as a proof of the certainty of her prediction, she desired, that a man might be sent to the sea, at a particular place, where, from a great depth, a stone would ascend. He went, accordingly, in a canoe to the place mentioned; and was going to dive to see where this stone lay, when, behold, it started up to the surface spontaneously into his hand! The people were astonished at the sight; the stone was deposited as sacred in the house of the *Eatooa;* and is still preserved at Bolabola, as a proof of this woman's influence with the divinity. Their spirits being thus elevated with the hopes of victory, the canoes of Bolabola set out to engage those of Ulietea and Huaheine, which being strongly fastened together with ropes, the encounter lasted long, and would probably, notwithstanding the prediction and the miracle, have ended in the overthrow of the Bolabola fleet, if that of Otaha had not, in the critical moment, arrived. This turned the fortune of the day, and their enemies were defeated with great slaughter. The men of Bolabola, prosecuting their victory, invaded Huaheine two days after, which they knew must be weakly defended, as most of its warriors were absent. Accordingly, they made themselves masters of that island. But many of its fugitives having got to Otaheite, there told their lamentable story; which so grieved those of their countrymen, and of Ulietea, whom they met with in that island, that they obtained some assistance from them. They were equipped with only ten fighting canoes; but, though their force was so inconsiderable, they conducted the expedition with so much prudence, that they landed at Huaheine at night, when dark, and falling upon the Bolabola men by surprise, killed many of them, forcing the rest to fly. So that, by this means, they got possession of their island again, which now remains independent, under the government of its own chiefs. Immediately after the defeat of the united fleets of Ulietea and Huaheine, a proposal was made to the Bolabola men by their allies of Otaha, to be admitted to an equal share of the conquests. The refusal of this

* For this, as for many other particulars about these people, we are indebted to Mr. Anderson.

broke the alliance; and in the course of the war, Otaha itself, as well as Ulietea, was conquered; and both now remain subject to Bolabola; the chiefs who govern them being only deputies of Opoony, the sovereign of that island. In the reduction of the two islands, five battles were fought, at different places, in which great numbers were slain on both sides.

Such was the account we received. I have more than once remarked, how very imperfectly these people recollect the exact dates of past events. And with regard to this war, though it happened not many years ago, we could only guess at the time of its commencement and its conclusion, from collateral circumstances, furnished by our own observation, as the natives could not satisfy our inquiries with any precision. The final conquest of Ulietea, which closed the war, we know, had been made before I was there in the Endeavour, in 1769; but we may infer, that peace had not been very long restored, as we could see marks of recent hostilities having been committed upon that island. Some additional light may be thrown upon this inquiry, by attending to the age of Teereetareea, the present chief of Huaheine. His looks showed, that he was not above ten or twelve years old; and we were informed, that his father had been killed at one of the battles. As to the time when the war began, we had no better rule for judging than this, that the young people of about twenty years of age, of whom we made inquiries, could scarcely remember the first battles; and I have already mentioned, that Omai's countrymen, whom we found at Wateeoo, knew nothing of this war; so that its commencement was subsequent to their voyage.

Ever since the conquest of Ulietea and Otaha, the Bolabola men have been considered by their neighbours as invincible; and such is the extent of their fame, that even at Otaheite, which is almost out of their reach, if they are not dreaded, they are at least respected for their valour. It is said, that they never fly in battle, and that they always beat an equal number of the other islanders. But, besides these advantages, their neighbours seem to ascribe a great deal to the superiority of their god, who, they believed, detained us at Ulietea by contrary winds, as being unwilling that we should visit an island under his special protection. How high the Bolabola men are now in estimation at Otaheite, may be inferred from Monsieur de Bougainville's anchor having been conveyed to them. To the same cause we must ascribe the intention of transporting to their island the Spanish bull. And they had already got possession of a third European curiosity, the male of another animal, brought to Otaheite by the Spaniards We had been much puzzled, by the imperfect description of the natives, to guess what this could be. But Captain Clerke's deserters, when brought back from Bolabola, told me, that the animal had been there shown to them, and that it was a ram. It seldom happens but that some good arises out of evil; and if our two men had not deserted, I should not have known this. In consequence of their information, at the same time that I landed to meet Opoony, I carried ashore a ewe, which we had brought from the Cape of Good Hope; and I hope that, by this present, I have laid the foundation for a breed of sheep at Bolabola. I also left at Ulietea, under the care of Oreo, an English boar and sow, and two goats. So that, not only Otaheite, but all the neighbouring islands will, in a few years, have their race of hogs considerably improved; and, probably, be stocked with all the valuable animals which have been transported hither by their European visitors. When once this comes to pass, no part of the world will equal these islands in variety and abundance of refreshments for navigators. Indeed, even in their present state, I know no place that excels them. After repeated trials, in the course of several voyages, we find, when they are not disturbed by intestine broils, but live in amity with one another, which has been the case for some years past, that their productions are in the greatest plenty; and, particularly, the most valuable of all the articles, their hogs.

If we had had a larger assortment of goods, and a sufficient quantity of salt on board, I make no doubt that we might have salted as much pork as would have served both ships near twelve months. But our visiting the Friendly Islands, and our long stay at Otaheite and the neighbourhood, quite exhausted our trading commodities; particularly our axes, with which alone hogs, in general, were to be purchased. And we had hardly salt enough to cure fifteen puncheons of meat. Of these, five were added to our stock of provisions at the Friendly Islands, and the other ten at Otaheite. Captain Clerke also salted a propor-

tionable quantity for his ship. The process was the same that had been adopted by me in my last voyage; and it may be worth while to describe it again. The hogs were killed in the evening; as soon as they were cleaned they were cut up, the bones taken out, and the meat salted when it was hot. It was then laid in such a position as to permit the juices to drain from it, till the next morning, when it was again salted, packed into a cask, and covered with pickle. Here it remained for four or five days, or a week; after which it was taken out and examined, piece by piece, and if there was any found to be in the least tainted, as sometimes happened, it was separated from the rest, which was repacked into another cask, headed up, and filled with good pickle. In about eight or ten days' time it underwent a second examination; but this seemed unnecessary, as the whole was generally found to be perfectly cured. A mixture of bay and of white salt answers the best, but either of them will do alone. Great care should be taken that none of the large blood-vessels remain in the meat; nor must too great a quantity be packed together at the first salting, lest the pieces in the middle should heat, and by that means prevent the salt from penetrating them. This once happened to us, when we killed a larger quantity than usual. Rainy, sultry weather, is unfavourable for salting meat in tropical climates.

Perhaps the frequent visits Europeans have lately made to these islanders may be one great inducement to their keeping a large stock of hogs, as they have had experience enough to know, that whenever we come, they may be sure of getting from us what they esteem a valuable consideration for them. At Otaheite, they expect the return of the Spaniards every day; and they will look for the English two or three years hence, not only there but at the other islands. It is to no purpose to tell them that you will not return: they think you must; though not one of them knows, or will give himself the trouble to inquire the reason of your coming.

I own I cannot avoid expressing it as my real opinion, that it would have been far better for these poor people never to have known our superiority in the accommodations and arts that make life comfortable, than, after once knowing it, to be again left and abandoned to their original incapacity of improvement. Indeed, they cannot be restored to that happy mediocrity in which they lived before we discovered them, if the intercourse between us should be discontinued. It seems to me that it has become, in a manner, incumbent on the Europeans to visit them once in three or four years, in order to supply them with those conveniences which we have introduced among them, and have given them a predilection for. The want of such occasional supplies will, probably, be very heavily felt by them, when it may be too late to go back to their old less perfect contrivances, which they now despise, and have discontinued, since the introduction of ours. For, by the time that the iron tools, of which they are now possessed, are worn out, they will have almost lost the knowledge of their own. A stone hatchet is, at present, as rare a thing amongst them as an iron one was eight years ago; and a chisel of bone, or stone, is not to be seen. Spike-nails have supplied the place of the last; and they are weak enough to fancy that they have got an inexhaustible store of them, for these were not now at all sought after. Sometimes, however, nails, much smaller than a spike, would still be taken in exchange for fruit. Knives happened, at present, to be in great esteem at Ulietea; and axes and hatchets remained unrivalled by any other of our commodities at all the islands. With respect to articles of mere ornament, these people are as changeable as any of the polished nations of Europe; so that what pleases their fancy while a fashion is in vogue, may be rejected when another whim has supplanted it. But our iron tools are so strikingly useful, that they will, we may confidently pronounce, continue to prize them highly; and be completely miserable if, neither possessing the materials, nor trained up to the art of fabricating them, they should cease to receive supplies of what may now be considered as having become necessary to their comfortable existence.

Otaheite, though not comprehended in the number of what we have called the Society Islands, being inhabited by the same race of men, agreeing in the same leading features of character and manners, it was fortunate that we happened to discover this principal island before the others, as the friendly and hospitable reception we there met with, of course, led us to make it the principal place of resort in our successive visits to this part of the Pacific

Ocean. By the frequency of this intercourse, we have had better opportunities of knowing something about it and its inhabitants, than about the other similar, but less considerable islands in its vicinity. Of these, however, we have seen enough to satisfy us that all that we observed and have related of Otaheite, may, with trifling variations, be applied to them. Too much seems to have been already known, and published in our former relations, about some of the modes of life that made Otaheite so agreeable an abode to many on board our ships; and if I could add any finishing strokes to a picture, the outlines of which have been already drawn with sufficient accuracy, I should still have hesitated to make this journal the place for exhibiting a view of licentious manners, which could only serve to disgust those for whose information I write. There are, however, many parts of the domestic, political, and religious institutions of these people, which, after all our visits to them, are but imperfectly understood. The foregoing narrative of the incidents that happened during our stay, will probably be thought to throw some additional light; and, for further satisfaction, I refer to Mr. Anderson's remarks.

Amidst our various subordinate employments while at these islands, the great objects of our duty were always attended to. No opportunity was lost of making astronomical and nautical observations; from which the following table was drawn up:

Place.	Latitude. South.	Longitude. East.	Variation of the Compass.	Dip of the Needle.
Matavai Point, Otaheite	17° 29¼′	210° 22′ 28″	5° 34′ East	29° 12′
Owharree Harbour, Huaheine	16 42¾	208 52 24	5 13¼ East	28 28
Ohamaneno Harbour, Ulietea	16 45½	208 25 22	6 19 East	29 5

The longitude of the three several places is deduced from the mean of 145 sets of observations made on shore; some at one place and some at another; and carried on to each of the stations by the time-keeper. As the situation of these places was very accurately settled during my former voyages, the above observations were now made chiefly with a view of determining how far a number of lunar observations might be depended upon, and how near they would agree with those made upon the same spot in 1769, which fixed Matavai Point to be 210° 27′ 30″. The difference, it appears, is only of 5′ 2″; and, perhaps, no other method could have produced a more perfect agreement. Without pretending to say which of the two computations is the nearest the truth, the longitude of 210° 22′ 28″, or, which is the same thing, 208° 25′ 22″, will be the longitude we shall reckon from with the time-keeper, allowing it to be losing, on mean time, 1.69″ each day, as found by the mean of all the observations made at these islands for that purpose.

On our arrival at Otaheite, the error of the time-keeper in longitude was,

By Greenwich rate	1° 18′ 58″
Tongataboo rate	0 16 40

Some observations were also made on the tide; particularly at Otaheite and Ulietea; with a view of ascertaining its greatest rise at the first place. When we were there, in my second voyage, Mr. Wales thought he had discovered that it rose higher than I had observed it to do, when I first visited Otaheite in 1769. But the observations we now made, proved that it did not; that is, that it never rose higher than twelve or fourteen inches at most. And it was observed to be high-water nearly at noon, as well at the quadratures, as at the full and change of the moon.

To verify this, the following observations were made at Ulietea:

Day of the Month.	Water at stand, from	to	Mean time of High Water.	Perpendicular rise.
No. 6.	11 15^m	12^h 20^m	11^h 48^m	5, 5 in.
7.	11 40	1 0	12 20	5, 2
8.	11 35	12 50	12 12	5, 0
9.	11 40	1 16	12 28	5. 5
10.	11 25	1 10	12 18	6, 5
11.	12 0	1 40	12 20	5, 0
12.	11 0	1 5	12 2	5, 7
13.	9 30	11 40	10 35	8, 0
14.	11 10	12 50	12 0	8, 0
15.	9 20	11 30	10 25	9, 2
16.	10 0	12 0	11 0	9, 0
No. 17.	10^h 45^m	12^h 15^m	11^h 30^m	8, 5 in.
18.	10 25	12 10	11 18	9, 0
19.	11 0	1 0	12 0	8, 0
20.	11 30	2 0	12 45	7, 0
21.	11 0	1 0	12 0	8, 0
22.	11 30	1 7	12 18	8, 0
23.	12 0	1 30	12 45	6, 5
24.	11 30	1 40	12 35	5, 5
25.	11 40	1 50	12 45	4, 7
26.	11 0	1 30	12 15	5, 2

nities of knowing
less considerable
y us that all that
e applied to them.
er relations, about
many on board our
f which have been
ke this journal the
o disgust those for
estic, political, and
are but imperfectly
ring our stay, will
isfaction, I refer to

he great objects of
g astronomical and

ion of mpass.	Dip of the Needle.	
East	29°	12′
East	28	28
East	29	5

145 sets of observa-
d on to each of the
y accurately settled
iefly with a view of
ded upon, and how
which fixed Matavai
; and, perhaps, no
t pretending to say
f 210° 22′ 28″, or.
eckon from with the
found by the mean

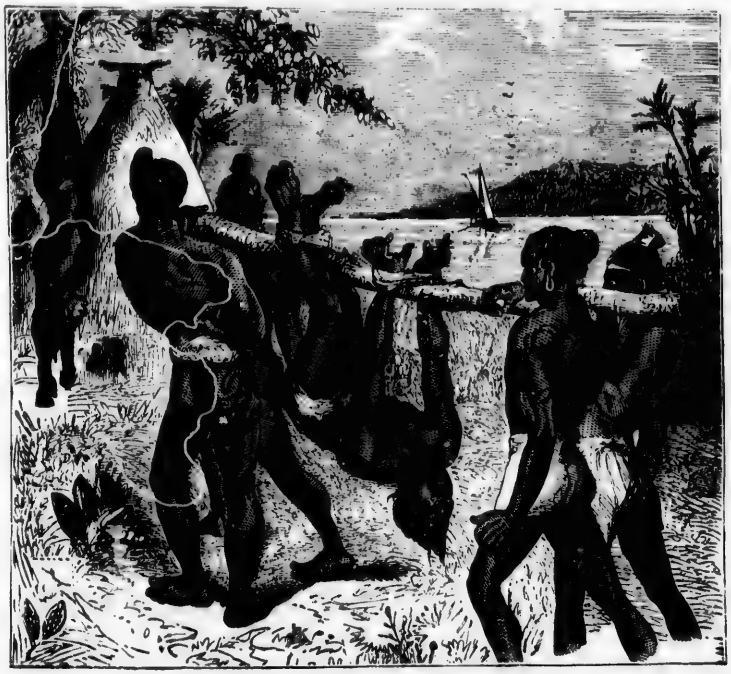
was,

58″
10

aheite and Ulietea;
e were there, in my
than I had observed
e now made, proved
teen inches at most.
quadratures, as at

Mean time of High Water.		Perpendicular rise.
11h	30m	8, 5 in.
11	18	9, 0
12	0	8, 0
12	45	7, 0
12	0	8, 0
12	16	8, 0
12	45	6, 5
12	35	5, 5
12	45	4, 7
12	15	5, 2

SAMOA HUT.



SAMOAN MODE OF PUNISHMENT.

Plate XX. *Cook's Voyages.*

Having now finished all that occurs to me with regard to these islands, which make so conspicuous a figure in the list of our discoveries, the reader will permit me to suspend the prosecution of my Journal, while he pursues the following chapter, for which I am indebted to Mr. Anderson.

CHAPTER IX.—ACCOUNTS OF OTAHEITE STILL IMPERFECT.—THE PREVAILING WINDS.—BEAUTY OF THE COUNTRY.—CULTIVATION.—NATURAL CURIOSITIES.—THE PERSONS OF THE NATIVES.—DISEASES.—GENERAL CHARACTER.—LOVE OF PLEASURE.—LANGUAGE.—SURGERY AND PHYSIC.—ARTICLES OF FOOD.—EFFECTS OF DRINKING AVA.—TIMES AND MANNER OF EATING.—CONNEXIONS WITH THE FEMALES.—CIRCUMCISION.—SYSTEM OF RELIGION.—NOTIONS ABOUT THE SOUL AND A FUTURE LIFE.—VARIOUS SUPERSTITIONS.—TRADITIONS ABOUT THE CREATION.—AN HISTORICAL LEGEND.—HONOURS PAID TO THE KING.—DISTINCTION OF RANKS.—PUNISHMENT OF CRIMES.—PECULIARITIES OF THE NEIGHBOURING ISLANDS.—NAMES OF THEIR GODS.—NAMES OF ISLANDS THEY VISIT.—EXTENT OF THEIR NAVIGATION.

"To what has been said of Otaheite, in the accounts of the successive voyages of Captain Wallis, Monsieur de Bougainville, and Captain Cook, it would, at first sight, seem superfluous to add anything; as it might be supposed, that little could be now produced, but a repetition of what has been told before. I am, however, far from being of that opinion; and will venture to affirm, though a very accurate description of the country, and of the most obvious customs of its inhabitants, has been already given, especially by Captain Cook, that much still remains untouched; that, in some instances, mistakes have been made, which later and repeated observation has been able to rectify; and that, even now, we are strangers to many of the most important institutions that prevail amongst these people. The truth is, our visits, though frequent, have been but transient; many of us had no inclination to make inquiries; more of us were unable to direct our inquiries properly; and we all laboured, though not to the same degree, under the disadvantages attending an imperfect knowledge of the language of those from whom alone we could receive any information. The Spaniards had it more in their power to surmount this bar to instruction; some of them having resided at Otaheite much longer than any other European visitors *. As, with their superior advantages, they could not but have had an opportunity of obtaining the fullest information on most subjects relating to this island, their account of it would, probably, convey more authentic and accurate intelligence than, with our best endeavours, any of us could possibly obtain. But as I look upon it to be very uncertain, if not very unlikely, that we shall ever have any communication from that quarter, I have here put together what additional intelligence about Otaheite and its neigh-

* An account of the visit of these Spaniards to Otaheite is given in an appendix to a description of the province and archipelago of Chiloe, published in the Spanish language, in 1791, by P. Fray P. Gonz. de Agueros, from which the following particulars furnished in Burney's Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea, 4to. 1816, vol. iv. p. 570, is derived. "In 1772, the viceroy of Peru, Don Manuel de Amat, sent two ships 'to make an exact survey of the many islands in the Pacific Ocean.' They saw a great number of islands, and visited Otaheite, whence they took two natives, who were carried to Lima and baptised by the names of Tomas Paulo and Manuel Amat. In 1774, another voyage was made from Peru to the islands, and two missionaries were sent with the two natives. A house was built at the smaller division of Otaheite for the missionaries, whom the eries or chiefs took under their protection. Before the Spanish ships departed, the commander called a meeting of the chiefs, to whom he described the grandeur of his sovereign, and informed them of his right to all the islands. 'The natives,' the account says, demonstrated great complaisance, and by acclamation acknowledged the king of Spain king of Otaheite and all the islands.' Whereupon the Spanish captain informed them, that if they preserved their fidelity and fulfilled their promises, they should be frequently visited by the ships of the king of Spain. The captain of one of the ships died and was buried on shore. In January 1775, the ships departed to return to Peru. They took two other islanders with them. Thomas Paulo, it appears, had profited little from the instruction given him; he rather chose to profit by his native habits, for he robbed the missionary house and absconded."

This account differs slightly from that given p. 164, where it is stated, and probably correctly, that the missionaries were left on the first visit of the Spanish ships, and taken away on the second. The Spaniards do not appear to have attempted a third expedition, nor, beyond making many particular inquiries concerning the position of the neighbouring islands, to have interested themselves much in affording instruction to the natives, or in investigating the products of the island, or the manners of its inhabitants.—Ed.

bouring islands I was able to procure, either from Omai while on board the ship, or by conversing with the other natives while we remained amongst them.

The wind, for the greatest part of the year, blows from between east-south-east, and east-north-east. This is the true trade-wind, or what the natives call *Maaraee;* and it sometimes blows with considerable force. When this is the case, the weather is often cloudy, with showers of rain; but when the wind is more moderate, it is clear, settled, and serene. If the wind should veer farther to the southward, and become south-east, or south-south-east, it then blows more gently, with a smooth sea, and is called *Maoai.* In those months, when the sun is nearly vertical, that is, in December and January, the winds and weather are both very variable; but it frequently blows from west-north-west, or north-west. This wind is what they call *Toerou;* and is generally attended by dark cloudy weather, and frequently by rain. It sometimes blows strong, though generally moderate; but seldom lasts longer than five or six days without interruption; and is the only wind in which the people of the islands to leeward come to this, in their canoes. If it happens to be still more northerly, it blows with less strength, and has the different appellation of *Erapotai;* which they feign to be the wife of the *Toerou;* who, according to their mythology, is a male.

The wind from south-west, and west-south-west, is still more frequent than the former; and though it is, in general, gentle, and interrupted by calms, or breezes from the eastward, yet it sometimes blows in brisk squalls. The weather attending it is commonly dark, cloudy, and rainy, with a close hot air; and often accompanied by a great deal of lightning and thunder. It is called *Etoa,* and often succeeds the *Toerou;* as does also the *Farooa,* which is still more southerly, and, from its violence, blows down houses and trees, especially the cocoa-palms, from their loftiness; but it is only of short duration. The natives seem not to have a very accurate knowledge of these changes, and yet pretend to have drawn some general conclusions from their effects; for they say when the sea has a hollow sound, and dashes slowly on the shore, or rather on the reef without, that it portends good weather; but, if it has a sharp sound, and the waves succeed each other fast, that the reverse will happen.

Perhaps there is scarcely a spot in the universe that affords a more luxuriant prospect than the south-east part of Otaheite. The hills are high and steep; and, in many places, craggy. But they are covered to the very summits with trees and shrubs, in such a manner, that the spectator can scarcely help thinking that the very rocks possess the property of producing and supporting their verdant clothing. The flat land which bounds those hills toward the sea, and the interjacent valleys, also teem with various productions that grow with the most exuberant vigour; and at once fill the mind of the beholder with the idea that no place upon earth can outdo this in the strength and beauty of vegetation. Nature has been no less liberal in distributing rivulets, which are found in every valley; and as they approach the sea, often divide into two or three branches, fertilising the flat lands through which they run. The habitations of the natives are scattered, without order, upon the flats; and many of them appearing toward the shore, presented a delightful scene, viewed from our ships; especially as the sea, within the reef, which bounds the coast, is perfectly still, and affords a safe navigation at all times for the inhabitants, who are often seen paddling in their canoes indolently along, in passing from place to place, or in going to fish. On viewing these charming scenes, I have often regretted my inability to transmit to those who have had no opportunity of seeing them, such a description as might, in some measure, convey an impression similar to what must be felt by every one who has been fortunate enough to be upon the spot.

It is, doubtless, the natural fertility of the country, combined with the mildness and serenity of the climate, that renders the natives so careless in their cultivation, that, in many places, though overflowing with the richest productions, the smallest traces of it cannot be observed. The cloth plant, which is raised by seeds brought from the mountains, and the *ava,* or intoxicating pepper, which they defend from the sun when very young, by covering them with leaves of the bread-fruit-tree, are almost the only things to which they seem to pay any attention; and these they keep very clean. I have inquired very carefully in-

their manner of cultivating the bread-fruit-tree; but was always answered, that they never planted it. This, indeed, must be evident to every one who will examine the places where the young trees come up. It will be always observed, that they spring from the roots of the old ones, which run along near the surface of the ground. So that the bread-fruit-trees may be reckoned those that would naturally cover the plains, even supposing that the island was not inhabited; in the same manner that the white-barked trees, found at Van Diemen's Land, constitute the forests there. And from this we may observe, that the inhabitant of Otaheite, instead of being obliged to plant his bread, will rather be under a necessity of preventing its progress; which I suppose is sometimes done, to give room for trees of another sort, to afford him some variety in his food. The chief of these are the cocoa-nut and plantain; the first of which can give no trouble, after it has raised itself a foot or two above the ground; but the plantain requires a little more care. For, after it is planted, it shoots up, and, in about three months, begins to bear fruit; during which time it gives young shoots, which supply a succession of fruit. For the old stocks are cut down, as the fruit is taken off.

The products of the island, however, are not so remarkable for their variety as great abundance; and curiosities of any kind are not numerous. Amongst these we may reckon a pond or lake of fresh water, at the top of one of the highest mountains, to go to and to return from which takes three or four days. It is remarkable for its depth, and has eels of an enormous size in it, which are sometimes caught by the natives, who go upon this water in little floats of two or three wild plantain-trees fastened together. This is esteemed one of the greatest natural curiosities of the country; insomuch, that travellers who come from the other islands are commonly asked, amongst the first things by their friends at their return, if they have seen it. There is also a sort of water of which there is only one small pond upon the island, as far distant as the lake, and to appearance very good, with a yellow sediment at the bottom; but it has a bad taste, and proves fatal to those who drink any quantity; or makes them break out in blotches if they bathe in it.

Nothing could make a stronger impression at first sight on our arrival here, than the remarkable contrast between the robust make and dark colour of the people of Tongataboo, and a sort of delicacy and whiteness which distinguish the inhabitants of Otaheite. It was even some time before that difference could preponderate in favour of the Otaheitans; and then only, perhaps because we became accustomed to them, the marks which had recommended the others began to be forgotten. Their women, however, struck us as superior in every respect; and as possessing all those delicate characteristics which distinguish them from the other sex in many countries. The beard, which the men here wear long, and the hair which is not cut so short as is the fashion at Tongataboo, made also a great difference; and we could not help thinking, that on every occasion they showed a greater degree of timidity and fickleness. The muscular appearance so common amongst the Friendly Islanders, and which seems a consequence of their being accustomed to much action, is lost here, where the superior fertility of their country enables the inhabitants to lead a more indolent life; and its place is supplied by a plumpness and smoothness of the skin, which, though perhaps more consonant with our ideas of beauty, is no real advantage, as it seems attended with a kind of languor in all their motions not observable in the others. This observation is fully verified in their boxing and wrestling, which may be called little better than the feeble efforts of children, if compared to the vigour with which these exercises are performed at the Friendly Islands.

Personal endowments being in great esteem amongst them, they have recourse to several methods of improving them, according to their notions of beauty. In particular it is a practice, especially amongst the *Erreoes*, or unmarried men of some consequence, to undergo a kind of physical operation to render them fair. This is done by remaining a month or two in the house; during which time they wear a great quantity of clothes, eat nothing but bread-fruit, to which they ascribe a remarkable property in whitening them. They also speak as if their corpulence and colour, at other times, depended upon their food; as they are obliged, from the change of seasons, to use different sorts at different times. Their common diet is made up of at least nine-tenths of vegetable food; and, I believe, more particularly the *mahee* or

fermented bread-fruit, which enters almost every meal, has a remarkable effect upon them, preventing a costive habit, and producing a very sensible coolness about them, which could not be perceived in us who fed on animal food. And it is perhaps owing to this temperate course of life that they have so few diseases among them. They only reckon five or six, which might be called chronic, or national disorders; amongst which are the dropsy, and the *fefai*, or indolent swellings before mentioned as frequent at Tongataboo. But this was before the arrival of the Europeans; for we have added to this short catalogue a disease which abundantly supplies the place of all others, and is now almost universal. For this they seem to have no effectual remedy. The priests, indeed, sometimes give them a medley of simples; but they own that it never cures them. And yet they allow that, in a few cases, nature, without the assistance of a physician, exterminates the poison of this fatal disease, and a perfect recovery is produced. They say that if a man is infected with it, he will often communicate it to others in the same house, by feeding out of the same utensils, or handling them; and that in this case, they frequently die while he recovers; though we see no reason why this should happen.

Their behaviour on all occasions seems to indicate a great openness and generosity of disposition. Omai, indeed, who as their countryman should be supposed rather willing to conceal any of their defects, has often said that they are sometimes cruel in punishing their enemies. According to his representation they torment them very deliberately; at one time tearing out small pieces of flesh from different parts, at another taking out the eyes, then cutting off the nose, and lastly killing them by opening the belly. But this only happens on particular occasions. If cheerfulness argues a conscious innocence, one would suppose that their life is seldom sullied by crimes. This, however, I rather impute to their feelings, which, though lively, seem in no case permanent; for I never saw them in any misfortune labour under the appearance of anxiety after the critical moment was past. Neither does care ever seem to wrinkle their brow. On the contrary, even the approach of death does not appear to alter their usual vivacity. I have seen them, when brought to the brink of the grave by disease, and when preparing to go to battle; but in neither case ever observed their countenances overclouded with melancholy or serious reflection.

Such a disposition leads them to direct all their aims only to what can give them pleasure and ease. Their amusements all tend to excite and continue their amorous passions; and their songs, of which they are immoderately fond, answer the same purpose. But as a constant succession of sensual enjoyments must cloy, we found that they frequently varied them to more refined subjects, and had much pleasure in chanting their triumphs in war, and their occupations in peace; their travels to other islands, and adventures there; and the peculiar beauties and superior advantages of their own island over the rest, or of different parts of it over other less favourable districts. This marks that they receive great delight from music; and though they rather expressed a dislike to our complicated compositions, yet were they always delighted with the more melodious sounds produced singly on our instruments, as approaching nearer to the simplicity of their own.

Neither are they strangers to the soothing effects produced by particular sorts of motion, which, in some cases, seem to allay any perturbation of mind with as much success as music. Of this, I met with a remarkable instance. For on walking one day about Mātavai Point, where our tents were erected, I saw a man paddling in a small canoe, so quickly, and looking about him with such eagerness on each side, as to command all my attention. At first I imagined he had stolen something from one of the ships, and was pursued; but, on waiting patiently, saw him repeat his amusement. He went out from the shore, till he was near the place where the swell begins to take its rise; and, watching its first motion very attentively, paddled before it with great quickness, till he found that it overlooked him, and had acquired sufficient force to carry his canoe before it, without passing underneath. He then sat motionless, and was carried along, at the same swift rate as the wave, till it landed him upon the beach. Then he started out, emptied his canoe, and went in search of another swell. I could not help concluding that this man felt the most supreme pleasure, while he was driven on so fast and so smoothly by the sea; especially as, though the tents and ships were so near, he did not seem in the least to envy, or even to take

any notice of, the crowds of his countrymen collected to view them as objects which were rare and curious. During my stay, two or three of the natives came up, who seemed to share his felicity, and always called out when there was an appearance of a favourable swell, as he sometimes missed it, by his back being turned, and looking about for it. By them I understood that this exercise, which is called *choroee*, was frequent amongst them; and they have probably more amusements of this sort, which afford them at least as much pleasure as skaiting, which is the only one of ours with whose effects I could compare it *.

The language of Otaheite, though doubtless radically the same with that of New Zealand and the Friendly Islands, is destitute of that guttural pronunciation, and of some consonants, with which those latter dialects abound. The specimens we have already given, are sufficient to mark wherein the variation chiefly consists, and to show that, like the manners of the inhabitants, it has become soft and soothing. During the former voyage, I had collected a copious vocabulary, which enabled me the better to compare this dialect with that of the other islands; and, during this voyage, I took every opportunity of improving my acquaintance with it, by conversing with Omai before we arrived, and by my daily intercourse with the natives while we now remained there. It abounds with beautiful and figurative expressions, which, were it perfectly known, would, I have no doubt, put it upon a level with many of the languages that are most in esteem for their warmth and bold images. For instance, the Otaheitans express their notions of death very emphatically, by saying, "That the soul goes into darkness; or rather into night." And, if you seem to entertain any doubt in asking the question, "if such a person is their mother," they immediately reply with surprise, "Yes; the mother that bore me." They have one expression that corresponds exactly with the phraseology of the Scriptures, where we read of the "yearning of the bowels." They use it on all occasions, when the passions give them uneasiness; as they constantly refer pain from grief, anxious desire, and other affections, to the bowels, as its seat; where they likewise suppose all operations of the mind are performed. Their language admits of that inverted arrangement of words which so much distinguishes the Latin and Greek from most of our modern European tongues, whose imperfections require a more orderly construction, to prevent ambiguities. It is so copious, that for the bread-fruit alone, in its different states, they have above twenty names; as many for the *taro* root; and about ten for the cocoa-nut. Add to this, that, besides the common dialect, they often expostulate, in a kind of stanza or recitative, which is answered in the same manner.

Their arts are few and simple; yet, if we may credit them, they perform cures in surgery which our extensive knowledge in that branch has not as yet enabled us to imitate. In simple fractures they bind them up with splints; but if part of the substance of the bone be lost, they insert a piece of wood between the fractured ends, made hollow like the deficient part. In five or six days the *rapaoo*, or surgeon, inspects the wound, and finds the wood partly covered with the growing flesh. In as many more days it is generally entirely covered; after which, when the patient has acquired some strength, he bathes in the water and recovers. We know that wounds will heal over leaden bullets; and sometimes, though rarely, over other extraneous bodies. But what makes me entertain some doubt of the

* This sport was more frequently practised with a board generally about five or six feet long, and rather more than a foot wide, sometimes flat, but more frequently slightly convex on both sides; the management of a canoe in such circumstances requiring a greater degree of skill than the *papa fahee*, or surf-board. Great numbers would join in this amusement, which was common at the Sandwich as well as the Society Islands, openings in the reef or the entrance to some of the bays being generally chosen as the scene of the sport, which was partaken by young, old, the common people, and the most dignified chiefs and members of the royal family. The only danger apprehended was from sharks, for whom a bright look out was kept; the cry of *moo*, a shark, once raised, was echoed throughout the assembly, who rushed to the shore, while endeavouring to alarm their dreaded enemy by shouts and splashing the water around them. This in common with all the other "sources of entertainment, in their juvenile or more advanced periods of life," has been discouraged among the Tahitians since their conversion to Christianity. Mr. Ellis, after giving a particular account of their different sports and amusements, tells us that "with the exception of one or two they have all, however, been discontinued, especially among the adults; and the number of those followed by the children" (even to their swings and kites, both which are spoken of in the past tense), "is greatly diminished." This Mr. Ellis considers to be "on no account matter of regret." The abolition of all the superstitious and occasionally obscene rites which were connected with some of these games was undoubtedly necessary, but the total abolition of all kinds of sports, especially in such a clime and among such a people, appears to us a proceeding of very doubtful policy.—Ed.

truth of so extraordinary skill, as in the above instance, is, that in other cases which fell under my own observation, they are far from being so dexterous. I have seen the stump of an arm, which was taken off after being shattered by a fall from a tree, that bore no marks of skilful operation, though some allowance be made for their defective instruments. And I met with a man going about with a dislocated shoulder, some months after the accident, from their being ignorant of a method to reduce it; though this be considered as one of the simplest operations of our surgery. They know that fractures or luxations of the spine are mortal, but not fractures of the skull; and they likewise know, from experience, in what parts of the body wounds prove fatal. They have sometimes pointed out those inflicted by spears, which, if made in the direction they mentioned, would certainly have been pronounced deadly by us; and yet these people have recovered. Their physical knowledge seems more confined; and that, probably, because their diseases are fewer than their accidents. The priests, however, administer the juices of herbs in some cases; and women who are troubled with after-pains, or other disorders after child-bearing, use a remedy which one would think needless in a hot country. They first heat stones, as when they bake their food; then they lay a thick cloth over them, upon which is put a quantity of a small plant of the mustard kind; and these are covered with another cloth. Upon this they seat themselves, and sweat plentifully, to obtain a cure. The men have practised the same method for the venereal *lues*, but find it ineffectual. They have no emetic medicines*.

Notwithstanding the extreme fertility of the island, a famine frequently happens, in

* Mr. Ellis bears ample testimony as to the surgical skill possessed by the Otaheitans, and relates some facts so singular, that whilst we feel bound to transcribe them, we must do so without comment. He informs us that "the diseases formerly prevailing among the South Sea Islanders were comparatively few; those they now suffer are principally pulmonary, intermittent, and cutaneous." The priests were the physicians, and "an invocation to some spirit or god attended the administration of every medicine. No animal or mineral substances were admitted into their pharmacopœia; vegetable substances alone were used, and these simply pulverized, infused, heated on the fire or with red hot stones, and often fermented. Many of their applications, however, were powerful, especially a species of gourd or wild cucumber.

"There were persons among them celebrated as oculists, but their skill principally consisted in removing foreign substances from the eye; and when applied to for this purpose, they, as well as others, received the payment or fee before they commenced their operations; but if the present did not please them, they, to satisfy their employers, sometimes took one splinter, &c., out of the eye, and left another in, that they might be sent for again. Their surgeons were remarkably dexterous in closing a cut or thrust, by drawing the edges carefully together, and applying the pungent juice of the ape, *arum costatum*, to the surface. This, acting like caustic, must have caused great pain. A fractured limb they set without much trouble; applying splinters of bamboo-cane to the sides, and keeping it bound up till healed. A dislocation they usually succeeded in reducing; but the other parts of their surgical practice were marked by a rude promptness, temerity, and barbarism, almost incredible. A man one day fell from a tree and dislocated some part of his neck. His companions, on perceiving it, instantly took him up; one of them placed his head between his own knees and held it firmly, while the others, taking hold of his body, twisted the joint into its proper place. On another occasion a number of young men, in the district of Tare, were carrying large stones suspended from each end of a pole across their shoulders, their usual mode of carrying a burden: one of them so injured the vertebræ as to be almost unable to move; he had, as they expressed it, *fati to tua*, broken the back. His fellow workmen laid him flat on his face on the grass, one grasped and pulled his shoulders, and the other [illegible] legs, while a third actually pressed with both knees his whole weight upon the back, where the bones appeared displaced. It was not far from Mr. Barff's house where the accident occurred, and observing the people assembled, he went to inquire the cause, and saw them thus engaged. On his asking what they were doing, they coolly replied, that they were only straightening the man's back, which had been broken with carrying stones. The vertebræ appeared to be replaced; they bound a long girdle repeatedly round his body, led him home, and without any other treatment he was, in a short time, able to resume his employment.

"The operation of trepanning they sometimes attempted, and say they have practised it with success. It is reported that there are persons living in the island of Borabora on whom it has been performed, or at least an operation very much resembling it: the bones of the skull having been fractured in battle, they have cleared away the skin and coverings, and, having removed the fractured piece of bone, have carefully fitted in a piece of cocoa-nut shell, and replaced the covering and skin; on the healing of which the man has recovered. I never saw any individual who had undergone this operation, but, from the concurrent testimony of the people, I have no doubt they have performed it. It is also related, although I confess I can scarcely believe it, that on some occasions, when the brain has been injured as well as the bone, they have opened the skull, taken out the injured portion of the brain, and, having a pig ready, have killed it, taken out the pig's brains, put them in the man's head, and covered them up. They persist in stating that this has been done; but add, that the persons always became furious with madness, and died. They had no idea of phlebotomy as a remedy for disease, but were clever at lancing an abscess, which was generally effected with the thorn from a kind of bramble, or a shark's tooth.

"However great the influence of those persons who administered medicine, or practised surgery, might formerly have been, it has entirely ceased since the people have been acquainted with the more certain and efficacious application of English remedies. Like the priests in their temples formerly, the minister of their religion, at every station, is now sought in all cases of sickness as their physician; and no small portion of our time was occupied in administering medicine, so far as our scanty means would admit."—Ellis's Polynesian Researches, vol. 3, pp. 37, 42, 44

which, it is said, many perish. Whether this be owing to the failure of some seasons, to over population, which must sometimes almost necessarily happen, or to wars, I have not been able to determine; though the truth of the fact may be fairly inferred, from the great economy that they observe with respect to their food, even when there is plenty. In times of scarcity, after their bread-fruit and yams are consumed, they have recourse to various roots which grow without cultivation upon the mountains. The *patarra*, which is found in vast quantities, is what they use first. It is not unlike a very large potatoe or yam, and good when in its growing state; but when old is full of hard stringy fibres. They then eat two other roots, one not unlike *taro;* and lastly, the *choco.* This is of two sorts; one of them possessing deleterious qualities, which obliges them to slice and macerate it in water a night before they bake and eat it. In this respect it resembles the *cassava* root of the West Indies; but it forms a very insipid, moist paste, in the manner they dress it. However, I have seen them eat it at times when no such scarcity reigned. Both this and the *patarra* are creeping plants; the last with ternate leaves.

Of animal food a very small portion falls, at any time, to the share of the lower class of people; and then it is either fish, sea-eggs, or other marine productions; for they seldom or ever eat pork. The *Eree de hoi** alone is able to furnish pork every day; and inferior chiefs, according to their riches, once a week, fortnight, or month. Sometimes they are not even allowed that; for when the island is impoverished by war, or other causes, the chief prohibits his subjects to kill any hogs; and this prohibition, we were told, is in force sometimes for several months, or even for a year or two. During that restraint the hogs multiply so fast, that there are instances of their changing their domestic state and turning wild. When it is thought proper to take off the prohibition, all the chiefs assemble at the king's place of abode; and each brings with him a present of hogs. The king then orders some of them to be killed, on which they feast; and, after that, every one returns home with liberty to kill what he pleases for his own use. Such a prohibition was actually in force on our arrival here; at least, in all those districts of the island that are immediately under the direction of Otoo. And, lest it should have prevented our going to Matavai after leaving Oheitepeha, he sent a message to assure us that it should be taken off as soon as the ships arrived there. With respect to us, we found it so; but we made such a consumption of them that, I have no doubt, it would be laid on again as soon as we sailed. A similar prohibition is also sometimes extended to fowls.

It is also amongst the better sort that the *ava* is chiefly used. But this beverage is prepared somewhat differently from that which we saw so much of at the Friendly Islands. For they pour a very small quantity of water upon the root here; and sometimes roast or bake and bruise the stalks, without chewing it previously to its infusion. They also use the leaves of the plant here, which are bruised and water poured upon them, as upon the root. Large companies do not assemble to drink it, in that sociable way which is practised at Tongataboo. But its pernicious effects are more obvious here; perhaps owing to the manner of preparing it; as we often saw instances of its intoxicating, or rather stupifying powers. Some of us who had been at these islands before, were surprised to find many people who, when we saw them last, were remarkable for their size and corpulency, now almost reduced to skeletons; and, upon inquiring into the cause of this alteration, it was universally allowed to be the use of the *ava.* The skins of these people were rough, dry, and covered with scales; which, they say, every now and then fall off, and their skin is, as it were, renewed. As an excuse for a practice so destructive, they allege that it is adopted to prevent their growing too fat; but it evidently enervates them, and in all probability shortens their days. As its effects had not been so visible during our former visits, it is not unlikely that this article of luxury had never been so much abused as at this time. If it continues to be so fashionable, it bids fair to destroy great numbers.

The times of eating, at Otaheite, are very frequent. Their first meal, or (as it may rather be called) their last, as they go to sleep after it, is about two o'clock in the morning;

* Mr. Anderson invariably, in his manuscript, writes *Eree de hoi.* According to Captain Cook's mode, it is *Eree rahie.* This is one of the numerous instances that perpetually occur of our people's representing the same word differently.—[See note, Vol. I., p. 106. Ed.

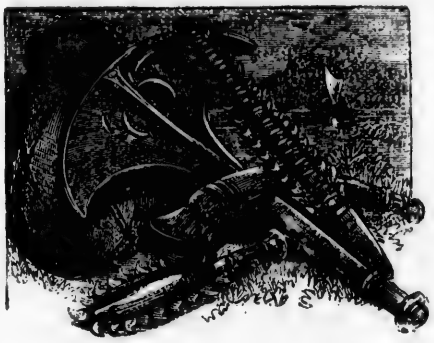
and the next is at eight. At eleven, they dine, and again, as Omai expressed it, at two, and at five; and sup at eight. In this article of domestic life, they have adopted some customs which are exceedingly whimsical. The women, for instance, have not only the mortification of being obliged to eat by themselves, and in a different part of the house from the men; but by a strange kind of policy, are excluded from a share of most of the better sorts of food. They dare not taste turtle, nor fish of the tunny kind, which is much esteemed; nor some particular sorts of the best plantains; and it is very seldom that even those of the first rank are suffered to eat pork. The children of each sex also eat apart; and the women, generally, serve up their own victuals; for they would certainly starve before any grown man would do them such an office. In this, as well as in some other customs relative to their eating, there is a mysterious conduct which we could never thoroughly comprehend. When we inquired into the reasons of it, we could get no other answer, but that it is right and necessary it should be so*.

VIEW OF BOLA-BOLA

As in such a life their women must contribute a very large share of its happiness, it is rather surprising, besides the humiliating restraints they are laid under with regard to food, to find them often treated with a degree of harshness, or rather brutality, which one would scarcely suppose a man would bestow on an object for whom he had the least affection. Nothing, however, is more common, than to see the men beat them without mercy; and,

* "The institutes of Oro and Tane, inexorably required, not only that the wife should not eat those kinds of food of which the husband partook, but that she should not eat in the same place, or prepare her food at the same fire. This restriction applied not only to the wife with regard to her husband, but to all the individuals of the female sex, from their birth to their death. In sickness or pain, or whatever other circumstances the mother, the wife, the sister or the daughter might be brought into, it was never relaxed. The men, especially those who occasionally attended on the service of idol worship in the temple, were considered *ra*, or sacred; while the female sex was considered *noa*, or common: the men were allowed to eat the flesh of the pig and of fowls, and a variety of fish, cocoa-nuts and plantains, and whatever was presented as an offering to the gods: these the females, on pain of death, were forbidden to touch, as it was supposed they would pollute them. The fires at which the men's food was cooked, were also sacred, and were forbidden to be used by the females. The baskets in which their provision was kept, and the house in which the men ate, were also sacred, and prohibited to the females under the same cruel penalty. Hence the inferior food, both for wives, daughters, &c., was cooked at separate fires, deposited in distinct baskets, and eaten in lonely solitude by the females, in little huts erected for the purpose. The most offensive and frequent imprecations, which the men were accustomed to use towards each other, referred also to this degraded condition of the females. *E taha miti noa oe na to medua!* Mayest thou become a bottle to hold salt water for thy mother! or another, Mayest thou be baked as food for thy mother! were imprecations they were accustomed to denounce upon each other; or, Take out your eye-ball and give it to your mother to eat. Their domestic habits were not only unsocial, but irregular, alike in their periods for refreshment and sleep, and their seasons of labour and amusement."—Ellis's Polynesian Researches, vol. i. p. 129.

unless this treatment is the effect of jealousy, which both sexes at least pretend to be sometimes infected with, it will be difficult to admit this as the motive, as I have seen several instances where the women have preferred personal beauty to interest; though I must own, that, even in these cases, they seem scarcely susceptible of those delicate sentiments that are the result of mutual affection; and, I believe, that there is less Platonic love in Otaheite than in any other country.



WEAPONS OF THE FRIENDLY ISLES.

Their religious system is extensive, and, in many instances, singular; but few of the common people have a perfect knowledge of it; that being confined chiefly to their priests, who are pretty numerous *. They do not seem to pay any respect to one god as possessing

* "Among the multitude of their gods, there was no one whom they regarded as a supreme intelligence or presiding spiritual being, possessing any moral perfections, resembling those which are inseparable from every sentiment we entertain of the true God. Like the most ancient nations, they ascribe the origin of all things to a state of chaos, or darkness, and even the first existence of their principal deities refer to this source. Taoroa, Oro, and Tane, with other deities of the highest order, are on this account said to be *fanan po*, born of night. But the origin of the gods, and their priority of existence in comparison with the formation of the earth, being a matter of uncertainty even among the native priests, involves the whole in obscurity. Taoroa, the Tanaroa of the Hawaiians, and the Tangaroa of the Western Isles, is generally spoken of by the Tahitians as the first and principal god, uncreated, and existing from the beginning, or from the time he emerged from the *po*, or world of darkness.

"Several of their *taata-paari*, or wise men, pretend that, according to other traditions, Taaroa was only a man who was deified after death. By some he is spoken of as the progenitor of the other gods, the creator of the heavens, the earth, the sea, man, beasts, fowls, fishes, &c.; while by others it is stated, that the existence of the land, or the universe, was anterior to that of the gods.

"There does not appear to be anything in the Tahitian mythology corresponding with the doctrine of the Trinity, or the Hindoo traditions of Brahma, Vishnou, and Siva. Taaroa was the former and father of the gods; Oro was his first son: but there were three classes or orders between Taaroa and Oro. As in the theogony of the ancients, a bird was a frequent emblem of deity; and in the body of a bird they supposed the god often approached the marae, where it left the bird, and entered the *too*, or image, through which it was supposed to communicate with the priest. The inferior gods and men, the animals, the air, earth, and sea, were by some supposed to originate in the procreative power of the supreme god. One of the legends of their origin and descent, furnished to some of the missionaries, by whom it has been recorded, states, that Taaroa was born of night, or proceeded from chaos, and was not made by any other god. His consort, Ofeufeumaiterai, also uncreated, proceeded from the *po*, or night. Oro, the great national idol of Raiatea, Tahiti, Eimeo, and some other islands, was the son of Taaroa and Ofeufeumaiterai. Oro took a goddess to wife, who became the mother of two sons. These four male and two female deities constituted the whole of their highest rank of divinities, according to the traditions of the priests of Tahiti—though the late king informed Mr. Nott that there was another god, superior to them all, whose name was Rumia; he did not, however, meet with any of their priests or bards who knew anything about him. The tradition most generally received in the Windward Islands, ascribed the origin of the world, and all that adorn or inhabit it, to the procreative power of Taaroa, who is said to have embraced a rock, the imagined foundation of all things, which afterwards brought forth the earth and sea. It states that soon after this, the heralds of day, the dark and light blue sky, appeared before Taaroa, and solicited a soul for his offspring, the then inanimate universe. The foundation of all replied, It is done, and directed his son, the sky-producer, to accomplish his will. In obedience to the mandate of Taaroa, his son looked up into the heavens, and the heavens received the power of bringing forth new skies and clouds, sun moon and stars, thunder and lightning, rain and wind. He then looked downwards, and the unformed mass received the power to bring forth earth, mountains, rocks, trees, herbs and flowers, beasts, birds, and insects, fountains, rivers, and fish. Raitubu, or sky-producer, then looked to the abyss, and imparted to it

pre-eminence, but believe in a plurality of divinities, who are all very powerful; and in this case, as in different parts of the island, and the other islands in the neighbourhood, have different ones. the inhabitants of each, no doubt, think that they have chosen the most eminent, or, at least, one who is invested with power sufficient to protect them, and to supply all their wants. If he should not answer their expectations, they think it no impiety to change, as has very lately happened in Tiaraboo, where in the room of the two divinities formerly honoured there, Oraa, god of Bolabola, has been adopted, I should suppose, because he is the protector of a people who have been victorious in war; and as, since they have made this change, they have been very successful themselves against the inhabitants of *Otaheite-nooe*, they impute it entirely to *Oraa*, who, as they literally say, fights their battles. Their assiduity in serving their gods is remarkably conspicuous. Not only the *whattas*, or offering-places of the *morais*, are commonly loaded with fruit and animals, but there are few houses where you do not meet with a small place of the same sort near them. Many of them are so rigidly scrupulous, that they will not begin a meal without first laying aside a morsel for the *Eatooa;* and we had an opportunity, during this voyage, of seeing their superstitious zeal carried to a most pernicious height in the instance of human sacrifices; the occasions of offering which, I doubt, are too frequent. Perhaps they have recourse to them when misfortunes occur; for they asked if one of our men, who happened to be confined when we were detained by a contrary wind, was *taboo?* Their prayers are also very frequent, which they chant, much after the manner of the songs in their festive entertainments. And the women, as in other cases, are also obliged to show their inferiority in religious observances; for it is required of them that they should partly uncover themselves, as they pass the *morais;* or take a considerable circuit to avoid them. Though they have no notion that their god must always be conferring benefits without sometimes forgetting them, or suffering evil to befall them, they seem to regard this less than the attempts of some more inauspicious being to hurt them. They tell us that *Etee* is an evil spirit, who sometimes does them mischief; and to whom, as well as to their god, they make offerings. But the mischiefs they apprehend from any superior invincible beings, are confined to things merely temporal.

They believe the soul to be both immaterial and immortal. They say that it keeps fluttering about the lips during the pangs of death; and that then it ascends and mixes with, or, as they express it, is eaten by the deity. In this state it remains for some time; after which, it departs to a certain place destined for the reception of the souls of men, where it exists in eternal night; or, as they sometimes say, in twilight or dawn. They have no idea of any permanent punishment after death for crimes that they have committed on earth; for the souls of good and bad men are eat indiscriminately by God. But they certainly consider this coalition with the deity as a kind of purification necessary to be undergone, before they enter a state of bliss. For, according to their doctrine, if a man refrain from all connexion with women some months before death, he passes immediately into his eternal mansion without such a previous union; as if already by this abstinence he were pure enough to be exempted from the general lot. They are, however, far from entertaining those sublime conceptions of happiness which our religion, and, indeed, reason, gives us room to expect hereafter. The only great privilege they seem to think they shall acquire by death, is immortality; for they speak of spirits being, in some measure, not totally divested of those passions which actuated them when combined with material vehicles. Thus, if souls who were formerly enemies should meet, they have many conflicts; though, it should seem, to no purpose, as they are accounted invulnerable in this invisible state. There is a similar reasoning with regard to the meeting of man and wife. If the husband

power to bring forth the purple water, rocks and corals, and all the inhabitants of the ocean. Some of the gods are said to have been produced in the same way, namely, by the god Taaroa looking at the goddess his wife, who afterwards became the mother of his children.

"Raa was also ranked among the principal deities, although inferior to Taaroa and Oro, and he was supposed to be an independent being; but nothing of consequence is ascribed to him in the native fables. His wife, Otupapa, who was also a divinity, bore him three sons and two daughters. Tane, the tutelar idol of Huahine, was also numbered among the uncreated gods, considered as having proceeded from the state of night, or chaos. His goddess was called Tanfairei. They were the parents of eight sons, who were all classed with the most powerful gods, and received the highest honours."—Ellis's Polynesian Researches, vol. i., p. 326, 12mo. ed. 1831.

dies first, the soul of his wife is known to him on its arrival in the land of spirits. They resume their former acquaintance in a spacious house, called *Tourooa*, where the souls of the deceased assemble to recreate themselves with the gods. She then retires with him to his separate habitation, where they remain for ever, and have an offspring; which, however, is entirely spiritual; as they are neither married, nor are their embraces supposed to be the same as with corporeal beings.

Some of their notions about the deity are extravagantly absurd. They believe, that he is subject to the power of those very spirits to whom he has given existence; and that, in their turn, they frequently eat or devour him, though he possesses the power of recreating himself. They doubtless use this mode of expression, as they seem incapable of conversing about immaterial things without constantly referring to material objects to convey their meaning. And in this manner they continue the account, by saying, that, in the *Tourooa*, the deity inquires, if they intend or not to destroy him? And that he is not able to alter their determination. This is known to the inhabitants on earth, as well as to the spirits; for when the moon is in its wane, it is said, that they are then devouring their *Eatooa;* and that, as it increases, he is renewing himself. And to this accident, not only the inferior, but the most eminent gods are liable. They also believe that there are other places for the reception of souls at death. Thus, those who are drowned in the sea, remain there; where they think that there is a fine country, houses, and every thing that can make them happy. But what is more singular, they maintain that not only all other animals, but trees, fruit, and even stones, have souls, which at death, or upon being consumed or broken, ascend to the divinity, with whom they first mix, and afterwards pass into the mansion allotted to each.

They imagine that their punctual performance of religious offices procures for them every temporal blessing. And as they believe, that the animating and powerful influence of the divine spirit is everywhere diffused, it is no wonder that they join to this many superstitious opinions about its operations. Accordingly, they believe that sudden deaths, and all other accidents, are effected by the immediate action of some divinity. If a man only stumble against a stone and hurt his toe, they impute it to an *Eatooa;* so that they may be literally said, agreeable to their system, to tread enchanted ground. They are startled, in the night, on approaching a *teopapaoo*, where the dead are exposed, in the same manner that many of our ignorant and superstitious people are with the apprehensions of ghosts, and at the sight of a church-yard; and they have an equal confidence in dreams, which they suppose to be communications either from their god, or from the spirits of their departed friends, enabling those favoured with them to foretel future events; but this kind of knowledge is confined to particular people. Omai pretended to have this gift. He told us that the soul of his father had intimated to him in a dream, on the 26th of July, 1776, that he should go on shore, at some place, within three days; but he was unfortunate in this first attempt to persuade us that he was a prophet; for it was the 1st of August before we got into Teneriffe. Amongst them, however, the dreamers possess a reputation little inferior to that of their inspired priests and priestesses, whose predictions they implicitly believe, and are determined by them in all undertakings of consequence. The priestess who persuaded Opoony to invade Ulietea, is much respected by him; and he never goes to war without consulting her. They also, in some degree, maintain our old doctrine of planetary influence; at least, they are sometimes regulated, in their public counsels, by certain appearances of the moon; particularly when lying horizontally, or much inclined on the convex part, on its first appearance after the change, they are encouraged to engage in war, with confidence of success.

They have traditions concerning the creation, which, as might be expected, are complex and clouded with obscurity. They say, that a goddess, having a lump or mass of earth suspended in a cord, gave it a swing, and scattered about pieces of land, thus constituting Otaheite, and the neighbouring islands, which were all peopled by a man and a woman originally fixed at Otaheite. This, however, only respects their own immediate creation; for they have notions of an universal one before this; and of lands, of which they have now no other knowledge than what is mentioned in the tradition. Their most remote account reaches to Tatooma, and Tapuppa, male and female stones or rocks, who support

the congeries of land and water, or our globe underneath. These produced Totorro, who was killed, and divided into land, and, after him, Otaia and Oroo were begotten, who were afterwards married, and produced, first land, and then a race of gods. Otai is killed, and Oroo marries a god, her son, called Teorraha, whom she orders to create more land, the animals, and all sorts of food upon the earth; as also the sky, which is supported by men called Teeferei. The spots observed in the moon are supposed to be groves of a sort of trees which once grew in Otaheite, and being destroyed by some accident, their seeds were carried up thither by doves, where they now flourish.

They have also many legends, both religious and historical; one of which latter, relative to the practice of eating human flesh, I shall give the substance of, as a specimen of their method. A long time since, there lived in Otaheite two men called *Taheeai;* the only name they yet have for cannibals. None knew from whence they came, or in what manner they arrived at the island. Their habitation was in the mountains, from whence they used to issue, and kill many of the natives, whom they afterwards devoured, and by that means prevented the progress of population. Two brothers, determined to rid their country of such a formidable enemy, used a stratagem for their destruction with success. These still lived farther upward than the *Taheeai*, and in such a situation, that they could speak to them without greatly hazarding their own safety. They invited them to accept of an entertainment that should be provided for them, to which these readily consented. The brothers then taking some stones, heated them in a fire, and thrusting them into pieces of *mahee*, desired one of the *Taheeai* to open his mouth. On which, one of these pieces was dropped in, and some water poured down, which made a boiling or hissing noise in quenching the stone, and killed him. They intreated the other to do the same; but he declined it, representing the consequences of his companion's eating. However, they assured him that the food was excellent, and its effects only temporary; for that the other would soon recover. His credulity was such, that he swallowed the bait, and shared the fate of the first. The natives then cut them in pieces, which they buried; and conferred the government of the island on the brothers, as a reward for delivering them from such monsters. Their residence was in the district called Whapaeenoo; and, to this day, there remains a bread-fruit tree, once the property of the *Taheeais*. They had also a woman, who lived with them, and had two teeth of a prodigious size. After they were killed, she lived at the island Otaha, and when dead, was ranked amongst their deities. She did not eat human flesh, as the men; but, from the size of her teeth, the natives still call any animal that has a fierce appearance, or is represented with large tusks, *Taheeai*.

Every one must allow, that this story is just as natural as that of Hercules destroying the Hydra, or the more modern one of Jack the giant-killer. But I do not find, that there is any moral couched under it, any more than under most old fables of the same kind, which have been received as truths only during the prevalence of the same ignorance that marked the character of the ages in which they were invented. It, however, has not been improperly introduced, as serving to express the horror and detestation entertained here against those who feed upon human flesh. And yet, from some circumstances, I have been led to think, that the natives of these isles were formerly cannibals. Upon asking Omai, he denied it stoutly; yet mentioned a fact, within his own knowledge, which almost confirms such an opinion. When the people of Bolabola, one time, defeated those of Huaheine, a great number of his kinsmen were slain. But one of his relations had, afterward, an opportunity of revenging himself, when the Bolabola men were worsted in their turn, and cutting a piece out of the thigh of one of his enemies, he broiled and eat it. I have also frequently considered the offering of the person's eye who is sacrificed to the chief, as a vestige of a custom which once really existed to a greater extent, and is still commemorated by this emblematical ceremony.*

* Mr. Ellis, when alluding to this conjecture of Mr. Anderson's, expresses his opinion that the fact of offering the eye to the king does not afford any very strong evidence of the existence of cannibalism among the Tahitians, although he entertained no doubt that the inhabitants of several of the South-sea Islanders have eaten human flesh. The eye was regarded by the natives as the "organ or emblem of power," and as such was offered to the king. Whether the Tahitians ever indulged in human banquets seems still doubtful, but the practice was common in the Marquesas and the Hervey Islands, the inhabitants of the latter group being frequently driven to resort to the horrid

The being invested with the *maro*, and the presiding at human sacrifices, seem to be the peculiar characteristics of the sovereign. To these, perhaps, may be added, the blowing a conch-shell, which produces a very loud sound. On hearing it, all his subjects are obliged to bring food of every sort to his royal residence in proportion to their abilities. On some other occasions, they carry their veneration for his very name to an extravagant and very destructive pitch. For if, on his accession to the *maro*, any words in their language be found to have a resemblance to it in sound, they are changed for others; and if any man be bold enough not to comply, and continue to use those words, not only he, but all his relations, are immediately put to death. The same severity is exercised toward those who shall presume to apply this sacred name to any animal. And, agreeably to this custom of his countrymen, Omai used to express his indignation, that the English should give the names of prince or princess to their favourite horses or dogs. But while death is the punishment for making free with the name of their sovereign, if abuse be only levelled at his government, the offender escapes with the forfeiture of land and houses.

The king never enters the house of any of his subjects; but has, in every district, where he visits, houses belonging to himself. And if, at any time, he should be obliged by accident to deviate from this rule, the house thus honoured with his presence and every part of its furniture is burnt. His subjects not only uncover to him, when present, down to the waist; but if he be at any particular place, a pole, having a piece of cloth tied to it, is set up somewhere near, to which they pay the same honours. His brothers are also entitled to the first part of the ceremony; but the women only uncover to the females of the royal family. In short, they seem even superstitious in their respect to him, and esteem his person little less than sacred. And it is, perhaps to these circumstances, that he owes the quiet possession of his dominions. For even the people of Tiraboo allow him the same honours as his right, though at the same time they look upon their own chief as more powerful; and say, that he would succeed to the government of the whole island, should the present reigning family become extinct. This is the more likely, as Waheiadooa not only possesses Tiaraboo, but many districts of Opooreanoo. His territories, therefore, are almost equal in extent to those of Otoo; and he has besides the advantage of a more populous and fertile part of the island. His subjects, also, have given proofs of their superiority, by frequent victories over those of Otaheite-nooe, whom they affect to speak of as contemptible warriors, easily to be worsted, if, at any time, their chief should wish to put it to the test.

The ranks of people, besides the *Eree de hoi*, and his family, are the *Erees*, or powerful chiefs; the *Manahoone*, or vassals; and the *Teou*, or *Toutou*, servants, or rather slaves*. The men of each of these, according to the regular institution, form their connexions with women of their respective ranks; but if with any inferior one, which frequently happens, and a child be born, it is preserved, and has the rank of the father, unless he happens to be an *Eree*, in which case it is killed. If a woman of condition should choose an inferior person to officiate as a husband, the children he has by her are killed. And if a *Teou* be caught in an intrigue with a woman of the blood royal, he is put to death. The son of the *Eree de hoi* succeeds his father in title and honours as soon as he is born; but if he should have no children, the brother assumes the government at his death. In other families, possessions always descend to the eldest son; but he is obliged to maintain his brothers and sisters, who are allowed houses on his estates.

The boundaries of the several districts into which Otaheite is divided, are, generally, either

practice by sheer hunger. It is stated that in times of famine "the husband preyed upon the body of his wife, and the parent upon his child, in a most revolting manner, without subjecting it to any previous preparation." The luxuriant vegetation of Otaheite saves the inhabitants from enduring such straits, and they probably went no farther than devouring human bodies symbolically; but the reluctance felt by the islanders to confess the enormities formerly practised, has prevented even the missionaries from procuring precise information on this point. The following passage contains the sum of the information which is afforded on the subject by Mr. Ellis. "Their mythology led them to suppose, that the spirits of the dead are eaten by the gods or demons; and that the spiritual part of their sacrifices is eaten by the spirit of the idol before whom it is presented. Birds resorting to the temple, were said to feed upon the bodies of the human sacrifices, and it was imagined the god approached the temple in the bird, and thus devoured the victims placed upon the altar. In some of the islands, 'man-eater' was an epithet of the principal deities; and it was probably in connexion with this, that the king, who often personated the god, appeared to eat the human eye. Part of some human victims were eaten by the priests."—Ed.

* See note, vol. i. p. 106.

rivulets, or low hills, which, in many places, jut out into the sea. But the subdivisions into particular property are marked by large stones, which have remained from one generation to another. The removal of any of these gives rise to quarrels, which are decided by arms; each party bringing his friends into the field. But if any one complain to the *Eree de hoi*, he terminates the difference amicably. This is an offence, however, not common; and long custom seems to secure property here as effectually as the most severe laws do in other countries. In conformity also to ancient practice established amongst them, crimes of a less general nature are left to be punished by the sufferer, without referring them to a superior. In this case, they seem to think that the injured person will judge as equitably as those who are totally unconcerned; and as long custom has allotted certain punishments for crimes of different sorts, he is allowed to inflict them, without being amenable to any other person. Thus, if any one be caught stealing, which is commonly done in the night, the proprietor of the goods may put the thief instantly to death; and if any one should inquire of him after the deceased, it is sufficient to acquit him, if he only inform them of the provocation he had to kill him. But so severe a punishment is seldom inflicted, unless the articles that are stolen be reckoned very valuable; such as breast-plates and plaited hair. If only cloth, or even hogs be stolen, and the thief escape, upon his being afterward discovered, if he promise to return the same number of pieces of cloth, or of hogs, no farther punishment is inflicted. Sometimes, after keeping out of the way for a few days, he is forgiven, or, at most, gets a slight beating. If a person kill another in a quarrel, the friends of the deceased assemble, and engage the survivor and his adherents. If they conquer, they take possession of the house, lands, and goods of the other party; but if conquered, the reverse takes place. If a *Manahoone* kill the *Toutou*, or slave of a chief, the latter sends people to take possession of the lands and house of the former, who flies either to some other part of the island, or to some of the neighbouring islands. After some months he returns, and finding his stock of hogs much increased, he offers a large present of those, with some red feathers, and other valuable articles, to the *Toutou's* master, who generally accepts the compensation, and permits him to repossess his house and lands. This practice is the height of venality and injustice; and the slayer of the slave seems to be under no farther necessity of absconding, than to impose upon the lower class of people who are the sufferers. For it does not appear, that the chief has the least power to punish this *Manahoone;* but the whole management marks a collusion between him and his superior, to gratify the revenge of the former, and the avarice of the latter. Indeed, we need not wonder that the killing of a man should be considered as so venial an offence, amongst a people who do not consider it as any crime at all to murder their own children. When talking to them about such instances of unnatural cruelty, and asking, whether the chiefs, or principal people were not angry, and did not punish them? I was told, that the chief neither could nor would interfere in such cases; and that every one had a right to do with his own child what he pleased.

Though the productions, the people, and the customs and manners of all the islands in the neighbourhood, may, in general, be reckoned the same as at Otaheite, there are a few differences which should be mentioned, as this may lead to an inquiry about more material ones hereafter, if such there be, of which we are now ignorant. With regard to the little island Mataia, or Osnaburgh Island, which lies twenty leagues east of Otaheite, and belongs to a chief of that place, who gets from thence a kind of tribute, a different dialect from that of Otaheite is there spoken. The men of Mataia also wear their hair very long, and when they fight, cover their arms with a substance which is beset with shark's teeth, and their bodies with a sort of shagreen, being skin of fishes. At the same time, they are ornamented with polished pearl shells, which make a prodigious glittering in the sun; and they have a very large one that covers them before like a shield or breast-plate.

The language of Otaheite has many words, and even phrases, quite unlike those of the islands to the westward of it, which all agree; and it is remarkable for producing great quantities of that delicious fruit we called apples, which are found in none of the others, except Eimeo. It has also the advantage of producing an odoriferous wood, called *eahoi*, which is highly valued at the other isles where there is none; nor even in the south-east peninsula, or Tiaraboo, though joining it. And at Mouroa there is a particular bird found

upon the hills, much esteemed for its white feathers; at which place there is also said to be some of the apples, though it be the most remote of the Society Islands from Otaheite and Eimeo, where they are produced.

Though the religion of all the islands be the same, each of them has its particular or tutelar god; whose names, according to the best information I could receive, are set down in the following list:

GODS OF THE ISLES.

Huaheine, *Tanne.*—Ulietea, *Oroo.*—Otaha, *Tanne.*—Bolabola, *Oraa.*—Mourooa, *Ottoo, ee weiahoo.*—Toobace, *Tamouee.*—Tabooymanoo, or Saunders' Island, which is subject to Huaheine, *Taroa.*—Eimeo, *Oroo hadoo.*—Otaheite, Otaheite-nooe, *Ooroo.*—Otaheite, Tiaraboo, *Opoonoa*, and *Whatooteeree*, (whom they have lately changed for Oraa, god of Bolabola). Matai, or Osnaburgh Island, *Toobo, tooboaio, Ry maraiva.*—The low isles, eastward, *Tammaree.*

Besides the cluster of high islands from Mataia to Mourooa inclusive, the people of Otaheite are acquainted with a low uninhabited island, which they name Mopeeha, and seems to be Howe's Island, laid down to the westward of Mourooa in our late charts of this ocean. To this the inhabitants of the most leeward islands sometimes go. There are also several low islands, to the north-eastward of Otaheite, which they have sometimes visited, but not constantly; and are said to be only at the distance of two days' sail with a fair wind. They were thus named to me:

Mateeva, Oanaa (called Oanna in Dalrymple's Letter to Hawkesworth), Taboohoe, Awehee, Kaoora, Orootoos, Otavaoo, where are large pearls.

The inhabitants of these isles come more frequently to Otaheite, and the other neighbouring high islands, from whose natives they differ in being of a darker colour, with a fiercer aspect, and differently punctured.

POLYNESIAN IDOL.

These low isles are, doubtless, the farthest navigation, which those of Otaheite and the Society Islands perform at present. It seems to be a groundless supposition, made by Mons. de Bougainville, that they made voyages of the prodigious extent* he mentions; for I found, that it is reckoned a sort of prodigy that a canoe, once driven by a storm from Otaheite, should have fallen in with Mopeeha, or Howe's Island, though so near, and directly to leeward. The knowledge they have of other distant islands is no doubt traditional, and has been communicated to them by the natives of those islands, driven accidentally upon their coasts, who besides giving them the names, could easily inform them of the direction in which the places lie from whence they came, and of the number of days they had been upon the sea. In this manner, it may be supposed that the natives of Wateeoo have increased their

* See Bougainville's Voyage autour du Monde, p. 228, where we are told that these people sometimes navigate at the distance of more than three hundred leagues.

catalogue by the addition of Otaheite and its neighbouring isles, from the people we met with there, and also of the other islands these had heard of. We may thus account for that extensive knowledge attributed by the gentlemen of the Endeavour* to Tupia in such matters. And with all due deference to his veracity, I presume that it was by the same means of information that he was able to direct the ship to Oheteroa, without having ever been there himself, as he pretended; which, on many accounts, is very improbable."

CHAPTER X.—PROGRESS OF THE VOYAGE, AFTER LEAVING THE SOCIETY ISLANDS.—CHRISTMAS ISLAND DISCOVERED, AND STATION OF THE SHIPS THERE.—BOATS SENT ASHORE.—GREAT SUCCESS IN CATCHING TURTLE.—AN ECLIPSE OF THE SUN OBSERVED.—DISTRESS OF TWO SEAMEN, WHO HAD LOST THEIR WAY.—INSCRIPTION LEFT IN A BOTTLE.—ACCOUNT OF THE ISLAND.—ITS SOIL.—TREES AND PLANTS.—BIRDS.—ITS SIZE.—FORM.—SITUATION.—ANCHORING GROUND.

After leaving Bolabola, I steered to the northward, close-hauled, with the wind between N.E. and E., hardly ever having it to the southward of E., till after we crossed the line, and had got into north latitudes. So that our course, made good, was always to the W. of N., and sometimes no better than N.W. Though seventeen months had now elapsed since our departure from England, during which we had not, upon the whole, been unprofitably employed, I was sensible that, with regard to the principal object of my instructions, our voyage was at this time only beginning; and, therefore, my attention to every circumstance that might contribute toward our safety and our ultimate success, was now to be called forth anew. With this view I had examined into the state of our provisions at the last islands; and as soon as I had left them and got beyond the extent of my former discoveries, I ordered a survey to be taken of all the boatswain's and carpenter's stores that were in the ships, that I might be fully informed of the quantity, state, and condition of every article; and, by that means, know how to use them to the greatest advantage.

Before I sailed from the Society Islands, I lost no opportunity of inquiring of the inhabitants, if there were any islands in a N. or N.W. direction from them; but I did not find that they knew of any. Nor did we meet with anything that indicated the vicinity of land, till we came to about the latitude of 8° S., where we began to see birds, such as boobies, tropic, and men-of-war birds, tern, and some other sorts At this time, our longitude was 205° E. Mendana, in his first voyage in 1568 †, discovered an island which he named Isla de Jesus, in latitude 6° 45′ S., and 1450 leagues from Callao, which is 200° E. longitude from Greenwich. We crossed this latitude nearly a hundred leagues to the eastward of this longitude, and saw there many of the above-mentioned birds; which are seldom known to go very far from land. In the night, between the 22nd and 23rd, we crossed the line in the longitude of 203° 15′ E. Here the variation of the compass was 6° 30′ E. nearly.

On the 24th, about half an hour after daybreak, land was discovered bearing N.E. by E. ½ E. Upon a nearer approach, it was found to be one of those low islands so common in this ocean; that is, a narrow bank of land inclosing the sea within. A few cocoa-nut-trees were seen in two or three places; but in general the land had a very barren appearance. At noon, it extended from N.E. by E. to S. by E. ½ E., about four miles distant. The wind was at E.S.E.; so that we were under a necessity of making a few boards to get up to the lee or west side, where we found from forty to twenty and fourteen fathoms water, over a bottom of find sand; the least depth about half a mile from the breakers, and the greatest about one mile. The meeting with soundings determined me to anchor, with a view to try to get some turtle; for the island seemed to be a likely place to meet with them, and to be without inhabitants. Accordingly, we dropped anchor in thirty fathoms;

* Vol. I. p. 118. We shall have occasion to notice various well-authenticated accounts of voyages of great extent performed in open canoes and boats, in the Appendix, to which we must refer our readers. Mr. Anderson was probably mistaken in undervaluing the information afforded by Tupia.—Ed.

† See Dalrymple's Collection, vol. i. b. 45.

and then a boat was despatched to examine whether it was practicable to land, of which I had some doubt, as the sea broke in a dreadful surf all along the shore. When the boat returned, the officer whom I had intrusted with this examination, reported to me that he could see no place where a boat could land; but that there was great abundance of fish in the shoal water, without the breakers.

At daybreak the next morning I sent two boats, one from each ship, to search more accurately for a landing-place; and, at the same time, two others to fish at a grappling near the shore. These last returned about eight o'clock with upward of two hundredweight of fish. Encouraged by this success, they were despatched again after breakfast, and I then went in another boat, to take a view of the coast and attempt landing; but this I found to be wholly impracticable. Toward noon, the two boats sent on the same search returned. The master, who was in that belonging to the Resolution, reported to me, that about a league and a half to the north, was a break in the land, and a channel into the lagoon, consequently, that there was a fit place for landing; and that he had found the same soundings off this entrance as we had where we now lay. In consequence of this report the ships weighed anchor, and after two or three trips came-to again in twenty fathoms water, over a bottom of fine dark sand, before a small island that lies at the entrance of the lagoon; and on each side of which there is a channel leading into it; but only fit for boats. The water in the lagoon itself is all very shallow.

On the 26th, in the morning, I ordered Captain Clerke to send a boat with an officer to the S.E. part of the lagoon, to look for turtle; and Mr. King and I went, each in a boat to the N.E. part. I intended to have gone to the most easterly extremity; but the wind blew too fresh to allow it, and obliged us to land more to leeward, on a sandy flat, where we caught one turtle, the only one that we saw in the lagoon. We walked, or rather waded, through the water, to an island; where, finding nothing but a few birds, I left it, and proceeded to the land that bounds the sea to the N.W., leaving Mr. King to observe the sun's meridian altitude. I found this land to be even more barren than the island I had been upon; but walking over to the sea-coast, I saw five turtles close to the shore. One of these we caught, and the rest made their escape. Not seeing any more, I returned on board, as did Mr. King soon after, without having seen one turtle. We, however, did not despair of getting a supply, for some of Captain Clerke's officers who had been ashore on the land to the southward of the channel leading into the lagoon, had been more fortunate, and caught several there.

In the morning of the 27th, the pinnace and cutter, under the command of Mr. King, were sent to the S.E. part of the island, within the lagoon, and the small cutter to the northward where I had been the day before; both parties being ordered upon the same service, to catch turtle. Captain Clerke having had some of his people on shore all night, they had been so fortunate as to turn between forty and fifty on the sand, which were brought on board with all expedition this day. And in the afternoon, the party I had sent northward returned with six. They were sent back again and remained there till we left the island, having in general pretty good success. On the 28th, I landed in company with Mr. Bayly, on the island which lies between the two channels into the lagoon, to prepare the telescopes for observing the approaching eclipse of the sun; which was one great inducement to my anchoring here. About noon, Mr. King returned with one boat and eight turtles, leaving seven behind to be brought by the other boat, whose people were employed in catching more; and, in the evening, the same boat was sent with water and provisions for them. Mr. Williamson now went to superintend this duty in the room of Mr. King, who remained on board, to attend the observation of the eclipse. The next day, Mr. Williamson despatched the two boats back to the ship, laden with turtle. At the same time, he sent me a message, desiring that the boats might be ordered round by sea, as he had found a landing-place on the S.E. side of the island, where most of the turtle were caught; so that, by sending the boats thither, the trouble would be saved of carrying them over the land to the inside of the lagoon, as had been hitherto done. The boats were accordingly despatched to the place which he pointed out.

On the morning of the 30th, the day when the eclipse was to happen, Mr. King,

Mr. Bayly, and myself went ashore on the small island above-mentioned, to attend the observation. The sky was overcast till past nine o'clock, when the clouds about the sun dispersed long enough to take its altitude, to rectify the time by the watch we made use of. After this it was again obscured, till about thirty minutes past nine, and then we found that the eclipse was begun. We now fixed the micrometers to the telescopes, and observed or measured the uneclipsed part of the sun's disk. At these observations, I continued about three quarters of an hour before the end, when I left off, being, in fact, unable to continue them longer, on account of the great heat of the sun, increased by the reflection from the sand. The sun was clouded at times, but was clear when the eclipse ended, the time of which was observed as follows:—

		H. M. S.	
By Mr. Bayly	at	0 26 3	Apparent time P.M.
Mr. King	,,	0 26 1	
Myself	,,	0 25 37	

Mr. Bayly and I observed with the large achromatic telescopes, and Mr. King with a reflector. As Mr. Bayly's telescope and mine were of the same magnifying power, I ought not to have differed so much from him as I did. Perhaps it was in part, if not wholly, owing to a protuberance in the moon which escaped my notice, but was seen by both the other gentlemen.

In the afternoon the boats and turtling party, at the south-east part of the island, all returned on board except a seaman belonging to the Discovery, who had been missing two days. There were two of them, at first, who had lost their way; but disagreeing about the most probable track to bring them back to their companions, they had separated; and one of them joined the party, after having been absent twenty-four hours, and been in great distress. Not a drop of fresh water could be had, for there is none upon the whole island; nor was there a single cocoa-nut tree on that part of it. In order to allay his thirst, he had recourse to the singular expedient of killing turtle, and drinking their blood. His mode of refreshing himself when weary, of which he said he felt the good effects, was equally whimsical. He undressed himself and lay down for some time in the shallow water upon the beach. It was a matter of surprise to every one, how these two men could contrive to lose themselves. The land over which they had to travel, from the sea-coast to the *lagoon*, where the boats lay, was not more than three miles across; nor was there anything to obstruct their view; for the country was a flat, with a few shrubs scattered upon it; and from many parts of it the masts of the ships could easily be seen. But this was a rule of direction they never once thought of; nor did they recollect in what quarter of the island the ships had anchored; and they were as much at a loss how to get back to them, or to the party they had straggled from, as if they had just dropped from the clouds. Considering how strange a set of beings the generality of seamen are, when on shore, instead of being surprised that these two men should thus lose their way, it is rather to be wondered at that no more of the party were missing. Indeed, one of those who landed with me, was in a similar situation; but he had sagacity enough to know that the ships were to leeward, and got on board almost as soon as it was discovered that he had been left behind. As soon as Captain Clerke knew that one of the stragglers was still in this awkward situation, he sent a party in search of him; but neither the man nor the party having come back, the next morning I ordered two boats into the *lagoon*, to go different ways in prosecution of the search. Not long after, Captain Clerke's party returned with their lost companion: and my boats having now no object left, I called them back by signal. This poor fellow must have suffered far greater distress than the other straggler; not only as having been lost a longer time, but as we found that he was too squeamish to drink turtle's blood.

Having some cocoa-nuts and yams on board, in a state of vegetation, I ordered them to be planted on the little island where we had observed the eclipse; and some melon seeds were sown in another place. I also left, on the little island, a bottle containing this inscription:

GEORGIUS TERTIUS REX, 31 DECEMBRIS, 1777.
NAVES { RESOLUTION, JAC. COOK, PR.
DISCOVERY, CAR. CLERKE, PR.

On the 1st of January, 1778, I sent boats to bring on board all our parties from the land, and the turtle they had caught. Before this was completed, it was late in the afternoon; so that I did not think proper to sail till next morning. We got at this island, to both ships, about three hundred turtle, weighing, one with another, about ninety or a hundred pounds. They were all of the green kind; and perhaps as good as any in the world. We also caught, with hook and line, as much fish as we could consume, during our stay. They consisted principally of cavallies, of different sizes; large and small snappers; and a few of two sorts of rock-fish; one with numerous spots of blue, and the other with whitish streaks scattered about.

The soil of this island, in some places, is light and black, evidently composed of decayed vegetables, the dung of birds, and sand. There are other places again, where nothing but marine productions, such as broken coral stones, and shells, are to be seen. These are deposited in long narrow ridges, lying in a parallel direction with the sea-coast, not unlike a ploughed field; and must have been thrown up by the waves, though, at this time, they do not reach within a mile of some of these places. This seems to furnish an incontestable proof, that the island has been produced by accessions from the sea, and is in a state of increase; for not only the broken pieces of coral, but many of the shells, are too heavy and too large to have been brought by any birds, from the beach, to the places where they now lie. Not a drop of fresh water was anywhere to be found, though frequently dug for. We met with several ponds of salt water, which had no visible communication with the sea, and must, therefore, in all probability, be filled by the water filtrating through the sand, in high tides. One of the lost men found some salt on the south-east part of the island. But, though this was an article of which we were in want, a man who could lose himself as he did, and not know whether he was travelling east, west, north, or south, was not to be depended upon as a fit guide to conduct us to the place.

There were not the smallest traces of any human being having ever been here before us; and, indeed, should any one be so unfortunate as to be accidentally driven upon the island, or left there, it is hard to say that he could be able to prolong existence. There is, indeed, abundance of birds and fish; but no visible means of allaying thirst, nor any vegetable that could supply the place of bread, or correct the bad effects of an animal diet; which in all probability would soon prove fatal alone. On the few cocoa-trees upon the island, the number of which did not exceed thirty, very little fruit was found; and, in general, what was found was either not fully grown, or had the juice salt, or blackish. So that a ship touching here, must expect nothing but fish and turtle; and of these an abundant supply may be depended upon.

On some parts of the land were a few low trees. Mr. Anderson gave me an account, also, of two small shrubs, and of two or three small plants; all which we had seen on Palmerston's Island, and Otakootaia. There was also a species of *sida* or Indian mallow; a sort of purslain; and another small plant that seemed from its leaves a *mesembryanthemum*; with two species of grass. But each of these vegetable productions was in so small a quantity, and grew with so much languor, that one is almost surprised that the species do not become extinct. Under the low trees above-mentioned, sat infinite numbers of tern, or egg-birds. These are black above, and white below, with a white arch on the forehead; and are rather larger than the common noddy. Most of them had lately hatched their young; which lay under the old ones, upon the bare ground. The rest had eggs; of which they only lay one, larger than that of a pigeon, bluish and speckled with black. There were also a good many common boobies; a sort that are almost like a gannet; and a sooty or chocolate coloured one, with a white belly. To this list we must add men-of-war-birds; tropic birds; curlews; sand-pipers; a small land-bird like a hedge-sparrow; land-crabs; small lizards; and rats.

As we kept our Christmas here, I called this discovery Christmas Island. I judge it to be about fifteen or twenty leagues in circumference. It seemed to be of a semicircular form; or like the moon in the last quarter, the two horns being the north and south points; which bear from each other nearly north by east, and south by west, four or five leagues distant. This west side, or the little isle at the entrance into the lagoon, upon which we observed the eclipse, lies in the latitude of 1° 59′ north, and in the longitude of 202° 30′ east, determined

by a considerable number of lunar observations, which differed only 7′ from the time-keeper; it being so much less. The variation of the compass was 6° 22½′ E.; and the dip of the north end of the needle 11° 54′. Christmas Island, like most others in this ocean, is bounded by a reef of coral rocks, which extends but a little way from the shore. Farther out than this reef, on the west side, is a bank of sand, extending a mile into the sea. On this bank is good anchorage, in any depth between eighteen and thirty fathoms. In less than the first-mentioned depth, the reef would be too near; and in more than the last, the edge of the bank would not be at a sufficient distance. During the time we lay here, the wind blew constantly a fresh gale at east, or east by south, except one or two days. We had, always, a great swell from the northward, which broke upon the reef, in a prodigious surf. We had found this swell before we came to the island; and it continued for some days after we left it.

CHAPTER XI.—SOME ISLANDS DISCOVERED.—ACCOUNT OF THE NATIVES OF ATOOI, WHO COME OFF TO THE SHIPS, AND THEIR BEHAVIOUR ON GOING ON BOARD.—ONE OF THEM KILLED.—PRECAUTIONS USED TO PREVENT INTERCOURSE WITH THE FEMALES.—A WATERING-PLACE FOUND.—RECEPTION UPON LANDING.—EXCURSION INTO THE COUNTRY.—A MORAI VISITED AND DESCRIBED.—GRAVES OF THE CHIEFS, AND OF THE HUMAN SACRIFICES THERE BURIED.—ANOTHER ISLAND, CALLED ONEEHOW, VISITED.—CEREMONIES PERFORMED BY THE NATIVES, WHO GO OFF TO THE SHIPS.—REASONS FOR BELIEVING THAT THEY ARE CANNIBALS.—A PARTY SENT ASHORE, WHO REMAIN TWO NIGHTS.—ACCOUNT OF WHAT PASSED ON LANDING.—THE SHIPS LEAVE THE ISLANDS, AND PROCEED TO THE NORTH.

ON the 2nd of January, at day-break, we weighed anchor, and resumed our course to the north; having fine weather, and a gentle breeze at east, and east-south-east, till we got into the latitude of 7° 45′ N. and the longitude of 205° E., where we had one calm day. This was succeeded by a north-east by east, and east-north-east wind. At first it blew faint, but freshened as we advanced to the north. We continued to see birds every day, of the sorts last mentioned; sometimes in greater numbers than others; and between the latitude of 10° and 11°, we saw several turtle. All these are looked upon as signs of the vicinity of land. However, we discovered none till day-break, in the morning of the 18th, when an island made its appearance, bearing north-east by east, and, soon after, we saw more land bearing north, and entirely detached from the former. Both had the appearance of being high land. At noon, the first bore north-east by east, half east, by estimation about eight or nine leagues distant; and an elevated hill, near the east end of the other, bore north, half west. Our latitude, at this time, was 21° 12′ N.; and longitude 200° 41′ E. We had now light airs and calms, by turns; so that at sunset, we were not less than nine or ten leagues from the nearest land. On the 19th, at sunrise, the island first seen, bore east several leagues distant. This being directly to windward, which prevented our getting near it, I stood for the other, which we could reach; and not long after discovered a third island in the direction of west north-west, as far distant as land could be seen. We had now a fine breeze at east by north; and I steered for the east end of the second island; which at noon extended from north, half east, to west-north-west, a quarter west, the nearest part being about two leagues distant. At this time, we were in some doubt whether or no the land before us was inhabited; but this doubt was soon cleared up, by seeing some canoes coming off from the shore, toward the ships. I immediately brought-to, to give them time to join us. They had from three to six men each; and, on their approach, we were agreeably surprised to find, that they spoke the language of Otaheite, and of the other islands we had lately visited. It required but very little address, to get them to come alongside; but no entreaties could prevail upon any of them to come on board. I tied some brass medals to a rope, and gave them to those in one of the canoes who, in return, tied some small mackerel to the rope as an equivalent. This was repeated; and some small nails, or bits of iron, which they valued more than any other article, were given them. For these they exchanged more fish, and a sweet-potato; a sure sign that they had some notion of bartering; or, at least, of returning one present for another. They had nothing else in their canoes, except some large gourd shells, and a kind of fishing-

net; but one of them offered for sale the piece of stuff that he wore round his waist, after the manner of the other islands. These people were of a brown colour; and, though of the common size, were stoutly made. There was little difference in the cast of their colour, but a considerable variation in their features; some of their visages not being very unlike those of Europeans. The hair of most of them was cropt pretty short; others had it flowing loose; and with a few, it was tied in a bunch on the crown of the head. In all, it seemed to be naturally black; but most of them had stained it, as is the practice of the Friendly Islanders, with some stuff which gave it a brown or burnt colour. In general they wore their beards. They had no ornaments about their persons, nor did we observe that their ears were perforated; but some were punctured on the hands, or near the groin, though in a small degree; and the bits of cloth which they wore were curiously stained with red, black, and white colours. They seemed very mild; and had no arms of any kind, if we except some small stones, which they had evidently brought for their own defence; and these they threw overboard, when they found that they were not wanted.

Seeing no signs of an anchoring place at this eastern extreme of the island, I bore away to leeward, and ranged along the south-east side, at the distance of half a league from the shore. As soon as we made sail, the canoes left us; but others came off as we proceeded along the coast, bringing with them roasting pigs and some very fine potatoes, which they exchanged, as the others had done, for whatever was offered to them. Several small pigs were purchased for a sixpenny nail, so that we again found ourselves in a land of plenty; and just at the time when the turtle, which we had so fortunately procured at Christmas Island, were nearly expended. We passed several villages; some seated near the sea, and others farther up the country. The inhabitants of all of them crowded to the shore, and collected themselves on the elevated places to view the ships. The land upon this side of the island rises in a gentle slope from the sea to the foot of the mountains, which occupy the centre of the country, except at one place near the east end, where they rise directly from the sea, and seemed to be formed of nothing but stone, or rocks lying in horizontal strata. We saw no wood but what was up in the interior part of the island, except a few trees about the villages; near which, also, we could observe several plantations of plantains and sugar-canes, and spots that seemed cultivated for roots.

We continued to sound without striking ground with a line of fifty fathoms, till we came abreast of a low point which is about the middle of this side of the island, or rather nearer the north-west end. Here we met with twelve and fourteen fathoms, over a rocky bottom. Being past this point, from which the coast trended more northerly, we had twenty, then sixteen, twelve, and at last five fathoms, over a sandy bottom. The last soundings were about a mile from the shore. Night now put a stop to any farther researches; and we spent it standing off and on. The next morning we stood in for the land, and were met with several canoes filled with people; some of whom took courage and ventured on board.

In the course of my several voyages, I never before met with the natives of any place so much astonished as these people were upon entering a ship. Their eyes were continually flying from object to object; the wildness of their looks and gestures fully expressing their entire ignorance about everything they saw, and strongly marking to us, that till now they had never been visited by Europeans, nor been acquainted with any of our commodities except iron, which, however, it was plain they had only heard of, or had known it in some small quantity brought to them at some distant period. They seemed only to understand that it was a substance much better adapted to the purposes of cutting, or of boring of holes, than anything their own country produced. They asked for it by the name of *hamaite*, probably referring to some instrument, in the making of which iron could be usefully employed; for they applied that name to the blade of a knife, though we could be certain that they had no idea of that particular instrument; nor could they at all handle it properly. For the same reason they frequently called iron by the name of *toe*, which in their language signifies a hatchet, or rather a kind of adze. On asking them what iron was, they immediately answered, "We do not know; you know what it is, and we only understand it as *toe*. or

hamaite." When we showed them some beads, they asked first, "What they were; and then whether they should eat them?" But on their being told that they were to be hung in their ears, they returned them as useless. They were equally indifferent as to a looking-glass which was offered them, and returned it for the same reason; but sufficiently expressed their desire for *hamaite* and *toe*, which they wished might be very large. Plates of earthenware, china cups, and other such things, were so new to them that they asked if they were made of wood; but wished to have some, that they might carry them to be looked at on shore. They were in some respects naturally well bred; or at least fearful of giving offence, asking where they should sit down, whether they might spit upon the deck, and the like. Some of them repeated a long prayer before they came on board; and others afterward sung and made motions with their hands, such as we had been accustomed to see in the dances of the islands we had lately visited. There was another circumstance in which they also perfectly resembled those other islanders. At first, on their entering the ship, they endeavoured to steal everything they came near; or rather to take it openly, as what we either should not resent, or not hinder. We soon convinced them of their mistake; and if they, after some time, became less active in appropriating to themselves whatever they took a fancy to, it was because they found that we kept a watchful eye over them.

At nine o'clock, being pretty near the shore, I sent three armed boats, under the command of Lieutenant Williamson, to look for a landing-place and for fresh water. I ordered him, that if he should find it necessary to land in search of the latter, not to suffer more than one man to go with him out of the boats. Just as they were putting off from the ship, one of the natives having stolen the butcher's cleaver, leaped overboard, got into his canoe, and hastened to the shore, the boats pursuing him in vain.

SCENE IN THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS.

The order not to permit the crews of the boats to go on shore was issued, that I might do everything in my power to prevent the importation of a fatal disease into this island, which I knew some of our men laboured under, and which, unfortunately, had been already communicated by us to other islands in these seas. With the same view, I ordered all female visitors to be excluded from the ships. Many of them had come off in the canoes. Their size, colour, and features did not differ much from those of the men; and though their countenances were remarkably open and agreeable, there were few traces of delicacy to be seen either in their faces or other proportions. The only difference in their dress, was their having a piece of cloth about the body, reaching from near the middle to half-way down the thighs, instead of the *maro* worn by the other sex.

While the boats were occupied in examining the coast, we stood on and off with the ships, waiting for their return.

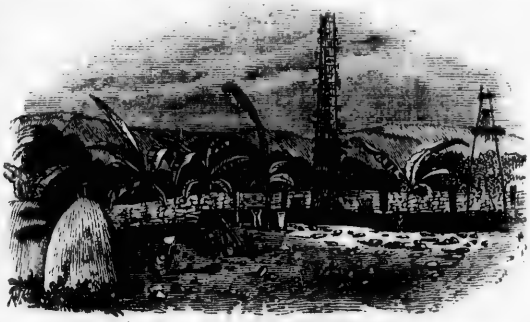
About noon Mr. Williamson came back, and reported that he had seen a large pond behind a beach near one of the villages, which the natives told him contained fresh water; and that there was anchoring-ground before it.

He also reported that he had attempted to land in another place, but was prevented by the natives, who, coming down to the boats in great numbers, attempted to take away the oars, muskets, and, in short, everything that they could lay hold of; and pressed so thick upon him that he was obliged to fire, by which one man was killed. But this unhappy circumstance I did not know till after we had left the island; so that all my measures were directed as if nothing of the kind had happened. Mr. Williamson told me, that after the man fell, his countrymen took him up, carried him off, and then retired from the boat; but still they made signals for our people to land, which he declined. It did not appear to Mr. Williamson, that the natives had any design to kill, or even to hurt, any of his party; but they seemed excited by mere curiosity to get from them what they had, being at the same time ready to give in return anything of their own. After the boats were on board, I despatched one of them to lie in the best anchoring-ground; and as soon as she had got to this station, I bore down with the ships, and anchored in twenty-five fathoms water; the bottom a fine grey sand. The east point of the road, which was the low point before mentioned, bore S. 51° E.; the west point, N. 65° W.; and the village, behind which the water was said to be, N.E. by E., distant one mile. But little more than a quarter of a mile from us there were breakers, which I did not see till after the Resolution was placed. The Discovery anchored to the eastward of us, and farther from the land. The ships being thus stationed, between three and four o'clock I went ashore with three armed boats, and twelve marines, to examine the water, and to try the disposition of the inhabitants, several hundred of whom were assembled on a sandy beach before the village; behind it was a narrow valley, the bottom of which was occupied by the piece of water.

The very instant I leaped on shore, the collected body of the natives all fell flat upon their faces, and remained in that very humble posture, till, by expressive signs, I prevailed upon them to rise. They then brought a great many small pigs, which they presented to me, with plantain trees, using much the same ceremonies that we had seen practised, on such occasions, at the Society and other islands; and a long prayer being spoken by a single person, in which others of the assembly sometimes joined, I expressed my acceptance of their proffered friendship, by giving them, in return, such presents as I had brought with me from the ship for that purpose. When this introductory business was finished, I stationed a guard upon the beach, and got some of the natives to conduct me to the water, which proved to be very good, and in a proper situation for our purpose. It was so considerable, that it may be called a lake; and it extended farther up the country than we could see. Having satisfied myself about this very essential point, and about the peaceable disposition of the natives, I returned on board; and then gave orders that everything should be in readiness for landing and filling our water-casks in the morning, when I went ashore with the people employed in that service, having a party of marines with us for a guard, who were stationed on the beach.

As soon as we landed, a trade was set on foot for hogs and potatoes, which the people of the island gave us in exchange for nails and pieces of iron, formed into something like chisels. We met with no obstruction in watering; on the contrary, the natives assisted our men in rolling the casks to and from the pool, and readily performed whatever we required. Every thing thus going on to my satisfaction, and considering my presence on the spot as unnecessary, I left the command to Mr. Williamson, who had landed with me, and made an excursion into the country, up the valley, accompanied by Mr. Anderson and Mr. Webber; the former of whom was as well qualified to describe with the pen, as the latter was to represent with his pencil, every thing we might meet with worthy of observation. A numerous train of natives followed us; and one of them, whom I had distinguished for his activity in keeping the rest in order, I made choice of as our guide. This man, from time to time, proclaimed

our approach; and every one whom we met fell prostrate upon the ground, and remained in that position till we had passed. This, as I afterward understood, is the mode of paying their respect to their own great chiefs. As we ranged down the coast from the east, in the ships, we had observed at every village one or more elevated white objects, like pyramids or rather obelisks; and one of these, which I guessed to be at least fifty feet high, was very conspicuous from the ship's anchoring station, and seemed to be at no great distance up this valley. To have a nearer inspection of it, was the principal object of my walk. Our guide perfectly understood that we wished to be conducted to it. But it happened to be so placed that we could not get at it, being separated from us by the pool of water. However, there being another of the same kind within our reach, about half a mile off, upon our side of the valley, we set out to visit that. The moment we got to it, we saw that it stood in a burying-ground, or *morai;* the resemblance of which, in many respects, to those we were so well acquainted with at other islands in this ocean, and particularly Otaheite, could not but strike us; and we also soon found that the several parts that compose it were called by the same names. It was an oblong space, of considerable extent, surrounded by a wall of stone, about four feet high. The space inclosed was loosely paved with smaller stones; and at one end of it stood what I call the pyramid, but, in the language of the island, is named *henananoo;* which appeared evidently to be an exact model of the larger one, observed by us from the ships. It was about four feet square at the base, and about twenty feet high. The four sides were composed of small poles interwoven with twigs and branches, thus forming an indifferent wicker-work, hollow or open within, from bottom to top. It seemed to be rather in a ruinous state; but there were sufficient remaining marks to show that it had originally been covered with a thin, light, grey cloth; which these people, it should seem, consecrate to religious purposes; as we could see a good deal of it hanging in different parts of the *morai;* and some of it had been forced upon me when I first landed. On each side of the pyramid were long pieces of wicker-work, called *hereanee*, in the same ruinous condition; with two slender poles, inclining to each other, at one corner, where some plantains were laid upon a board, fixed at the height of five or six feet. This they called *herairemy;* and informed us that the fruit was an offering to their god, which makes it agree exactly with the *whatta* of Otaheite. Before the *henananoo* were a few pieces of wood, carved into something like human figures, which, with a stone near two feet high, covered with pieces of cloth called *hoho*, and consecrated to *Tongarooa*, who is the god of these people, still more and more reminded us of what we used to meet with in the *morais* of the islands we had lately left*. Adjoining to these, on the outside of the *morai*, was a small shed, no bigger than a dog-kennel, which they called *hareepahoo;* and before it was a grave, where, as we were told, the remains of a woman lay.



MORAI AT ATOOI, WITH PYRAMIDS.

On the farther side of the area of the *morai*, stood a house or shed about forty feet long, ten broad in the middle, each end being narrower, and about ten feet high. This, which though much longer, was lower than their common dwelling-places, we were informed was called *hemanaa*. The entrance into it was at the middle of the side, which was in the *morai*. On the farther side of this house, opposite the entrance, stood two wooden images cut out of one piece, with pedestals, in all about three feet high; neither very indifferently designed nor executed. These were said to be *Eatooa no Veheina*, or representations of goddesses. On the head of one of them was a carved helmet, not unlike those worn by the ancient warriors; and on that of the other, a cylindrical cap, resembling the head-dress at Otaheite.

* See the description of the *morai*, in Otaheite, where the human sacrifice was offered, at which Captain Cook was present.

called *tomou;* and both of them had pieces of cloth tied about the loins, and hanging a considerable way down. At the side of each was also a piece of carv ' wood with bits of the cloth hung on them in the same manner; and between or before .he , ls lay a quantity of fern in a heap. It was obvious that this had been deposited there p.. e by piece, and at different times; for there was of it, in all states, from what was quite decayed to what was still fresh and green.

In the middle of the house, and before the two images, was an oblong space, inclosed by a low edging of stone, and covered with shreds of the cloth so often mentioned. This, on inquiry, we found was the grave of seven chiefs, whose names were enumerated, and the place was called *Heneene.* We had met already with so many striking instances of resemblance between the burying-place we were now visiting and those of islands we had lately come from in the South Pacific, that we had little doubt in our minds that the resemblance existed also in the ceremonies practised here, and particularly in the horrid one of offering human sacrifices. Our suspicions were too soon confirmed, by direct evidence. For, on coming out of the house, just on one side of the entrance, we saw a small square place, and another still less near it; and on asking what these were? our guide immediately informed us, that in the one was buried a man who had been sacrificed; a *Taata* (*Tanata* or *Tangata,* in this country) *taboo* (*tafoo,* as here pronounced); and in the other a hog, which had also been made an offering to the divinity. At a little distance from these, near the middle of the *morai,* were three more of these square inclosed places, with two pieces of carved wood at each, and upon them a heap of fern. These, we were told, were the graves of three chiefs; and before them was an oblong inclosed space, to which our conductor also gave the name of *Tangata-taboo;* telling us, so explicitly, that we could not mistake his meaning, that three human sacrifices had been buried there; that is, one at the funeral of each chief. It was with most sincere concern, that I could trace, on such undoubted evidence, the prevalence of these bloody rites throughout this immense ocean, amongst people disjoined by such a distance, and even ignorant of each other's existence, though so strongly marked as originally of the same nation. It was no small addition to this concern to reflect that every appearance led us to believe that the barbarous practice was very general here. The island seemed to abound with such places of sacrifice as this which we were now visiting, and which appeared to be one of the most inconsiderable of them; being far less conspicuous than several others which we had seen as we sailed along the coast, and particularly than that on the opposite side of the water in this valley; the white *henananoo,* or pyramid, of which we were now almost sure, derived its colour only from pieces of the consecrated cloth laid over it. In several parts within the inclosure of this burying-ground, were planted trees of the *cordia sebestina,* some of the *morinda citrifolia,* and several plants of the *etee,* or *jejee* of Tongataboo, with the leaves of which the *hemanaa* was thatched; and as I observed that this plant was not made use of in thatching their dwelling-houses, probably it is reserved entirely for religious purposes.

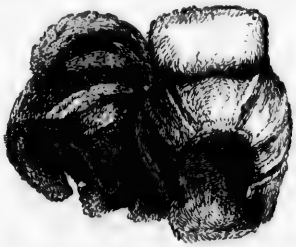
Our road to and from the *morai,* which I have described, lay through the plantations. The greatest part of the ground was quite flat, with ditches full of water intersecting different parts, and roads that seemed artificially raised to some height. The interspaces were, in general, planted with *taro,* which grows here with great strength, as the fields are sunk below the common level, so as to contain the water necessary to nourish the roots. This water probably comes from the same source which supplies the large pool from which we filled our casks. On the drier spaces were several spots where the cloth-mulberry was planted in regular rows; also growing vigorously, and kept very clean. The cocoa-trees were not in so thriving a state, and were all low; but the plantain-trees made a better appearance, though they were not large. In general the trees round this village, and which were seen at many of those which we passed before we anchored, are the *cordia sebestina;* but of a more diminutive size than the product of the southern isles. The greatest part of the village stands near the beach, and consists of above sixty houses there; but, perhaps, about forty more stand scattered about, farther up the country, toward the burying-place.

After we had examined very carefully everything that was to be seen about the *morai,* and Mr. Webber had taken drawings of it, and of the adjoining country, we returned by

a different route. I found a great crowd assembled at the beach; and a brisk trade for pigs, fowls, and roots going on there, with the greatest good order; though I did not observe any particular person who took the lead amongst the rest of his countrymen. At noon, I went on board to dinner, and then sent Mr. King to command the party on shore. He was to have gone upon that service in the morning, but was then detained in the ship to make lunar observations. In the afternoon I landed again, accompanied by Captain Clerke, with a view to make another excursion up the country. But before this could be put in execution, the day was too far spent, so that I laid aside my intention for the present, and it so happened that I had not another opportunity. At sunset, I brought everybody on board, having procured in the course of the day nine tons of water; and, by exchanges, chiefly for nails and pieces of iron, about seventy or eighty pigs, a few fowls, a quantity of potatoes, and a few plantains and *taro* roots. These people merited our best commendations in this commercial intercourse, never once attempting to cheat us, either ashore or alongside the ships. Some of them, indeed, as already mentioned, at first betrayed a thievish disposition, or rather, they thought that they had a right to everything they could lay their hands upon; but they soon laid aside a conduct which, we convinced them, they could not persevere in with impunity.

Amongst the articles which they brought to barter this day, we could not help taking notice of a particular sort of cloak and cap, which, even in countries where dress is more particularly attended to, might be reckoned elegant. The first are nearly of the size and shape of the short cloaks worn by the women of England, and by the men in Spain, reaching to the middle of the back, and tied loosely before. The ground of them is a net-work upon which the most beautiful red and yellow feathers are so closely fixed that the surface might be compared to the thickest and richest velvet, which they resemble, both as to the feel and the glossy appearance. The manner of varying the mixture is very different; some having triangular spaces of red and yellow alternately; others, a kind of crescent; and some that were entirely red, had a broad yellow border, which made them appear, at some distance, exactly like a scarlet cloak edged with gold lace. The brilliant colours of the feathers, in those that happened to be new, added not a little to their fine appearance; and we found that they were in high estimation with their owners; for they would not at first part with one of them for anything that we offered, asking no less a price than a musket. However, some were afterward purchased for very large nails. Such of them as were of the best sort were scarce; and it should seem that they are only used on the occasion of some particular ceremony or diversion; for the people who had them always made some gesticulations which we had seen used before by those who sung. The cap is made almost exactly like a helmet, with the middle part, or crest, sometimes of a hand's breadth; and it sits very close upon the head, having notches to admit the ears. It is a frame of twigs and osiers, covered with a net-work, into which are wrought feathers, in the same manner as upon the cloaks, though rather closer and less diversified, the greater part being red, with some black, yellow, or green stripes on the sides, following the curve direction of the crest. These, probably, complete the dress, with the cloaks, for the natives sometimes appeared in both together.

We were at a loss to guess from whence they could get such a quantity of these beautiful feathers; but were soon informed as to one sort; for they afterward brought great numbers of skins of small red birds for sale, which were often tied up in bunches of twenty or more, or had a small wooden skewer run through their nostrils. At the first, those that were bought consisted only of the skin from behind the wings forward; but we afterward got many with the hind part, including the tail and feet. The first, however, struck us at once with the origin of the fable formerly adopted, of the birds of paradise wanting legs, and sufficiently explained that circumstance. Probably the people of the islands east of the Moluccas, from whence the skins of the birds of paradise are brought, cut



CAPS OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDERS.

off their feet for the very reason assigned by the people of Atooi for the like practice, which was, that they hereby can preserve them with greater ease, without losing any part which they reckon valuable. The red-bird of our island was judged by Mr. Anderson to be a species of *merops*, about the size of a sparrow, of a beautiful scarlet colour, with a black tail and wings, and an arched bill twice the length of the head, which, with the feet, was also of a reddish colour. The contents of the heads were taken out, as in the birds of paradise; but it did not appear that they used any other method to preserve them than by simple drying, for the skins, though moist, had neither a taste nor smell that could give room to suspect the use of anti-putrescent substances *.

In the night and all the morning of the 22d, it rained almost continually. The wind was at S.E., S.S.E., and S., which brought in a short chopping sea; and as there were breakers little more than two cables' length from the stern of our ship, her situation was none of the safest. The surf broke so high against the shore that we could not land in our boats; but the day was not wholly lost, for the natives ventured in their canoes to bring off to the ships hogs and roots, which they bartered as before. One of our visitors on this occasion, who offered some fish-hooks to sale, was observed to have a very small parcel to the string of one of them, which he separated with great care, and reserved for himself, when he parted with the hook. Being asked what it was? He pointed to his belly and spoke something of its being dead, at the same time saying it was bad, as if he did not wish to answer any more questions about it. On seeing him so anxious to conceal the contents of this parcel, he was requested to open it, which he did with great reluctance, and some difficulty, as it was wrapped up in many folds of cloth. We found that it contained a thin bit of flesh about two inches long, which, to appearance, had been dried, but was now wet with salt water. It struck us that it might be human flesh, and that these people might, perhaps, eat their enemies, as we knew that this was the practice of some of the natives of the South Sea islands. The question being put to the person who produced it, he answered, that the flesh was part of a man. Another of his countrymen, who stood by him, was then asked whether it was their custom to eat those killed in battle? and he immediately answered in the affirmative.

There were some intervals of fair weather in the afternoon; and the wind then inclined to the east and north-east; but, in the evening, it veered back again to the south-south-east, and the rain also returned, and continued all night. Very luckily, it was not attended with much wind. We had, however, prepared for the worst, by dropping the small bower anchor; and striking our top-gallant-yards.

At seven o'clock the next morning, a breeze of wind springing up at north-east, I took up the anchors with a view of removing the ship farther out. The moment that the last anchor was up, the wind veered to the east, which made it necessary to set all the sail we could, in order to clear the shore: so that before we had tolerable sea-room, we were driven some distance to leeward. We made a stretch off, with a view to regain the road; but having very little wind and a strong current against us, I found that it was not to be effected, I therefore despatched Messrs. King and Williamson ashore, with three boats, for water, and

* It is a matter of real curiosity to observe how very extensively the predilection for red feathers is spread throughout all the islands of the Pacific Ocean: and the additional circumstance mentioned in this paragraph will probably be looked upon, by those who amuse themselves in tracing the wonderful migrations of the same family or tribe, as a confirmation of that hypothesis (built, indeed, on other instances of resemblance), which considers New Guinea, and its neighbouring East India islands, from whence the Dutch bring their birds of paradise, as originally peopled by the same race, which Captain Cook found at every island from New Zealand to this new group, to which Atooi belongs.

What Mr. Sonnerat tells us about the bird of paradise agrees perfectly with the account here given of the preserved red-birds. Speaking of the *Papous*, he proceeds thus: "Ils nous présentèrent plusieurs espèces d'oiseaux, aussi élégants par leur forme, que brillants par l'éclat de leurs couleurs. La dépouille des oiseaux sert à la parure des chefs, qui la portent attachée à leurs bonnets en forme d'aigrettes. Mais en préparant les peaux, ils coupent les pieds. Les Hollandois, qui trafiquent sur ces côtes, y achètent de ces peaux ainsi préparées, les transportent en Perse, à Surate, dans les Indes, où ils les vendent fort chères aux habitans riches, qui en font des aigrettes pour leurs turbans, et pour le casque des guerriers, et qui en parent leur chevaux. C'est de là qu'est venue l'opinion, qu'une de ces espèces d'oiseaux (l'oiseau de paradis) 'n'a point de pattes.' Les Hollandois ont accrédité ces fables, qui, en jetant du merveilleux sur l'objet dont ils trafiquoient, étoient propres à le rendre plus précieux, et à en rehausser la valeur."—Voyage à la Nouvelle Guinée, p. 154.

to trade for refreshments. At the same time I sent an order to Captain Clerke to put to sea after me, if he should see that I could not recover the road. Being in hopes of finding one, or perhaps a harbour, at the west end of the island, I was the less anxious about gettting back to my former station. But as I had sent the boats thither, we kept to windward as much as possible; notwithstanding which, at noon, we were three leagues to leeward. As we drew near the west end of the island, we found the coast to round gradually to the north-east, without forming a creek, or cove, to shelter a vessel from the force of the swell, which rolled in from the north, and broke upon the shore in a prodigious surf; so that all hopes of finding a harbour here vanished.

Several canoes came off in the morning, and followed us as we stood out to sea, bartering their roots and other articles. Being very averse to believe these people to be cannibals, notwithstanding the suspicious circumstance which had happened the day before, we took occasion now to make some more inquiries about this. A small wooden instrument, beset with shark's teeth, had been purchased; and from its resemblance to the saw or knife used by the New Zealanders, to dissect the bodies of their enemies, it was suspected to have the same use here. One of the natives being asked about this, immediately gave the name of the instrument, and told us that it was used to cut out the fleshy part of the belly, when any person was killed. This explained and confirmed the circumstance above-mentioned, of the person pointing to his belly. The man, however, from whom we had this information, being asked if his countrymen eat the part thus cut out? denied it strongly; but, upon the question being repeated, showed some degree of fear, and swam to his canoe. Just before he reached it, he made signs, as he had done before, expressive of the use of the instrument. And an old man, who sat foremost in the canoe, being then asked, whether they eat the flesh? answered in the affirmative, and laughed seemingly at the simplicity of such a question. He affirmed the fact, on being asked again; and also said that it was excellent food, or, as he expressed it, "savoury eating."

At seven o'clock in the evening, the boats returned with two tons of water, a few hogs, a quantity of plantains, and some roots. Mr. King informed me, that a great number of the inhabitants were at the watering or landing-place. He supposed that they had come from all parts of the island. They had brought with them a great many fine fat hogs to barter; but my people had not commodities with them equal to the purchase. This, however, was no great loss; for we had already got as many on board as we could well manage for immediate use; and, wanting the materials, we could not have salted them. Mr. King also told me, that a great deal of rain had fallen ashore, whereas, out at sea, we had only a few showers; and that the surf had run so high, that it was with great difficulty our men landed, and got back into the boats. We had light airs and calms, by turns, with showers of rain all night; and at day-break, in the morning of the 24th, we found, that the currents had carried the ship to the north-west and north; so that the west end of the island, upon which we had been, called Atooi by the natives, bore east, one league distant; another island called Oreehoua, west by south; and the high land of a third island, called Oneeheow, from south-west by west, to west-south-west. Soon after a breeze sprung up at north; and, as I expected that this would bring the Discovery to sea, I steered for Oneeheow, in order to take a nearer view of it, and to anchor there, if I should find a convenient place. I continued to steer for it, till past 11 o'clock, at which time we were about two leagues from it. But not seeing the Discovery, and being doubtful whether they could see us, I was fearful lest some ill consequence might attend our separating so far, I therefore gave up the design of visiting Oneeheow for the present, and stood back to Atooi, with an intent to anchor again in the road, to complete our water. At two o'clock in the afternoon, the northerly wind died away, and was succeeded by variable light airs and calms, that continued till eleven at night, with which we stretched to the south-east, till day-break in the morning of the 25th, when we tacked and stood in for Atooi road, which bore about north from us; and, soon after, we were joined by the Discovery.

We fetched in with the land about two leagues to leeward of the road, which, though so near, we never could recover; for what we gained at one time, we lost at another; so that, by the morning of the 29th, the currents had carried us westward, within three leagues of

Oneeheow. Being tired with plying so unsuccessfully, I gave up all thoughts of getting back to Atooi, and came to the resolution of trying whether we could not procure what we wanted at the other island. which was within our reach. With this view, I sent the Master in a boat to sound the coast; to look out for a landing-place; and, if he should find one, to examine if fresh water could be conveniently got in its neighbourhood. To give him time to execute his commission, we followed, under an easy sail, with the ships. As soon as we were abreast, or to the westward of the south point of Oneeheow, we found thirty, twenty-five, and twenty fathoms water, over a bottom of coral sand, a mile from the shore. At ten o'clock the Master returned, and reported that he had landed in one place, but could find no fresh water; and that there was anchorage all along the coast. Seeing a village a little farther to leeward, and some of the islanders, who had come off to the ships, informing us, that fresh water might be got there, I ran down, and came to an anchor before it, in twenty-six fathoms water, about three quarters of a mile from the shore. The south-east point of the island bore S., 65° E., three miles distant; the other extreme of the island bore north by east, about two or three miles distant; a peaked hill, inland, N. E., a quarter E.; and another island, called Tahoora, which was discovered the preceding evening, bore S., 61° W., distant seven leagues.

Six or seven canoes had come off to us before we anchored, bringing some small pigs and potatoes, and a good many yams and mats. The people in them resembled those of Atooi, and seemed to be equally well acquainted with the use of iron, which they asked for also by the names of *hamaite* and *toe;* parting readily with all their commodities for pieces of this precious metal. Several more canoes soon reached the ships after they had anchored; but the natives in these seemed to have no other object than to pay us a formal visit. Many of them came readily on board, crouching down upon the deck, and not quitting that humble posture till they were desired to get up. They had brought several females with them, who remained alongside in the canoes, behaving with far less modesty than their countrywomen of Atooi; and at times all joining in a song, not remarkable for its melody, though performed in very exact concert, by beating time upon their breasts with their hands. The men who had come on board did not stay long; and before they departed, some of them requested our permission to lay down, on the deck, locks of their hair.

These visitors furnished us with an opportunity of agitating again, this day, the curious inquiry whether they were cannibals; and the subject did not take its rise from any question of ours, but from a circumstance that seemed to remove all ambiguity. One of the islanders who wanted to get in at the gun-room port was refused; and at the same time asked whether, if he should come in, we would kill and eat him? accompanying this question with signs so expressive, that there could be no doubt about his meaning. This gave a proper opening to retort the question as to this practice; and a person behind the other, in the canoe, who paid great attention to what was passing, immediately answered, that if we were killed on shore, they would certainly eat us. He spoke with so little emotion, that it appeared plainly to be his meaning that they would not destroy us for that purpose; but that their eating us would be the consequence of our being at enmity with them. I have availed myself of Mr. Anderson's collections for the decision of this matter; and am sorry to say, that I cannot see the least reason to hesitate in pronouncing it to be certain, that the horrid banquet of human flesh is as much relished here, amidst plenty, as it is in New Zealand.

In the afternoon I sent Lieutenant Gore, with three armed boats, to look for the most convenient landing-place; and, when on shore, to search for fresh water. In the evening he returned, having landed at the village above mentioned, and acquainted me that he had been conducted to a well half a mile up the country; but, by his account, the quantity of water it contained was too inconsiderable for our purpose, and the road leading to it exceedingly bad.

On the 30th I sent Mr. Gore ashore again, with a guard of marines, and a party to trade with the natives for refreshments. I intended to have followed soon after, and went from the ship with that design; but the surf had increased so much by this time, that I was fearful if I got ashore I should not be able to get off again. This really happened to our

people who had landed with Mr. Gore, the communication between them and the ships by our own boats being soon stopped. In the evening they made a signal for the boats, which were sent accordingly; and, not long after, they returned with a few yams and some salt. A tolerable quantity of both had been procured in the course of the day; but the surf was so great, that the greatest part of both these articles had been lost in conveying them to the boats. The officer and twenty men, deterred by the danger of coming off, were left ashore all night; and by this unfortunate circumstance, the very thing happened which, as I have already mentioned, I wished so heartily to prevent, and vainly imagined I had effectually guarded against. The violence of the surf, which our own boats could not act against, did not hinder the natives from coming off to the ships in their canoes. They brought refreshments with them, which were purchased in exchange for nails and pieces of iron hoops; and I distributed a good many pieces of ribbon and some buttons, as bracelets, amongst the women in the canoes. One of the men had the figure of a lizard punctured upon his breast, and upon those of others were the figures of men badly imitated. These visitors informed us that there was no chief, or *Hairee*, of this island, but that it was subject to Teneooneoo, a chief of Atooi; which island, they said, was not governed by a single chief, but that there were many to whom they paid the honour of *moe*, or prostration; and, among others, they named Otaeaio and Terarotoa. Amongst other things which these people now brought off was a small drum, almost like those of Otaheite.

About ten or eleven o'clock at night the wind veered to the south, and the sky seemed to forebode a storm. With such appearances, thinking that we were rather too near the shore, I ordered the anchors to be taken up, and having carried the ships into forty-two fathoms, came-to again in that safer station. The precaution, however, proved to be unnecessary; for the wind soon after veered to N.N.E., from which quarter it blew a fresh gale, with squalls, attended with very heavy showers of rain. This weather continued all the next day, and the sea ran so high that we had no manner of communication with our party on shore; and even the natives themselves durst not venture out to the ships in their canoes. In the evening I sent the master in a boat up to the south-east head, or point of the island, to try if he could land under it. He returned with a favourable report, but it was too late, now, to send for our party till the next morning; and thus they had another night to improve their intercourse with the natives.

Encouraged by the master's report, I sent a boat to the south-east point, as soon as daylight returned, with an order to Mr. Gore, that if he could not embark his people from the spot where they now were, to march them up to the point. As the boat could not get to the beach, one of the crew swam ashore and carried the order. On the return of the boat, I went myself with the pinnace and launch up to the point, to bring the party on board; taking with me a ram-goat and two ewes, a boar and sow-pig of the English breed, and the seeds of melons, pumpkins, and onions; being very desirous of benefiting these poor people, by furnishing them with some additional articles of food. I landed with the greatest ease, under the west side of the point, and found my party already there, with some of the natives in company. To one of them, whom Mr. Gore had observed assuming some command over the rest, I gave the goats, pigs, and seeds. I should have left these well-intended presents at Atooi had we not been so unexpectedly driven from it.

While the people were engaged in filling four water-casks from a small stream occasioned by the late rain, I walked a little way up the country attended by the man above-mentioned, and followed by two others carrying the two pigs. As soon as we got upon a rising ground, I stopped to look round me; and observed a woman, on the other side of the valley where I landed, calling to her countryman who attended me. Upon this the chief began to mutter something which I supposed was a prayer; and the two men who carried the pigs continued to walk round me all the time, making at least a dozen circuits before the other had finished his orison. This ceremony being performed, we proceeded; and presently met people coming from all parts, who, on being called to by the attendants, threw themselves prostrate on their faces, till I was out of sight. The ground through which I passed was in a state of nature, very stony, and the soil seemed poor. It was, however, covered with shrubs and plants, some of which perfumed the air with a more delicious fragrancy than I had met

at any other of the islands visited by us in this ocean. Our people who had been obliged to remain so long on shore, gave me the same account of those parts of the island which they had traversed. They met with several salt ponds, some of which had a little water remaining, but others had none; and the salt that was left in them was so thin, that no great quantity could have been procured. There was no appearance of any running stream; and though they found some small wells, in which the fresh water was tolerably good, it seemed scarce. The habitations of the natives were thinly scattered about; and, it was supposed, that there could not be more than five hundred people upon the island, as the greatest part were seen at the marketing-place of our party, and few found about the houses by those who walked up the country. They had an opportunity of observing the method of living amongst the natives, and it appeared to be decent and cleanly. They did not, however, see any instance of the men and women eating together; and the latter seemed generally associated in companies by themselves. It was found that they burnt here the oily nuts of the *dooe dooe* for lights in the night, as at Otaheite; and that they baked their hogs in ovens; but, contrary to the practice of the Society and Friendly Islands, split their carcases through their whole length. They met with a positive proof of the existence of the *taboo* (or, as they pronounce it, the *tafoo*), for one woman fed another who was under that interdiction. They also observed some other mysterious ceremonies; one of which was performed by a woman, who took a small pig, and threw it into the surf till it was drowned, and then tied up a bundle of wood, which she also disposed of in the same manner. The same woman, at another time, beat with a stick upon a man's shoulders, who sat down for that purpose. A particular veneration seemed to be paid here to owls, which they have very tame; and it was observed to be a pretty general practice amongst them to pull out one of their teeth*; for which old custom, when asked the reason, the only answer that could be got was, that it was *teeha*, which was also the reason assigned for another of their practices, the giving a lock of their hair.

After the water-tasks had been filled and conveyed into the boat, and we had purchased from the natives a few roots, a little salt, and some salted fish, I returned on board with all the people, intending to visit the island the next day. But about seven oclock in the evening the anchor of the Resolution started, and she drove off the bank. As we had a whole cable out, it was some time before the anchor was at the bows; and then we had the launch to hoist up alongside, before we could make sail. By this unlucky accident we found ourselves, at day-break next morning, three leagues to the leeward of our last station; and foreseeing that it would require more time to recover it than I chose to spend, I made the signal for the Discovery to weigh and join us. This was done about noon; and we immediately stood away to the northward in prosecution of our voyage. Thus, after spending more time about these islands than was necessary to have answered all our purposes, we were obliged to leave them before we had completed our water, and got from them such a quantity of refreshments as their inhabitants were both able and willing to have supplied us with. But, as it was, our ship procured from them provisions sufficient for three weeks at least; and Captain Clerke, more fortunate than us, got of their vegetable productions a supply that lasted his people upward of two months. The observations I was enabled to make, combined with those of Mr. Anderson, who was a very useful assistant on all such occasions, will furnish materials for the next chapter.

* It is very remarkable that, in this custom, which one would think is so unnatural as not to be adopted by two different tribes originally unconnected, the people of this island, and Dampier's natives on the west side of New Holland, at such an immense distance, should be found to agree.

CHAPTER XII.—THE SITUATION OF THE ISLANDS NOW DISCOVERED.—THEIR NAMES.—CALLED THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.—ATOOI DESCRIBED.—THE SOIL.—CLIMATE.—VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS.—BIRDS.—FISH.—DOMESTIC ANIMALS.—PERSONS OF THE INHABITANTS.—THEIR DISPOSITION.—DRESS.—ORNAMENTS.—HABITATIONS.—FOOD.—COOKERY.—AMUSEMENTS.—MANUFACTURES.—WORKING-TOOLS.—KNOWLEDGE OF IRON ACCOUNTED FOR.—CANOES.—AGRICULTURE.—ACCOUNT OF ONE OF THEIR CHIEFS.—WEAPONS.—CUSTOMS AGREEING WITH THOSE OF TONGATABOO AND OTAHEITE.—THEIR LANGUAGE THE SAME.—EXTENT OF THIS NATION THROUGHOUT THE PACIFIC OCEAN.—REFLECTIONS ON THE USEFUL SITUATION OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

It is worthy of observation, that the islands in the Pacific Ocean, which our late voyages have added to the geography of the globe, have been generally found lying in groups or clusters; the single intermediate islands, as yet discovered, being few in proportion to the others; though, probably, there are many more of them still unknown, which serve as steps between the several clusters. Of what number this newly-discovered archipelago consists must be left for future investigation. We saw five of them, whose names, as given to us by the natives, are Woahoo, Atooi, Oneeheow, Oreehoua, and Tahoora. The last is a small elevated island, lying four or five leagues from the south-east point of Oneeheow, in the direction of south, 69° W. We were told that it abounds with birds, which are its only inhabitants. We also got some information of the existence of a low uninhabited island in the neighbourhood, whose name is Tammata pappa. Besides these six, which we can distinguish by their names, it appeared, that the inhabitants of those with whom we had intercourse were acquainted with some other islands, both to the eastward and westward. I named the whole group the Sandwich Islands, in honour of the Earl of Sandwich. Those that I saw are situated between the latitude of 21° 30′ and 22° 15′ N., and between the longitude of 199° 20′ and 201° 30′ East. Of Woahoo, the most easterly of these islands seen by us, which lies in the latitude of 21° 36′, we could get no other intelligence but that it is high land and is inhabited.

We had opportunities of knowing some particulars about Oneeheow, which have been mentioned already. It lies several leagues to the westward of our anchoring-place at Atooi; and is not above fifteen leagues in circuit. Its chief vegetable produce is yams, if we may judge from what was brought to us by the natives. They have salt, which they call *patai;* and is produced in salt ponds. With it they cure both fish and pork; and some salt fish which we got from them kept very well, and were found to be very good. This island is mostly low land, except the part facing Atooi, which rises directly from the sea to a good height; as does also the south-east point of it, which terminates in a round hill. It was on the west side of this point where our ships anchored. Of Oreehoua we know nothing more than that it is a small elevated island, lying close to the north side of Oneeheow.

Atooi, which is the largest, being the principal scene of our operations, I shall now proceed to lay before my readers what information I was able to collect about it, either from actual observation while on shore, or from conversation with its inhabitants, who were perpetually on board the ships while we lay at anchor; and who, in general, could be tolerably well understood by those of us who had acquired an acquaintance with the dialects of the South Pacific Islands. It is, however, to be regretted that we should have been obliged so soon to leave a place which, as far as our opportunities of knowing reached, seemed to be highly worthy of a more accurate examination. Atooi, from what we saw of it, is at least ten leagues in length from east to west; from whence its circuit may nearly be guessed, though it appears to be much broader at the east than at the west point, if we may judge from the double range of hills which appeared there. The road, or anchoring-place, which we occupied, is on the south-west side of the island, about six miles from the west end, before a village which has the name of Wymoa. As far as we sounded, we found that the bank has a fine grey sand at the bottom, and is free from rocks, except a little to the eastward of the village, where there spits out a shoal on which are some rocks and breakers; but they are not far from shore. This road would be entirely sheltered from the trade-wind

if the height of the land over which it blows did not alter its direction, and make it follow that of the coast; so that it blows at north-east on one side of the island, and at east-south-east, or south-east, on the other, falling obliquely upon the shore. Thus the road, though situated on the lee side of the island, is a little exposed to the trade-wind; but, notwithstanding this defect, is far from being a bad station, and much superior to those which necessity obliges ships daily to use, in regions where the winds are both more variable and more boisterous; as at Teneriffe, Madeira, the Azores, and elsewhere. The landing, too, is more easy than at most of those places; and, unless in very bad weather, always practicable. The water to be got in the neighbourhood is excellent, and easy to be conveyed to the boats. But no wood can be cut at any distance convenient enough to bring it from, unless the natives could be prevailed upon to part with the few *etooa* trees (for so they call the *Cordia sebastina*), that grow about their villages, or a sort called *dooe dooe*, that grow farther up the country.

The land, as to its general apppearance, does not, in the least, resemble any of the islands we have hitherto visited within the tropic, on the south side of the equator; if we except its hills near the centre, which are high, but slope gently to the sea, or lower lands. Though it be destitute of the delightful borders of Otaheite, and of the luxuriant plains of Tongatabboo, covered with trees, which at once afford a friendly shelter from the scorching sun, and an enchanting prospect to the eye, and food for the natives, which may be truly said to drop from the trees into their mouths, without the laborious task of rearing; though, I say, Atooi be destitute of these advantages, its possessing a greater quantity of gently-rising land renders it, in some measure, superior to the above favourite islands, as being more capable of improvement. The height of the land within, the quantity of clouds which we saw, during the whole time we staid, hanging over it, and frequently on the other parts, seems to put it beyond all doubt, that there is a sufficient supply of water; and that there are some running streams which we did not see, especially in the deep valleys, at the entrance of which the villages commonly stand. From the wooded part to the sea, the ground is covered with an excellent sort of grass, about two feet high, which grows sometimes in tufts, and, though not very thick at the place where we were, seemed capable of being converted into plentiful crops of fine hay. But not even a shrub grows naturally on this extensive space.

In the break, or narrow valley, through which we had our road to the *morai*, the soil is of a brownish black colour, somewhat loose; but as we advanced upon the high ground, it changed to a reddish brown, more stiff and clayey, though, at this time, brittle from its dryness. It is most probably the same all over the cultivated parts; for what adhered to most of the potatoes bought by us, which, no doubt, came from very different spots, was of this sort. Its quality, however, may be better understood from its products than from its appearance. For the vale, or moist ground, produces *taro*, of a much larger size than any we had ever seen; and the higher ground furnishes sweet potatoes, that often weigh ten, and sometimes twelve or fourteen pounds; very few being under two or three. The temperature of the climate may be easily guessed from the situation of the island. Were we to judge of it from our experience, it might be said to be very variable; for, according to the generally received opinion, it was now the season of the year when the weather is supposed to be most settled, the sun being at its greatest annual distance. The heat was, at this time, very moderate; and few of those inconveniences which many tropical countries are subject to, either from heat or moisture, seem to be experienced here, as the habitations of the natives are quite close; and they salt both fish and pork, which keep well, contrary to what has usually been observed to be the case, when this operation is attempted in hot countries. Neither did we find any dews of consequence, which may, in some measure, be accounted for, by the lower part of the country being destitute of trees.

The rock that forms the sides of the valley, and which seems to be the same with that seen by us at different parts of the coast, is a greyish-black ponderous stone; but honeycombed, with some very minute shining particles, and some spots of a rusty colour interspersed. The last gives it often a reddish cast, when at a distance. It is of an immense depth, but seems divided into *strata*, though nothing is interposed. For the large pieces always broke off to a determinate thickness, without appearing to have adhered to those below them

Other stones are probably much more various than in the southern islands. For, during our short stay, besides the *lapis lydius*, which seems common all over the South Sea, we found a species of cream-coloured whetstone, sometimes variegated with blacker or whiter veins, as marble; or in pieces, as *breccia*; and common writing-slate, as well as a coarser sort; but we saw none of them in their natural state; and the natives brought some pieces of a coarse whitish pumice-stone. We got also a brown sort of *hæmatites*, which, from being strongly attracted by the magnet, discovered the quantity of metal that it contained, and seems to belong to the second species of *Constredt*, though Linnæus has placed it amongst his *intractabilia*. But its variety could not be discovered; for what we saw of it, as well as the slates and whetstones, was cut artificially.

Besides the vegetable articles bought by us as refreshments, amongst which were, at least, five or six varieties of plantains, the island produces bread-fruit, though it seems to be scarce, as we saw only one tree, which was large, and had some fruit upon it. There are also a few cocoa-palms; yams, as we were told, for we saw none; the *kappe* of the Friendly Islands, or Virginian *arum*; the *etooa* tree, and sweet-smelling *gardenia*, or *cape jasmine*. We saw several trees of the *dooe dooe*, so useful at Otaheite, as bearing the oily nuts which are stuck upon a kind of skewer and burnt as candles. Our people saw them used, in the same manner, at Oneeheow. We were not on shore at Atooi but in the day-time, and then we saw the natives wearing these nuts, hung on strings, round the neck. There is a species of *sida*, or Indian mallow, somewhat altered by the climate, from what we saw at Christmas Island; the *Morinda citrifolia*, which is called *none*; a species of *convolvulus*; the *ava*, or intoxicating pepper; and great numbers of gourds. These last grow to a very large size, and are of a vast variety of shapes, which probably is effected by art. Upon the dry sand, about the village, grew a plant that we had never seen in these seas, of the size of a common thistle, and prickly, like that; but bearing a fine flower, almost resembling a white poppy. This, with another small one, were the only uncommon plants which our short excursion gave us an opportunity of observing.

The scarlet birds, already described, which were brought for sale, were never met with alive; but we saw a single small one, about the size of a canary-bird, of a deep crimson colour; a large owl; two large brown hawks, or kites; and a wild duck. The natives mentioned the names of several other birds; amongst which we knew the *atoo*, or bluish heron; and the *torata*, a sort of whimbrel, which are known by the same names at Otaheite; and it is probable that there are a great many sorts, judging by the quantity of fine yellow, green, and very small, velvet-like, black feathers used upon the cloaks, and other ornaments, worn by the inhabitants. Fish, and other marine productions, were, to appearance, not various; as, besides the small mackerel, we only saw common mullets; a sort of a dead white, or chalky colour; a small, brownish rock-fish, spotted with blue; a turtle, which was penned up in a pond; and three or four sorts of fish salted. The few shell-fish that we saw were chiefly converted into ornaments, though they neither had beauty nor novelty to recommend them. The hogs, dogs, and fowls, which were the only tame or domestic animals that we found here, were all of the same kind that we met with at the South Pacific islands. There were also small lizards; and some rats, resembling those seen at every island at which we had as yet touched.

The inhabitants are of a middling stature, firmly made, with some exceptions, neither remarkable for a beautiful shape, nor for striking features, which rather express an openness and good-nature, than a keen, intelligent disposition. Their visage, especially amongst the women, is sometimes round; but others have it long; nor can we say that they are distinguished, as a nation, by any general cast of countenance. Their colour is nearly of a nut-brown, and it may be difficult to make a nearer comparison, if we take in all the different hues of that colour; but some individuals are darker. The women have been already mentioned, as being little more delicate than the men in their formation; and I may say that, with a very few exceptions, they have little claim to those peculiarities that distinguish the sex in other countries. There is, indeed, a more remarkable equality in the size, colour, and figure of both sexes, than in most places I have visited. However, upon the whole, they are far from being ugly, and appear to have few natural deformities of any kind.

Their skin is not very soft, nor shining; perhaps for want of oiling, which is practised at the southern islands; but their eyes and teeth are, in general, very tolerable. The hair for the greatest part, is straight, though in some frizzling; and though its natural colour be commonly black, it is stained, as at the Friendly and other islands. We saw but few instances of corpulence; and these oftener among the women than the men; but it was chiefly amongst the latter that personal defects were observed, though, if any of them can claim a share of beauty, it was most conspicuous amongst the young men.

WOMAN OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

They are vigorous, active, and most expert swimmers; leaving their canoes upon the most trifling occasion; diving under them, and swimming to others though at a great distance. It was very common to see women, with infants at the breast, when the surf was so high that they could not land in the canoes, leap overboard, and without endangering their little ones, swim to the shore, through a sea that looked dreadful. They seem to be blest with a frank, cheerful disposition; and were I to draw any comparisons, I should say, that they are equally free from the fickle levity which distinguishes the natives of Otaheite, and the sedate cast observable amongst many of those of Tongataboo. They seem to live very sociably in their intercourse with one another; and, except the propensity to thieving, which seems innate in most of the people we have visited in this ocean, they were exceedingly friendly to us. And it does their sensibility no little credit, without flattering ourselves, that when they saw the various articles of our European manufacture, they could not help expressing their surprise, by a mixture of joy and concern, that seemed to apply the case, as a lesson of humility, to themselves; and, on all occasions, they appeared deeply impressed with a consciousness of their own inferiority; a behaviour which equally exempts their national character from the preposterous pride of the more polished Japanese, and of the ruder Greenlander. It was a pleasure to observe with how much affection the women managed their infants, and how readily the men lent their assistance to such a tender office; thus sufficiently distinguishing themselves from those savages who esteem a wife and child as things rather necessary than desirable, or worthy of their notice.

SANDWICH ISLANDER IN HIS FULL DRESS CAP AND CLOAK.

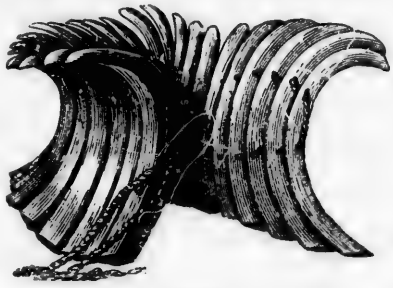
From the numbers which we saw collected at every village, as we sailed past, it may be supposed that the inhabitants of this island are pretty numerous. Any computation that we make can be only conjectural. But that some notion may be formed, which shall not greatly err on either side, I should suppose that, including the straggling houses, there might be, upon the whole island, sixty such villages, as that before which we anchored; and that, allowing five persons to each house, there would be, in every village, five hundred; or thirty thousand upon the island. This number is, certainly, not exaggerated; for we had some-

times three thousand persons, at least, upon the beach; when it could not be supposed that above a tenth part of the inhabitants were present.

The common dress, both of the women and of the men, has been already described. The first have often much larger pieces of cloth wrapped round them, reaching from just below the breasts to the hams, or lower; and several were seen with pieces thrown loosely about the shoulders, which covered the greatest part of the body; but the children, when very young are quite naked. They wear nothing upon the head; but the hair, in both sexes, is cut in different forms; and the general fashion, especially among the women, is to have it long before and short behind. The men often had it cut, or shaved, on each side, in such a manner, that the remaining part, in some measure, resembles the crest of their caps or helmets formerly described. Both sexes, however, seem very careless about their hair, and have nothing like combs to dress it with. Instances of wearing it, in a singular manner, were sometimes met with among the men, who twist it into a number of separate parcels like the tails of a wig, each about the thickness of a finger; though the greatest part of these, which are so long that they reach far down the back, we observed, were artificially fixed upon the head, over their own hair *.

FASHIONS OF HAIR AMONG THE SANDWICH ISLANDERS

It is remarkable that, contrary to the general practice of the islands we had hitherto discovered in the Pacific Ocean, the people of the Sandwich Islands have not their ears perforated, nor have they the least idea of wearing ornaments in them. Both sexes, nevertheless, adorn themselves with necklaces made of bunches of small black cord, like our hat-string, often above a hundred-fold, exactly like those of Wateeoo; only that instead of the two little balls, on the middle before, they fix a small bit of wood, stone, or shell, about two inches long, with a broad hook, turning forward at its lower part, well polished. They have, likewise, necklaces of many strings of very small shells, or of the dried flowers of the Indian mallow. And, sometimes, a small human image of bone, about three inches long, neatly polished, is hung round the neck. The women also wear bracelets of a single shell, pieces of black wood, with bits of ivory interspersed, and well polished, fixed by a string drawn very close through them; or others of hogs' teeth, laid parallel to each other, with the concave part outward, and the points cut off, fastened together as the former; some of which, made only of large boars' tusks, are very elegant. The men, sometimes, wear plumes of the tropic-bird's feathers, stuck in their heads; or those of cocks, fastened round neat polished sticks, two feet long, commonly decorated at the lower part with *oora*; and, for the same purpose, the skin of a white dog's tail is sewed over a stick, with its tuft at the end. They also frequently wear on the head a kind of ornament, of a finger's thickness, or more, covered with red and yellow feathers, curiously varied, and tied behind; and on the arm, above the elbow, a kind of broad shell-work, grounded upon network.



BRACELET.

The men are frequently punctured, though not in any particular part, as the Otaheiteans, and those of Tongataboo. Sometimes there are a few marks upon their hands or arms, and

* The print of Horn Island, which we meet with in Mr. Dalrymple's account of Le Maire and Schouten's voyages, represents some of the natives of that island with such long tails, hanging from their heads, as are here described. See Dalrymple's Voyage to the South Pacific, vol. ii. p. 58.

near the groin; but frequently we could observe none at all; though a few individuals had more of this sort of ornament than we had usually seen at other places, and ingeniously executed in a great variety of lines and figures, on the arms and forepart of the body; on which latter some of them had the figure of the *taame*, or breast-plate, of Otaheite, though we did not meet with the thing itself amongst them.

Though they seem to have adopted the mode of living in villages, there is no appearance of defence, or fortification, near any of them; and the houses are scattered about without any order, either with respect to their distances from each other, or their position in any particular direction. Neither is there any proportion as to their size; some being large and commodious, from forty to fifty feet long, and twenty or thirty broad, while others of them are mere hovels. Their figure is not unlike oblong corn or hay stacks; or, perhaps a better idea may be conceived of them, if we suppose the roof of a barn placed on the ground in such a manner, as to form a high, acute ridge, with two very low sides, hardly discernible at a distance. The gable, at each end corresponding to the sides, makes these habitations perfectly close all round; and they are well thatched with long grass, which is laid on slender poles, disposed with some regularity. The entrance is made indifferently, in the end or side, and is an oblong hole, so low, that one must rather creep than walk in; and is often shut up by a board of planks, fastened together, which serves as a door, but having no hinges, must be removed occasionally. No light enters the house, but by this opening; and though such close habitations may afford a comfortable retreat in bad weather, they seem but ill-adapted to the warmth of the climate. They are, however, kept remarkably clean; and their floors are covered with a large quantity of dried grass, over which they spread mats to sit and sleep upon. At one end stands a kind of bench, about three feet high, on which their household utensils are placed. The catalogue is not long. It consists of gourd shells, which they convert into vessels that serve as bottles to hold water, and as baskets to contain their victuals, and other things, with covers of the same; and of a few wooden bowls and trenchers, of different sizes. Judging from what we saw growing, and from what was brought to market, there can be no doubt that the greatest part of their vegetable food consists of sweet potatoes, *taro*, and plantains; and that bread-fruit and yams are rather to be esteemed rarities. Of animal food, they can be in no want; as they have abundance of hogs, which run, without restraint, about the houses; and if they eat dogs, which is not improbable, their stock of these seem to be very considerable. The great number of fishing-hooks found among them, showed, that they derive no inconsiderable supply of animal food from the sea. But it should seem, from their practice of salting fish, that the openness of their coast often interrupts the business of catching them; as it may be naturally supposed, that no set of people would ever think of preserving quantities of food artificially, if they could depend upon a daily, regular supply of it, in its fresh state. This sort of reasoning, however, will not account for their custom of salting their pork, as well as their fish, which are preserved in gourd-shells. The salt, of which they use a great quantity for this purpose, is of a red colour, not very coarse, and seems to be much the same with what our stragglers found at Christmas Island. It has its colour,

HUTS OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDERS.

doubtless, from a mixture of the mud, at the bottom of the part where it is formed, for some of it that had adhered in lumps, was of a sufficient whiteness and purity.

They bake their vegetable food with heated stones, as at the Southern Islands; and, from the vast quantity which we saw dressed at one time, we suspected that the whole village, or, at least, a considerable number of people, joined in the use of a common oven. We did not see them dress any animal food at this island; but Mr. Gore's party, as already mentioned, had an opportunity of satisfying themselves, that it was dressed in Oneeheow in the same sort of ovens; which leaves no doubt of this being also the practice in Atooi, especially as we met with no utensils there that could be applied to the purpose of stewing or boiling. The only artificial dish we met with, was a *taro* pudding; which, though a disagreeable mess from its sourness, was greedily devoured by the natives. They eat off a kind of wooden plates, or trenchers; and the women, as far as we could judge from one instance, if restrained from feeding at the same dish with the men, as at Otaheite, are at least permitted to eat in the same place near them.

Their amusements seem pretty various; for, during our stay, several were discovered. The dances, at which they use the feathered cloaks and caps, were not seen; but from the motions which they made with their hands, on other occasions, when they sung, we could form some judgment that they are, in some degree at least, similar to those we had met with at the Southern Islands, though not executed so skilfully. Neither had they amongst them either flutes or reeds; and the only two musical instruments which we observed, were of an exceeding rude kind. One of them does not produce a melody exceeding that of a child's rattle. It consists of what may be called a conic cap inverted, but scarcely hollowed at the base, above a foot high, made of a coarse sedge-like plant; the upper part of which, and the edges, are ornamented with beautiful red feathers; and to the point, or lower part, is fixed a gourd-shell, larger than the fist. Into this is put something to rattle; which is done by holding the instrument by the small part, and shaking, or rather moving it, from place to place briskly, either to different sides, or backward and forward, just before the face, striking the breast with the other hand at the same time. The other musical instrument (if either of them deserve that name) was a hollow vessel of wood, like a platter, combined with the use of two sticks, on which one of our gentlemen saw a man performing. He held one of the sticks, about two feet long, as we do a fiddle, with one hand, and struck it with the other, which was smaller, and resembled a drum-stick, in a quicker or slower measure; at the same time beating with his foot upon the hollow vessel, that lay inverted upon the ground, and thus producing a tune that was by no means disagreeable. This music was accompanied by the vocal performance of some women, whose song had a pleasing and tender effect.

We observed great numbers of small polished rods, about four or five feet long, somewhat thicker than the rammer of a musket, with a tuft of long white dog's hair fixed on the small end. These are, probably, used in their diversions. We saw a person take one of them in his hand, and holding it up, give a smart stroke, till he brought it into an horizontal position, striking with the foot, on the same side, upon the ground, and with his other hand beating his breast at the same time. They play at bowls, with pieces of whetstone mentioned before, of about a pound weight, shaped somewhat like a small cheese, but rounded at the sides and edges, which are very nicely polished; and they have other bowls of the same sort, made of a heavy reddish brown clay, neatly glazed over with a composition of the same colour, or of a coarse, dark grey slate. They also use, in the manner that we throw quoits, small, flat, rounded pieces of the writing slate, of the diameter of the bowls, but scarcely a quarter of an inch thick, also well polished. From these circumstances one would be induced to think that their games are rather trials of skill than of strength.

In every thing manufactured by these people, there appears to be an uncommon degree of neatness and ingenuity. Their cloth, which is the principal manufacture, is made from the *morus papyrifera;* and, doubtless, in the same manner as at Otaheite and Tongataboo; for we bought some of the grooved sticks, with which it is beaten. Its texture, however, though thicker, is rather inferior to that of the cloth of either of the other places; but in colouring, or staining it, the people of Atooi display a superiority of taste, by the endless variation of figures which they execute. One would suppose, on seeing a number of their pieces, that

they had borrowed their patterns from some mercer's shop, in which the most elegant productions of China and Europe are collected; besides some original patterns of their own. Their colours, indeed, except the red, are not very bright; but the regularity of the figures and stripes is truly surprising; for, as far as we knew, they have nothing like stamps or prints to make the impressions. In what manner they produce their colours we had not opportunities of learning; but besides the party-coloured sorts, they have some pieces of plain white cloth, and others of a single colour, particularly dark brown and light blue. In general, the pieces which they brought to us, were about two feet broad, and four or five feet long, being the form and quantity that they use for their common dress, or *maro;* and even these we sometimes found were composed of pieces sewed together; an art which we did not find to the southward, but is strongly, though not very neatly, performed here. There is also a particular sort that is thin, much resembling oil-cloth; and which is actually either oiled or soaked in some kind of varnish, and seems to resist the action of water pretty well. They fabricate a great many white mats, which are strong, with many red stripes, rhombuses, and other figures interwoven on one side; and often pretty large. These, probably, make a part of their dress occasionally; for they put them on their backs when they offered them for sale. But they make others coarser, plain and strong, which they spread over their floors to sleep upon.

PATTERNS OF DRESSES.

They stain their gourd-shells prettily with undulated lines, triangles, and other figures of a black colour, instances of which we saw practised at New Zealand. And they seem to possess the art of varnishing; for some of these stained gourd-shells are covered with a kind of lacker; and, on other occasions, they use a strong size, or gluey substance, to fasten their things together. Their wooden dishes and bowls, out of which they drink their *ava*, are of the *etooa*-tree, or *cordia*, as neat as if made in our turning-lathe, and perhaps better polished. And amongst their articles of handicraft may be reckoned small square fans of mat or wicker-work, with handles tapering from them of the same or of wood, which are neatly wrought with small cords of hair, and fibres of the cocoa-nut core intermixed. The great variety of fishing-hooks are ingeniously made, some of bone, others of wood pointed with bone, and many of pearl shell. Of the last, some are like a sort that we saw at Tongataboo, and others simply curved, as the common sort at Otaheite, as well as the wooden ones. The bone ones are mostly small and composed of two pieces; and all the different sorts have a barb, either on the inside like ours, or on the outside opposite the same part; but others have both, the outer one being farthest from the point. Of this last sort, one was procured nine inches long, of a single piece of bone, which, doubtless, belonged to some large fish. The elegant form and polish of this could not, certainly, be outdone by any European artist, even if he should add all his knowledge in design, to the number and convenience of his tools. They polish their stones by constant friction, with pumice-stone in water; and such of their working instruments or tools as I saw resembled those of the Southern Islands. Their hatchets, or rather adzes, were exactly of the same pattern, and either made of the same sort of blackish stone, or of a clay-coloured one. They have also little instruments made of a single shark's tooth, some of which

are fixed to the fore-part of a dog's jaw-bone, and others to a thin wooden handle of the same shape, and at the other end there is a bit of string fastened through a small perforation. These serve as knives occasionally, and are, perhaps, used in carving.

The only iron tools, or rather bits of iron, seen amongst them, and which they had before our arrival, were a piece of iron hoop about two inches long, fitted into a wooden handle *, and another edge-tool, which our people guessed to be made of the point of a broad-sword. Their having the actual possession of these, and their so generally knowing the use of this metal, inclined some on board to think that we had not been the first European visitors of these islands. But, it seems to me, that the very great surprise expressed by them on seeing our ships, and their total ignorance of the use of fire-arms, cannot be reconciled with such a notion. There are many ways by which such people may get pieces of iron, or acquire the knowledge of the existence of such a metal, without ever having had an immediate connexion with nations that use it. It can hardly be doubted that it was unknown to all the inhabitants of this sea, before Magellan led the way into it; for no discoverer, immediately after his voyage, ever found any of this metal in their possession; though, in the course of our late voyages, it has been observed, that the use of it was known at several islands, to which no former European ships had ever, as far as we know, found their way. At all the places where Mendana touched in his two voyages, it must have been seen and left, and this would extend the knowledge of it, no doubt, to all the various islands with which those whom he had visited had any immediate intercourse. It might even be carried farther; and where specimens of this article could not be procured, descriptions might, in some measure, serve to make it known when afterward seen. The next voyage to the southward of the line in which any intercourse was had with the natives of this ocean, was that of Quiros, who landed at Sagittaria, the Island of Handsome People, and at Tierra del Espiritu Santo; at all which places, and at those with whom they had any communication, it must of consequence have been made known. To him succeeded, in this navigation, Le Maire and Schouten, whose connexions with the natives commenced much farther to the eastward, and ended at Cocos and Horn Islands. It was not surprising that, when I visited Tongataboo in 1773, I should find a bit of iron there, as we knew that Tasman had visited it before me; but let us suppose, that he had never discovered the Friendly Islands, our finding iron amongst them would have occasioned much speculation; though we have mentioned before † the method by which they had gained a renewal of their knowledge of this metal, which confirms my hypothesis. For Neeootaboo-taboo, or Boscawen's Island, where Captain Wallis's ships left it, and from whence Paulaho received it, lies some degrees to the N.W. of Tongataboo. It is well known that Roggewein lost one of his ships on the Pernicious Islands, which, from their situation, are probably not unknown to, though not frequently visited by, the inhabitants of Otaheite and the Society Islands. It is equally certain, that these last people had a knowledge of iron, and purchased it with the greatest avidity when Captain Wallis discovered Otaheite; and this knowledge could only have been acquired through the mediation of those neighbouring islands where it had been originally left. Indeed, they acknowledge that this was actually the case, and they have told us since, that they held it in such estimation before Captain Wallis's arrival, that a chief of Otaheite who had got two nails into his possession, received no small emolument by letting out the use of these to his neighbours for the purpose of boring holes, when their own methods failed or were thought too tedious ‡. The men of the Society Islands whom we found at Wateeoo had been driven thither long after the knowledge and use of iron had been introduced amongst their countrymen; and though, probably, they had no specimen of it with them, they would naturally and with ease communicate at that island their knowledge of this valuable material by description. From

* Captain King purchased this, and has it now in his possession.

† See Vol. II. p. 142.

‡ A similar instance of profitable revenue, drawn from the use of nails by the chiefs of the Caroline Islands, is mentioned by father Cantova: "Si, par hasard, un vaisseau étranger laisse dans leurs isles quelques vieux morceaux de fer, ils appartiennent de droit aux Tamoles, qui en font faire des outils, le mieux qu'il est possible. Ces outils sont un fond dont le Tamole tire un revenu considérable, car il les donne à louage, et ce louage se paye assez cher." P. 314.

the people of Wateeoo again, those of Hervey's Island might derive that desire to possess some of it, of which we had proofs during our short intercourse with them.

The consideration of these facts sufficiently explains how the knowledge of iron has been conveyed throughout this ocean to islands which never have had an immediate intercourse with Europeans; and it may easily be conceived, that wherever the history of it only has been reported, or a very small quantity of it has been left, the greater eagerness will be shown by the natives to get copious supplies of it. The application of these particulars to the instance now under consideration is obvious. The people of Atooi and Oneeheow, without having ever been visited by Europeans before us, might have received it from intermediate islands, lying between them and the Ladrones, which have been frequented by the Spaniards almost ever since the date of Magellan's voyage. Or, if the distant western situation of the Ladrones should render this solution less probable, is there not the extensive continent of America to windward, where the Spaniards have been settled for more than two hundred years, during which long period of time shipwrecks must have frequently happened on its coasts? It cannot be thought at all extraordinary, that part of such wrecks containing iron should, by the easterly trade wind, be from time to time cast upon islands scattered about this vast ocean. The distance of Atooi from America is no argument against this supposition. But even if it were, it would not destroy it. This ocean is traversed every year by Spanish ships; and it is obvious that, besides the accident of losing a mast and its appendages, casks with iron hoops, and many other things containing iron, may be thrown or may fall overboard during so long a passage, and thus find their way to land. But these are not mere conjectures and possibilities, for one of my people actually did see some wood in one of the houses at Wymoa, which he judged to be fir. It was worm-eaten, and the natives gave him to understand, that it had been driven ashore by the waves of the sea; and we had their own express testimony, that they had got the inconsiderable specimens of iron found amongst them from some place to the eastward.

From this digression (if it can be called so), I return to the observations made during our stay at Atooi, and some account must now be given of their canoes. These, in general, are about twenty-four feet long, and have the bottom for the most part formed of a single piece or log of wood, hollowed out to the thickness of an inch, or an inch and a half, and brought to a point at each end. The sides consist of three boards, each about an inch thick, and neatly fitted and lashed to the bottom part. The extremities, both at head and stern, are a little raised, and both are made sharp, somewhat like a wedge, but they flatten more abruptly, so that the two side-boards join each other side by side for more than a foot. But the annexed cut will explain their construction more accurately than my description in words. As they are not more than fifteen or eighteen inches broad, those that go single (for they sometimes join them as at the other islands), have out-riggers, which are shaped and fitted with more judgment than any I had before seen. They are rowed by paddles, such as we had generally met with; and some of them have a light triangular sail, like those of the Friendly Islands, extended to a mast and boom. The ropes used for their boats, and the smaller cords for their fishing-tackle, are strong and well made.

What we saw of their agriculture furnished sufficient proofs that they are not novices in that art. The vale ground has already been mentioned as one continued plantation of taro, and a few other things, which have all the appearance of being well attended to. The potato fields and spots of sugar-cane or plantains on the higher grounds are planted with the same regularity, and always in some determinate figure, generally as a square or oblong; but neither these nor the others are inclosed with any kind of fence, unless we reckon the ditches in the low grounds such, which, it is more probable, are intended to convey water to the taro. The greater quantity and goodness of these articles may also, perhaps, be as much attributed to skilful culture, as to natural fertility of soil, which seems better adapted to them than to bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees; the few which we saw of those latter not being in a thriving state, which will sufficiently account for the preference given to the culture of the other article, though more labour be required to produce them. But, notwithstanding this skill in agriculture, the general appearance of the island showed that it was capable of much more extensive improvement, and of maintaining at least three times

the number of the inhabitants that are at present upon it; for the far greater part of it that now lies quite waste, seemed to be as good a soil as those parts of it that are in cultivation. We must therefore conclude, that these people, from some cause which we were not long enough amongst them to be able to trace, do not increase in that proportion which would make it necessary to avail themselves of the extent of their island, toward raising a greater quantity of its vegetable production for their subsistence.

Though I did not see a chief of any note, there were, however, several, as the natives informed us, who reside upon Atooi, and to whom they prostrate themselves as a mark of submission, which seems equivalent to the *moe*, *moea*, paid to the chiefs of the Friendly Islands, and is called here *hamoea* or *moe*. Whether they were at first afraid to show themselves, or happened to be absent, I cannot say; but after I had left the island, one of these great men made his appearance, and paid a visit to Captain Clerke on board the Discovery. He came off in a double canoe, and, like the king of the Friendly Islands, paid no regard to the small canoes that happened to lie in his way, but ran against or over them, without endeavouring in the least to avoid them. And it was not possible for these poor people to avoid him, for they could not manage their canoes, it being a necessary mark of their submission, that they should lie down till he had passed. His attendants helped him into the ship, and placed him on the gangway. Their care of him did not cease then, for they stood round him holding each other by the hands; nor would they suffer any one to come near him but Captain Clerke himself. He was a young man, clothed from head to foot, and accompanied by a young woman supposed to be his wife. His name was said to be Tamahano. Captain Clerke made him some suitable presents, and received from him in return a large bowl supported by two figures of men, the carving of which, both as to the design and execution, showed some degree of skill. This bowl, as our people were told, used to be filled with the *kava*, or *ava* (as it is called at Otaheite), which liquor they prepare and drink here, as at the other islands in this ocean. Captain Clerke could not prevail upon this great man to go below, nor to move from the place where his attendants had first fixed him. After staying some time in his ship, he was carried again into his canoe, and returned to the island, receiving the same honours from all the natives as when he came on board. The next day several messages were sent to Captain Clerke, inviting him to return the visit ashore, and acquainting him that the chief had prepared a large present on that occasion. But being anxious to get to sea and join the Resolution, the captain did not think it advisable to accept of the invitation.

The very short and imperfect intercourse which we had with the natives put it out of our power to form any accurate judgment of the mode of government established amongst them; but from the general resemblance of customs, and particularly from what we observed of the honours paid to their chiefs, it seems reasonable to believe that it is of the same nature with that which prevails throughout all the islands we had hitherto visited, and probably their wars amongst themselves are equally frequent. This, indeed, might be inferred from the number of weapons which we found them possessed of, and from the excellent order these were kept in. But we had direct proof of the fact from their own confession; and, as we understood, these wars are between the different districts of their own island, as well as between it and their neighbours at Oneeheow and Orrehoua, we need scarcely assign any other cause besides this, to account for the appearance, already mentioned, of their population bearing no proportion to the extent of their ground capable of cultivation.

Besides their spears or lances, made of a fine chesnut-coloured wood beautifully polished, some of which are barbed at one end, and flattened to a point at the other, they have a sort of weapon which we had never seen before, and not mentioned by any navigator as used by the natives of the South Sea. It is somewhat like a dagger, in general about a foot and a half long, sharpened at one or both ends, and secured to the hand by a string. Its use is to stab at close fight, and it seems well adapted to the purpose. Some of these may be called double daggers, having a handle in the middle, with which they are better enabled to strike different ways. They have also bows and arrows; but, both from their apparent scarcity and their slender make, it may almost be presumed that they never use them in battle. The knife or saw formerly mentioned, with which they dissect the dead bodies, may also be ranked

amongst their weapons, as they both strike and cut with it when closely engaged. It is a small flat wooden instrument of an oblong shape, about a foot long, rounded at the corners, with a handle almost like one sort of the *patoos* of New Zealand; but its edges are entirely surrounded with sharks' teeth strongly fixed to it and pointing outward, having commonly a hole in the handle through which passes a long string, which is wrapped several times round the wrist. We also suspected that they use slings on some occasions, for we got some pieces of the *hæmatites*, or blood-stone, artificially made of an oval shape, divided longitudinally, with a narrow groove in the middle of the convex part. To this the person who had one of them applied a cord of no great thickness, but would not part with it, though he had no objection to part with the stone, which must prove fatal when thrown with any force, as it weighed a pound. We likewise saw some oval pieces of whetstone, well polished, but somewhat pointed toward each end, nearly resembling in shape some stones which we had seen at New Caledonia in 1774, and used there in their slings.

DAGGERS AND FLESH KNIVES.

What we could learn of their religious institutions, and the manner of disposing of their dead, which may properly be considered as closely connected, has been already mentioned. And as nothing more strongly points out the affinity between the manners of these people and of the Friendly and Society Islands, I must just mention some other circumstances to place this in a strong point of view, and, at the same time, to show how a few of the infinite modifications of which a few leading principles are capable, may distinguish any particular nation. The people of Tongataboo inter their dead in a very decent manner, and they also inter their human sacrifices; but they do not offer or expose any other animal or even vegetable to their gods, as far as we know. Those of Otaheite do not inter their dead, but expose them to waste by time and putrefaction, though the bones are afterwards buried; and, as this is the case, it is very remarkable that they should inter the entire bodies of their human sacrifices. They also offer other animals and vegetables to their gods, but are by no means attentive to the state of the sacred places where those solemn rites are performed; most of their *morais* being in a ruinous condition, and bearing evident marks of neglect. The people of Atooi, again, inter both their common dead and human sacrifices as at Tongataboo; but they resemble those of Otaheite in the slovenly state of their religious places, and in offering vegetables and animals to their gods.

The *taboo* also prevails in Atooi in its full extent, and seemingly with much more rigour than even at Tongataboo. For the people here always asked, with great eagerness and signs of fear to offend, whether any particular thing which they desired to see, or we were unwilling to show, was *taboo*, or, as they pronounced the word, *tafoo*? The *moia*, *raa*, or forbidden articles at the Society Islands, though doubtless the same thing, did not seem to be so strictly observed by them, except with respect to the dead, about whom we thought them more superstitious than any of the others were. But these are circumstances with which we are not as yet sufficiently acquainted to be decisive about; and I shall only just observe, to show the similitude in other matters connected with religion, that the priests, or *tahounas*, here, are as numerous as at the other islands, if we may judge from our being able, during our stay, to distinguish several saying their *poore*, or prayer.

But whatever resemblance we might discover in the general manners of the people of Atooi to those of Otaheite, these of course were less striking than the coincidence of language. Indeed, the languages of both places may be said to be almost word for word the same. It

is true that we sometimes remarked particular words to be pronounced exactly as we had found at New Zealand and the Friendly Islands; but though all the four dialects are indisputably the same, these people in general have neither the strong guttural pronunciation of the former, nor a less degree of it which also distinguishes the latter; and they have not only adopted the soft mode of the Otaheiteans in avoiding harsh sounds, but the whole idiom of their language, using not only the same affixes and suffixes to their words, but the same measure and cadence in their songs, though in a manner somewhat less agreeable. There seems, indeed, at first hearing, some disagreement to the ear of a stranger, but it ought to be considered that the people of Otaheite, from their frequent connexions with the English, had learned, in some measure, to adapt themselves to our scanty knowledge of their language, by using not only the most common, but even corrupted, expressions in conversation with us; whereas, when they conversed among themselves and used the several parts necessary to propriety of speech, they were scarcely at all understood by those amongst us who had made the greatest proficiency in their vocabulary. A catalogue of words was collected at Atooi by Mr. Anderson, who lost no opportunity of making our voyage useful to those who amuse themselves in tracing the migrations of the various tribes or families that have peopled the globe, by the most convincing of all arguments, that drawn from affinity of language. How shall we account for this nation's having spread itself in so many detached islands, so widely disjoined from each other, in every quarter of the Pacific Ocean? We find it from New Zealand in the south, as far as the Sandwich Islands to the north, and, in another direction, from Easter Island to the Hebrides; that is, over an extent of sixty degrees of latitude, or twelve hundred leagues north and south, and eighty-three degrees of longitude, or sixteen hundred and sixty leagues east and west! How much farther in either direction its colonies reach is not known; but what we know already, in consequence of this and our former voyage, warrants our pronouncing it to be, though perhaps not the most numerous, certainly by far the most extensive, nation upon earth.

Had the Sandwich Islands been discovered at an early period by the Spaniards, there is little doubt that they would have taken advantage of so excellent a situation, and have made use of Atooi or some other of the islands as a refreshing place, in the ships that sail annually from Acapulco for Manilla. They lie almost midway between the first place and Guam, one of the Ladrones, which is at present their only port in traversing this vast ocean; and it would not have been a week's sail out of their common route to have touched at them, which could have been done without running the least hazard of losing the passage, as they are sufficiently within the verge of the easterly trade-wind. An acquaintance with the Sandwich Islands would have been equally favourable to our Buccaneers, who used sometimes to pass from the coast of America to the Ladrones, with a stock of food and water scarcely sufficient to preserve life. Here they might always have found plenty, and have been within a month's sure sail of the very part of California which the Manilla ship is obliged to make, or else have returned to the coast of America, thoroughly refitted, after an absence of two months. How happy would Lord Anson have been, and what hardships would he have avoided, if he had known that there was a group of islands half way between America and Tinian, where all his wants could have been effectually supplied, and in describing which, the elegant historian of that voyage would have presented his reader with a more agreeable picture than I have been able to draw in this chapter!

CHAPTER XIII.—OBSERVATIONS MADE AT THE SANDWICH ISLANDS, ON THE LONGITUDE, VARIATION OF THE COMPASS, AND TIDES.—PROSECUTION OF THE VOYAGE.—REMARKS ON THE MILDNESS OF THE WEATHER, AS FAR AS THE LATITUDE 44° NORTH.—FAUCITY OF SEA BIRDS, IN THE NORTHERN HEMISPHERE.—SMALL SEA ANIMALS DESCRIBED.—ARRIVAL ON THE COAST OF AMERICA.—APPEARANCE OF THE COUNTRY.—UNFAVOURABLE WINDS, AND BOISTEROUS WEATHER.—REMARKS ON MARTIN DE AGUILAR'S RIVER, AND JUAN DE FUCA'S PRETENDED STRAIT.—AN INLET DISCOVERED, WHERE THE SHIPS ANCHOR.—BEHAVIOUR OF THE NATIVES.

AFTER the Discovery had joined us, we stood away to the northward, close hauled, with a gentle gale from the E.; and nothing occurring in this situation worthy of a place in my narrative, the reader will permit me to insert here the nautical observations which I had opportunities of making relative to the islands we had left; and which we had been fortunate enough to add to the geography of this part of the Pacific Ocean.

The longitude of the Sandwich Islands was determined by seventy-two sets of lunar observations; some of which were made while we were at anchor in the road of Wymoa, others before we arrived and after we left it, and reduced to it by the watch or time-keeper. By the mean result of these observations, the longitude of the road is 200° 13′ 0″ E.

Time-keeper	Greenwich rate,	202	0	0
	Ulietea rate,	200	21	0
The latitude of the road, by the mean of two meridian observations of the sun		21	56	15 N.

The observations for the variation of the compass did not agree very well among themselves. It is true, they were not all made exactly in the same spot. The different situations, however, could make very little difference. But the whole will be best seen by casting an eye on the following table.

Time.	Latitude.	Longitude.	Compass.	East Variation.			Mean variation.		
Jan. 18th. A. M.	21°	12′	200°	41′	Gregory's	10°	10′	10′	9°	51′	38″
					Knight's	9	20	5			
					Martin's	10	4	40			
19th. P. M.	21	51	200	20	Knight's	10	2	10	10	37	20
					Gregory's	11	12	30			
28th. A. M.	21	22	199	56	Gregory's	9	1	20	9	26	57
					Knight's	9	1	25			
					Martin's	10	18	5			
28th. P. M.	21	36	199	50	Gregory's	11	21	15	11	12	50
					Knight's	10	40	0			
					Martin's	11	37	50			
Means of the above	21	29	200	12					10	17	11
On Jan. 18th	21	12	200	41	the north end of the needle dipped 42° 1′ 7″.						

The tides at the Sandwich Islands are so inconsiderable, that with the great surf which broke against the shore, it was hardly possible to tell at any time whether we had high or low water, or whether it ebbed or flowed. On the south side of Atooi, we generally found a current setting to the westward or north-westward; but when we were at anchor off Oneeheow, the current set nearly N. W. and S. E., six hours one way, and six the other, and so strong as to make the ships tend, though the wind blew fresh. This was certainly a regular tide, and as far as I could judge, the flood came from the N. W.

I now return to the progress of our voyage. On the 7th, being in the latitude of 29° N. and in the longitude of 200° E., the wind veered to S. E. This enabled us to steer N. E. and E.; which course we continued till the 12th, when the wind had veered round by the south and west, to north east and east north-east. I then tacked, and stood to the northward, our latitude being 30° N. and our longitude 206° 15′ E. Notwithstanding our advanced latitude, and its being the winter season, we had only begun, for a few days past, to feel a sensation of cold in the mornings and evenings. This is a sign of the equal and lasting influence of the sun's heat, at all seasons, to 30° on each side the line. The disproportion is known to become very great after that. This must be attributed, almost entirely, to the

direction of the rays of the sun, independent of the bare distance, which is by no means equal to the effect. On the 19th, being now in the latitude of 37° N., and in the longitude of 206° E., the wind veered to south-east; and I was enabled again to steer to the east, inclining to the north. We had, on the 25th, reached the latitude of 42° 30′, and the longitude of 219°; and then we began to meet with the rock-weed, mentioned by the writer of Lord Anson's voyage, under the name of sea-leek, which the Manilla ships generally fall in with. Now and then a piece of wood also appeared. But if we had not known that the continent of North America was not far distant, we might, from the few signs of the vicinity of land hitherto met with, have concluded, that there was none within some thousand leagues of us. We had hardly seen a bird, or any other oceanic animal, since we left Sandwich Islands.

On the 1st of March, our latitude being now 44° 49′ N., and our longitude 228° E., we had one calm day. This was succeeded by a wind from the north, with which I stood to the east close hauled, in order to make the land. According to the charts, it ought not to have been far from us. It was remarkable that we should still be attended with such moderate and mild weather, so far to the northward, and so near the coast of an extensive continent, at this time of the year. The present season either must be uncommon for its mildness, or we can assign no reason why Sir Francis Drake should have met with such severe cold, about this latitude, in the month of June *. Viscaino, indeed, who was near the same place in the depth of winter, says little of the cold, and speaks of a ridge of snowy mountains, somewhere on the coast, as a thing rather remarkable †. Our seeing so few birds, in comparison of what we met with in the same latitudes to the south of the line, is another singular circumstance, which must either proceed from a scarcity of the different sorts, or from a deficiency of places to rest upon. From hence we may conclude, that beyond 40° in the southern hemisphere, the species are much more numerous, and the isles where they inhabit also more plentifully scattered about, than anywhere between the coast of California and Japan, in or near that latitude.

During a calm, on the morning of the 2nd, some parts of the sea seemed covered with a kind of slime, and some small sea animals were swimming about. The most conspicuous of which were gelatinous, or *medusa* kind, almost globular; and another sort smaller, that had a white or shining appearance, and were very numerous. Some of these last were taken up, and put into a glass cup, with some salt water, in which they appeared like small scales, or bits of silver, when at rest, in a prone situation. When they began to swim about, which they did with equal ease, upon their back, sides, or belly, they emitted the brightest colours of the most precious gems, according to their position with respect to the light. Sometimes they appeared quite pellucid, at other times assuming various tints of blue, from a pale sapphirine to a deep violet colour, which were frequently mixed with a ruby, or opaline redness; and glowed with a strength sufficient to illuminate the vessel and water. These colours appeared most vivid when the glass was held to a strong light; and mostly vanished on the subsiding of the animals to the bottom, when they had a brownish cast. But, with candle light, the colour was chiefly a beautiful pale green, tinged with a burnished gloss; and, in the dark, it had a faint appearance of glowing fire. They proved to be a new species of *oniscus*, and, from their properties, were, by Mr. Anderson (to whom we owe this account of them), called *Oniscus fulgens;* being probably an animal which has a share in producing some sorts of that lucid appearance, often observed near ships at sea, in the night. On the same day two large birds settled on the water, near the ship. One of these was the *Procellaria maxima* (the *quebrantahuessos*), and the other, which was little more than half the size, seemed to be of the *albatross* kind. The upper part of the wings, and tip of the tail, were black, with the rest white; the bill yellowish; upon the whole, not unlike the sea-gull, though larger.

On the 6th, at noon, being in the latitude of 44° 10 N., and the longitude of 234$\frac{1}{2}$° E., we saw two seals and several whales; and at day-break the next morning, the long-looked-

* See the account of Sir Francis's voyage, in Campbell's edition of Harris, vol. i. p. 18, and other collections.

† See Torquemada's Narrative of Viscaino's Expedition in 1602 and 1603, in the second volume of Venegas' History of California, English translation, from p. 229 to p. 308.

for coast of New Albion * was seen, extending from north-east to south-east, distant ten or twelve leagues. At noon our latitude was 44° 33′ N., and our longitude 235° 20′ E.; and the land extended from north-east half north, to south-east by south, about eight leagues distant. In this situation we had seventy-three fathoms water over a muddy bottom, and about a league farther off found ninety fathoms. The land appeared to be of a moderate height, diversified with hills and valleys, and almost everywhere covered with wood. There was, however, no very striking object on any part of it, except one hill, whose elevated summit was flat. This bore east from us, at noon. At the northern extreme the land formed a point, which I called *Cape Foulweather*, from the very bad weather that we soon after met with. I judge it to lie in the latitude of 44° 55′ N., and in the longitude of 235° 54′ E. We had variable light airs and calms till eight o'clock in the evening, when a breeze sprung up at south-west. With it I stood to the north-west, under an easy sail, waiting for daylight to range along the coast. But at four, next morning, the wind shifted to north-west, and blew in squalls, with rain. Our course was north-east, till near ten o'clock, when, finding that I could made no progress on this tack, and seeing nothing like a harbour, I tacked and stood off south-west. At this time, Cape Foulweather bore north-east by north, about eight leagues distant. Toward noon the wind veered more to the westward, and the weather became fair and clear, so that we were enabled to make lunar observations. Having reduced all those we had made since the 19th of last month to the present ones, by the time-keeper, amounting, in the whole, to seventy-two sets, their mean result determined the longitude to be 235° 15′ 26″ E., which was 14° 11′ less than what the time-keeper gave. This longitude is made use of for settling that of the coast, and I have not a doubt of its being within a very few miles of the truth.

Our difficulties now began to increase. In the evening the wind came to the north-west, blowing in squalls with hail and sleet; and the weather being thick and hazy, I stood out to sea till near noon the next day, when I tacked and stood in again for the land, which made its appearance at two in the afternoon, bearing east north-east. The wind and weather continued the same; but, in the evening, the former veered more to the west, and the latter grew worse, which made it necessary to tack and stand off till four the next morning, when I ventured to stand in again. At four in the afternoon we saw the land, which, at six, extended from north-east half east, to south-east by south, about eight leagues distant. In this situation we tacked and sounded; but a line of a hundred and sixty fathoms did not reach the ground. I stood off till midnight, then stood in again; and at half past six, we were within three leagues of the land, which extended from north by east half east, to south half east; each extreme about seven leagues distant. Seeing no signs of a harbour, and the weather being still unsettled, I tacked and stretched off south-west, having then fifty-five fathoms water over a muddy bottom.

That part of the land, which we were so near when we tacked, is of a moderate height, though, in some places, it rises higher within. It was diversified with a great many rising grounds and small hills; many of which were entirely covered with tall straight trees; and others, which were lower, and grew in spots like coppices; but the interspaces and sides of many of the rising grounds were clear. The whole, though it might make an agreeable summer prospect, had now an uncomfortable appearance, as the bare grounds toward the coast were all covered with snow, which seemed to be of a considerable depth between the little hills and rising grounds; and, in several places toward the sea, might easily have been mistaken, at a distance, for white cliffs. The snow on the rising grounds was thinner spread; and farther inland, there was no appearance of any; from whence we might, perhaps, conclude that what we saw toward the sea had fallen during the night, which was colder than any we had experienced since our arrival on the coast; and we had sometimes a kind of sleet. The coast seemed everywhere almost straight, without any opening or inlet; and it appeared to terminate in a kind of white sandy beach; though some on board thought that appearance was owing to the snow. Each extreme of the land that was now before us seemed to shoot out into a point. The northern one was the same which we had first seen on the 7th; and on that account I called it *Cape Perpetua*. It lies in the

* This part of the west side of North America was so named by Sir Francis Drake.

latitude of 44° 6′ N., and in the longitude of 235° 52′ E. The southern extreme before us, I named *Cape Gregory**. Its latitude is 43° 30′, and its longitude 235° 57′ E. It is a remarkable point: the land of it rising almost directly from the sea to a tolerable height, while that on each side of it is low.

I continued standing off till one in the afternoon. Then I tacked and stood in, hoping to have the wind off from the land in the night. But in this I was mistaken; for at five o'clock it began to veer to the west and south-west; which obliged me, once more, to stand out to sea. At this time Cape Perpetua bore north-east by north; and the farthest land we could see to the south of Cape Gregory bore south by east, perhaps ten or twelve leagues distant. If I am right in this estimation, its latitude will be 43° 10′, and its longitude 235° 55′ east, which is nearly the situation of Cape Blanco, discovered or seen by Martin d'Aguilar, on the 19th of January, 1603. It is worth observing, that, in the very latitude where we now were, geographers have been pleased to place a large entrance or strait, the discovery of which they take upon them to ascribe to the same navigator: whereas nothing more is mentioned in the account of his voyage, than his having seen, in this situation, a large river, which he would have entered, but was prevented by the currents†.

The wind, as I have observed, had veered to the south-west in the evening; but it was very unsettled, and blew in squalls with snow showers. In one of these, at midnight, it shifted at once to west northwest, and soon increased to a very hard gale, with heavy squalls, attended with sleet or snow. There was no choice now; and we were obliged to stretch to the southward, in order to get clear of the coast. This was done under courses, and two close-reefed topsails; being rather more sail than the ships could safely bear: but it was necessary to carry it to avoid the more pressing danger of being forced on shore. This gale continued till eight o'clock in the morning of the 13th; when it abated, and I stood in again for the land. We had been forced a considerable way backward; for at the time of our tacking, we were in the latitude of 42° 45′, and in the longitude of 233° 30′. The wind continued at west, and north-west; storms, moderate weather, and calms, succeeding each other by turns, till the morning of the 21st; when, after a few hours' calm, a breeze sprung up at south-west. This bringing with it fair weather, I steered north-easterly, in order to fall in with the land, beyond that part of it where we had already so unprofitably been tossed about for the last fortnight. In the evening, the wind veered to the westward; and at eight o'clock, the next morning, we saw the land, extending from north-east to east, nine leagues distant. At this time we were in the latitude of 47° 5′ north, and in the longitude of 235° 10′ east.

I continued to stand to the north with a fine breeze at west, and west north-west, till near seven o'clock in the evening, when I tacked to wait for daylight. At this time we were in forty-eight fathoms' water, and about four leagues from the land, which extended from north to south east half east, and a small round hill, which had the appearance of being an island, bore north three quarters east, distant six or seven leagues, as I guessed; it appears to be of a tolerable height, and was but just to be seen from the deck. Between this island or rock, and the northern extreme of the land, there appeared to be a small opening, which flattered us with the hopes of finding a harbour. These hopes lessened as we drew nearer; and, at last, we had some reason to think, that the opening was closed by low land. On this account I called the point of land to the north of it *Cape Flattery*. It lies in the latitude of 48° 15′ north, and in the longitude of 235° 3′ east. There is a round hill of a moderate height over it; and all the land upon this part of the coast is of a moderate and pretty equal height, well covered with wood, and had a very pleasant and fertile appearance. It is in this very latitude where we now were, that geographers have placed the pretended strait of Juan de Fuca. We saw nothing like it; nor is there the least probability that ever any such thing existed‡.

I stood off to the southward till night, when I tacked and steered to the north-west, with

* In our calendar, the 7th of March is distinguished by the name of Perpetua M. and the 12th by that of Gregory B.

† See the History of California. Eng. Trans. vol. ii. p. 292.

‡ See Michael Locke's apocryphal account of Juan de Fuca, and his pretended strait, in Purchas, vol. iii. p. 849—852, and many later collections.

a gentle breeze at south-west, intending to stand in for the land as soon as daylight should appear. But, by that time, we were reduced to two courses and close-reefed topsails, having a very hard gale, with rain, right on shore; so that, instead of running in for the land, I was glad to get an offing, or to keep that which we had already got. The south-west wind was, however, but of short continuance; for in the evening it veered again to the west. Thus we had perpetually strong west and north-west winds to encounter. Sometimes in an evening the wind would become moderate, and veer to the southward; but this was always a sure prelude to a storm, which blew the hardest at south south-east, and was attended with rain and sleet. It seldom lasted above four or six hours, before it was succeeded by another gale from the north-west, which generally brought with it fair weather. It was by the means of these southerly blasts that we were enabled to get to the north-west at all.

At length, at nine o'clock in the morning of the 29th, as we were standing to the north-east, we again saw the land, which, at noon, extended from north-west by west to east south-east, the nearest part about six leagues distant. Our latitude was now 49° 29′ north, and our longitude 232° 29′ east The appearance of the country differed much from that of the parts which we had before seen, being full of high mountains, whose summits were covered with snow; but the valleys between them, and the grounds on the sea-coast, high as well as low, were covered to a considerable breadth with high straight trees, that formed a beautiful prospect, as of one vast forest. The south-east extreme of the land formed a low point, off which are many breakers, occasioned by sunken rocks. On this account it was called *Point Breakers*. It lies in the latitude of 49° 15′ north, and in the longitude of 233° 20 east; and the other extreme, in about the latitude of 50°, and the longitude of 232°. I named this last *Woody Point*. It projects pretty much out to the south-west, and is high land. Between these two points, the shore forms a large bay, which I called *Hope Bay;* hoping, from the appearance of the land, to find in it a good harbour. The event proved, that we were not mistaken.

As we drew nearer the coast, we perceived the appearance of two inlets; one in the north-west, and the other in the north-east corner of the bay. As I could not fetch the former, I bore up to the latter, and passed some breakers, or sunken rocks, that lay a league or more from the shore. We had nineteen and twenty fathoms' water half a league without them; but as soon as we had passed them, the depth increased to thirty, forty, and fifty fathoms, with a sandy bottom; and farther in we found no ground with the greatest length of line. Notwithstanding appearances, we were not yet sure that there were any inlets; but as we were in a deep bay, I resolved to anchor, with a view to endeavour to get some water, of which, by this time, we were in great want. At length, as we advanced, the existence of the inlet was no longer doubtful. At five o'clock we reached the west point of it, where we were becalmed for some time. While in this situation I ordered all the boats to be hoisted out to tow the ships in. But this was hardly done before a fresh breeze sprung up again at north-west, with which we were enabled to stretch up into an arm of the inlet, that was observed by us to run in to the north-east. There we were again becalmed, and obliged to anchor in eighty-five fathoms' water, and so near the shore as to reach it with a hawser. The wind failed the Discovery before she got within the arm, where she anchored, and found only seventy fathoms.

We no sooner drew near the inlet, than we found the coast to be inhabited; and at the place where we were first becalmed three canoes came off to the ship. In one of these were two men, in another six, and in the third ten. Having come pretty near us, a person in one of the two last stood up, and made a long harangue, inviting us to land, as we guessed by his gestures. At the same time, he kept strewing handfuls of feathers towards us*; and some of his companions threw handfuls of red dust or powder in the same manner. The person who played the orator wore the skin of some animal, and held in each hand something which rattled as he kept shaking it. After tiring himself with his repeated exhortations, of which we did not understand a word, he was quiet; and then others took it, by turns, to say something, though they acted their part neither so long, nor with so much vehemence as the other. We observed that two or three had their hair quite strewed over

* The natives of this coast, twelve degrees farther south, also brought feathers as presents to Sir Francis Drake on his arrival. See an account of his voyage in *Campbell's edit. of Harris*, vol. i. p. 13.

with small white feathers, and others had large ones stuck into different parts of the head. After the tumultuous noise had ceased, they lay at a little distance from the ship, and conversed with each other in a very easy manner; nor did they seem to show the least surprise or distrust. Some of them now and then got up, and said something after the manner of their first harangues; and one sang a very agreeable air, with a degree of sweetness and melody which we could not have expected; the word *haela*, being often repeated as the burden of the song. The breeze which soon after sprung up bringing us nearer to the shore, the canoes began to come off in greater numbers; and we had, at one time, thirty-two of them near the ship, carrying from three to seven or eight persons each, both men and women. Several of these stood up in their canoes haranguing, and making gestures after the manner of our first visitors. One canoe was remarkable for a singular head, which had a bird's eye and bill, of an enormous size, painted on it; and a person who was in it, who seemed to be a chief, was no less remarkable for his uncommon appearance; having many feathers hanging from his head, and being painted in an extraordinary manner*. He held in his hand a carved bird of wood, as large as a pigeon, with which he rattled as the person first mentioned had done; and was no less vociferous in his harangue, which was attended with some expressive gestures.

Though our visitors behaved very peaceably, and could not be suspected of any hostile intention, we could not prevail upon any of them to come on board. They showed great readiness, however, to part with anything they had, and took from us whatever we offered them in exchange; but were more desirous of iron than of any other of our articles of commerce; appearing to be perfectly acquainted with the use of that metal. Many of the canoes followed us to our anchoring-place; and a group of about ten or a dozen of them remained alongside the Resolution most part of the night. These circumstances gave us a reasonable ground of hope, that we should find this a comfortable station to supply all our wants, and to make us forget the hardships and delays experienced during a constant succession of adverse winds and boisterous weather, almost ever since our arrival upon the coast of America.

BOOK IV.

TRANSACTIONS AMONGST THE NATIVES OF NORTH AMERICA; DISCOVERIES ALONG THAT COAST AND THE EASTERN EXTREMITY OF ASIA, NORTHWARD TO ICY CAPE; AND RETURN SOUTHWARD TO THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

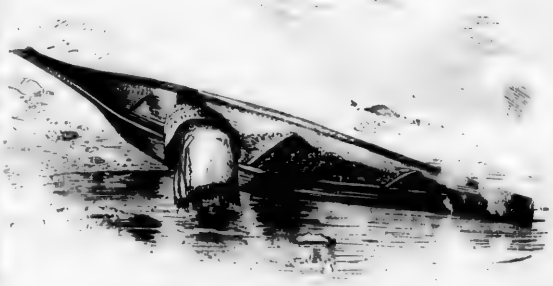
CHAPTER I. — THE SHIPS ENTER THE SOUND, AND MOOR IN A HARBOUR. — INTERCOURSE WITH THE NATIVES. — ARTICLES BROUGHT TO BARTER. — THEFTS COMMITTED. — THE OBSERVATORIES ERECTED, AND CARPENTERS SET TO WORK. — JEALOUSY OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE SOUND TO PREVENT OTHER TRIBES HAVING INTERCOURSE WITH THE SHIPS.—STORMY AND RAINY WEATHER.—PROGRESS ROUND THE SOUND.—BEHAVIOUR OF THE NATIVES AT THEIR VILLAGES.—THEIR MANNER OF DRYING FISH, ETC.—REMARKABLE VISIT FROM STRANGERS, AND INTRODUCTORY CEREMONIES. — A SECOND VISIT TO ONE OF THE VILLAGES.—LEAVE TO CUT GRASS PURCHASED.—THE SHIPS SAIL.—PRESENTS GIVEN AND RECEIVED AT PARTING.

The ships having happily found so excellent shelter in an inlet, the coasts of which appeared to be inhabited by a race of people whose inoffensive behaviour promised a friendly intercourse, the next morning, after coming to anchor, I lost no time in endeavouring to find a commodious harbour, where we might station ourselves during our continuance in

* Viscaino met with natives on the coast of California, while he was in the harbour of San Diego, *who were painted or besmeared with black and white, and had their heads loaded with feathers.*—History of California, vol. ii. p. 272.

the sound. Accordingly, I sent three armed boats, under the command of Mr. King, upon this service; and soon after I went myself, in a small boat, on the same search. I had very little trouble in finding what we wanted. On the north-west of the arm we were now in, and not far from the ships, I met with a convenient snug cove well suited to our purpose. Mr. King was equally successful; for he returned about noon, with an account of a still better harbour which he had seen and examined, lying on the north-west side of the land. But as it would have required more time to carry the ships thither than to the cove where I had been, which was immediately within our reach, this reason operated to determine my choice in favour of the latter situation. But being apprehensive that we should not be able to transport our ships to it, and to moor them properly, before night came on, I thought it best to remain where we were till next morning; and, that no time might be lost, I employed the remainder of the day to some useful purposes, ordering the sails to be unbent, the topmasts to be struck, and the foremast of the Resolution to be unrigged, in order to fix a new bib, one of the old ones being decayed.

A great many canoes, filled with the natives, were about the ships all day; and a trade commenced betwixt us and them, which was carried on with the strictest honesty on both sides. The articles which they offered to sale were skins of various animals, such as bears, wolves, foxes, deer, racoons, polecats, martins; and, in particular, of the sea otters, which are found at the islands east of Kamtschatka. Besides the skins in their native shape, they also brought garments made of them, and another sort of clothing made of the bark of a tree, or some plant like hemp; weapons, such as bows, arrows, and spears; fish-hooks, and instruments of various kinds; wooden vizors of many different monstrous figures; a sort of woollen stuff, or blanketing; bags filled with red ochre; pieces of carved work; beads; and several other little ornaments of thin brass or iron, shaped like a horse-shoe, which they hang at their noses; and several chisels, or pieces of iron fixed to handles. From their possessing which metals, we could infer that they had either been visited before by some civilised nation, or had connexions with tribes on their continent who had communication with them. But the most extraordinary of all the articles which they brought to the ships for sale were human skulls, and hands not yet quite stripped of the flesh, which they made our people plainly understand they had eaten, and, indeed, some of them had evident marks that they had been upon the fire. We had but too much reason to suspect, from this circumstance, that the horrid practice of feeding on their enemies is as prevalent here as we had found it to be at New Zealand and other South Sea Islands. For the various articles which they brought, they took in exchange knives, chisels, pieces of iron and tin, nails, looking-glasses, buttons, or any kind of metal. Glass beads they were not fond of; and cloth of every sort they rejected.



NOOTKA SOUND CANOE.

We employed the next day in hauling our ships into the cove, where they were moored head and stern, fastening our hawsers to the trees on shore. On heaving up the anchor of the Resolution, we found, notwithstanding the great depth of water in which it was let go, that there were rocks at the bottom. These had done some considerable damage to the cable; and the hawsers that were carried out, to warp the ship into the cove, also got foul of rocks; from which it appeared that the whole bottom was strewed with them. The ship being again very leaky in her upper works, I ordered the carpenters to go to work to caulk her, and to repair such other defects as on examination we might discover.

The fame of our arrival brought a great concourse of the natives to our ships in the course of this day. We counted above a hundred canoes at one time, which might be supposed to contain, at an average, five persons each; for few of them had less than three on board; great numbers had seven, eight, or nine; and one was manned with no less than seventeen. Amongst these visitors, many now favoured us with their company for the first time, which we could guess from their approaching the ships with their orations and other ceremonies. If they had any distrust or fear of us at first, they now appeared to have laid it aside; for they came on board the ships, and mixed with our people with the greatest freedom. We soon discovered, by this nearer intercourse, that they were as light-fingered as any of our friends in the islands we had visited in the course of the voyage. And they were far more dangerous thieves; for, possessing sharp iron instruments, they could cut a hook from a tackle, or any other piece of iron from a rope, the instant that our backs were turned. A large hook, weighing between twenty and thirty pounds, several smaller ones, and other articles of iron, were lost in this manner. And, as to our boats, they stripped them of every bit of iron that was worth carrying away, though we had always men left in them as a guard. They were dexterous enough in effecting their purposes; for one fellow would contrive to amuse the boat-keeper at one end of a boat, while another was pulling out the iron work at the other. If we missed a thing immediately after it had been stolen, we found little difficulty in detecting the thief, as they were ready enough to impeach one another. But the guilty person generally relinquished his prize with reluctance; and sometimes we found it necessary to have recourse to force.

The ships being securely moored, we began our other necessary business the next day. The observatories were carried ashore, and placed upon an elevated rock on one side of the cove, close to the Resolution. A party of men, with an officer, was sent to cut wood, and to clear a place for the conveniency of watering. Others were employed to brew spruce-beer, as pine trees abounded here. The forge was also set up, to make the iron-work wanting for the repairs of the foremast. But, besides one of the bibs being defective, the larboard trestle-tree, and one of the cross-trees, were sprung.

A considerable number of the natives visited us daily; and every now and then we saw new faces. On their first coming, they generally went through a singular mode of introducing themselves. They would paddle, with all their strength, quite round both ships, a chief, or other principal person, in the canoe, standing up with a spear, or some other weapon, in his hand, and speaking, or rather hallooing all the time. Sometimes the orator of the canoe would have his face covered with a mask, representing either a human visage, or that of some animal; and, instead of a weapon, would hold a rattle in his hand, as before described*. After making this circuit round the ships, they would come alongside, and begin to trade without further ceremony. Very often, indeed, they would first give us a song, in which all in the canoe joined, with a very pleasing harmony.

During these visits they gave us no other trouble than to guard against their thievish tricks. But, in the morning of the 4th, we had a serious alarm. Our party on shore, who were employed in cutting wood and filling water, observed that the natives all around them were arming themselves in the best manner they could; those who were not possessed of proper weapons, preparing sticks and collecting stones. On hearing this I thought it prudent to arm also; but being determined to act upon the defensive, I ordered all our workmen to retreat to the rock, upon which we had placed our observatories; leaving the natives in quiet possession of the ground where they had assembled, which was within a stone's throw of the Resolution's stern. Our fears were ill-grounded: these hostile preparations were not directed

* The medicine man, at once, priest, physician, and conjuror, is here described. A very curious and minute account of the inhabitants of Nootka Sound was published in America several years ago, and reprinted in England, written by John R. Jewitt, an English sailor, belonging to an American ship which was seized by the natives, who massacred all the crew with the exception of Jewitt and one other of his companions. Jewitt, who possessed an education far superior to sailors generally, and who won much favour from the natives by his skill in working in iron, being by trade a smith, has given one of the best accounts of savage life which we possess. In subsequent pages we shall have occasion again to refer to it. The manners and customs of the Indians of Nootka Sound appear to be very similar to those of the Indians eastward of the Rocky Mountains, of whom some interesting particulars have recently been made public by Mr. Catlin, in his "Letters on the North American Indians."—Ed.

against us, but against a body of their own countrymen, who were coming to fight them: and our friends of the Sound, on observing our apprehensions, used their best endeavours to convince us that this was the case. We could see that they had people looking out, on each point of the cove, and canoes frequently passed between them and the main body assembled near the ships. At length the adverse party, in about a dozen large canoes, appeared off the south point of the cove, where they stopped, and lay drawn up in line of battle, a negotiation having commenced. Some people in canoes, in conducting the treaty, passed between the two parties, and there was some speaking on both sides. At length, the difference whatever it was, seemed to be compromised; but the strangers were not allowed to come alongside the ships, nor to have any trade or intercourse with us. Probably we were the cause of the quarrel; the strangers, perhaps, being desirous to share in the advantages of a trade with us; and our first friends, the inhabitants of the Sound, being determined to engross us entirely to themselves. We had proofs of this on several other occasions; nay, it appeared that even those who lived in the Sound were not united in the same cause; for the weaker were frequently obliged to give way to the stronger party, and plundered of everything, without attempting to make the least resistance.

We resumed our work in the afternoon, and the next day, rigged the foremast; the head of which being rather too small for the cap, the carpenter went to work to fix a piece on one side, to fill up the vacant space. In cutting into the mast-head for this purpose, and examining the state of it, both cheeks were found to be so rotten that there was no possibility of repairing them; and it became necessary to get the mast out, and to fix new ones upon it. It was evident that one of the cheeks had been defective at the first, and that the unsound part had been cut out, and a piece put in, which had not only weakened the mast-head, but had, in a great measure, been the occasion of rotting every other part of both cheeks. Thus, when we were almost ready to put to sea, we had all our work to do over again; and what was still more provoking, an additional repair was to be undertaken, which would require some time to be completed. But as there was no remedy, we immediately set about it. It was fortunate for the voyage that these defects were discovered when we were in a place where the materials requisite were to be procured. For, amongst the drift-wood in the cove where the ships lay, were some small seasoned trees very fit for our purpose. One of these was pitched upon; and the carpenters began, without loss of time, to make out of it two new cheeks. In the morning of the 7th, we got the foremast out, and hauled it ashore; and the carpenters of the ships were set to work upon it. Some parts of the lower standing rigging having been found to be very much decayed, as we had time now to put them in order, while the carpenters were repairing the foremast, I ordered a new set of main-rigging to be fitted, and a more perfect set of fore-rigging to be selected out of the best parts of the old.

From the time of our putting into the Sound till now, the weather had been exceedingly fine, without either wind or rain. That comfort, at the very moment when the continuance of it would have been of most service, was withdrawn. In the morning of the 8th, the wind freshened at south-east, attended with thick hazy weather and rain. In the afternoon the wind increased: and toward the evening it blew very hard indeed. It came, in excessively heavy squalls, from over the high land on the opposite shore, right into the cove; and, though the ships were very well moored, put them in some danger. These tempestuous blasts succeeded each other pretty quick; but they were of short duration; and in the intervals between them we had a perfect calm. According to the old proverb, "misfortunes seldom come single;" the mizen was now the only mast on board the Resolution that remained rigged, with its topmast up. The former was so defective that it could not support the latter during the violence of the squalls, but gave way at the head under the rigging. About eight o'clock the gale abated; but the rain continued with very little intermission for several days; and, that the carpenters might be enabled to proceed in their labours, while it prevailed, a tent was erected over the foremast, where they could work with some degree of convenience. The bad weather which now came on did not, however, hinder the natives from visiting us daily; and, in such circumstances, their visits were very advantageous to us. For they frequently brought us a tolerable supply of fish, when we could not catch any ourselves with

hook and line; and there was not a proper place near us where we could draw a net. The fish which they brought us were either sardines, or what resembled them much, a small kind of bream, and sometimes small cod.

On the 11th, notwithstanding the rainy weather, the main-rigging was fixed and got over head; and our employment, the day after, was to take down the mizen-mast, the head of which proved to be so rotten that it dropped off while in the slings. In the evening we were visited by a tribe of natives whom we had never seen before; and who, in general, were better looking people than most of our old friends, some of whom attended them. I prevailed upon these visitors to go down into the cabin for the first time; and observed, that there was not a single object that fixed the attention of most of them for a moment; their countenances marking that they looked upon all our novelties with the utmost indifference. This, however, was not without exception; for a few of the company showed a certain degree of curiosity.

In the afternoon of the next day I went into the woods with a party of our men, and cut down a tree for a mizen-mast. On the day following it was brought to the place where the carpenters were employed upon the foremast In the evening the wind, which had been for some time westerly, veered to the south-east, and increased to a very hard gale, with rain, which continued till eight o'clock the next morning, when it abated, and veered again to the west. The foremast being by this time finished, we hauled it alongside; but the bad weather prevented our getting it in till the afternoon, and we set about rigging it with the greatest expedition, while the carpenters were going on with the mizen-mast on shore. They had made very considerable progress in it on the 16th, when they discovered that the stick upon which they were at work was sprung, or wounded, owing, as supposed, to some accident in cutting it down. So that all our labour was thrown away; and it became necessary to get another tree out of the woods, which employed all hands above half a day. During these various operations several of the natives, who were about the ships, looked on with an expressive silent surprise, which we did not expect, from their general indifference and inattention.

On the 18th a party of strangers, in six or eight canoes, came into the cove, where they remained looking at us for some time, and then retired without coming alongside either ship. We supposed that our old friends, who were more numerous at this time about us than these new visitors, would not permit them to have an intercourse with us. It was evident, upon this and several other occasions, that the inhabitants of the adjoining parts of the Sound engrossed us entirely to themselves; or if at any time they did not hinder strangers from trading with us, they contrived to manage the trade for them in such a manner that the price of their commodities was always kept up, while the value of ours was lessening every day. We also found that many of the principal natives who lived near us, carried on a trade with more distant tribes in the articles they had procured from us; for we observed that they would frequently disappear for four or five days at a time, and then return with fresh cargoes of skins and curiosities, which our people were so passionately fond of that they always came to a good market. But we received most benefit from such of the natives as visited us daily. These, after disposing of all their little trifles, turned their attention to fishing, and we never failed to partake of what they caught. We also got from these people a considerable quantity of very good animal oil, which they had reserved in bladders. In this traffic some would attempt to cheat us, by mixing water with the oil; and, once or twice, they had the address to carry their imposition so far as to fill their bladders with mere water, without a single drop of oil. It was always better to bear with these tricks than to make them the foundation of a quarrel; for our articles of traffic consisted, for the most part, of mere trifles; and yet we were put to our shifts to find a constant supply even of these. Beads, and such other toys, of which I had some left, were in little estimation. Nothing would go down with our visitors but metal; and brass had by this time supplanted iron, being so eagerly sought after, that before we left this place hardly a bit of it was left in the ships, except what belonged to our necessary instruments. Whole suits of clothes were stripped of every button, bureaus of their furniture, and copper kettles, tin canisters, candlesticks, and the like, all went to wreck; so that our American friends here got a greater

medley and variety of things from us than any other nation whom we had visited in the course of the voyage.

After a fortnight's bad weather, the 19th proving a fair day, we availed ourselves of it to get up the topmasts and yards, and to fix up the rigging. And, having now finished most of our heavy work, I set out the next morning to take a view of the Sound. I first went to the west point, where I found a large village, and before it a very snug harbour, in which were from nine to four fathoms' water, over a bottom of fine sand. The people of this village, who were numerous, and to most of whom I was well known, received me very courteously, every one pressing me to go into his house, or rather his apartment; for several families live under the same roof. I did not decline the invitation; and my hospitable friends whom I visited spread a mat for me to sit upon, and showed me every other mark of civility. In most of the houses were women at work, making dresses of the plant or bark before mentioned, which they executed exactly in the same manner that the New Zealanders manufacture their cloth. Others were occupied in opening sardines. I had seen a large quantity of them brought on shore from canoes, and divided by measure amongst several people, who carried them up to their houses, where the operation of curing them by smoke-drying is performed. They hang them on small rods, at first about a foot from the fire; afterwards they remove them higher and higher, to make room for others, till the rods on which the fish hang reach the top of the house. When they are completely dried they are taken down and packed close in bales, which they cover with mats. Thus they are kept till wanted; and they are not a disagreeable article of food. Cod, and other large fish, are also cured in the same manner by them; though they sometimes dry these in the open air, without fire.

From this village I proceeded up the west side of the Sound. For about three miles I found the shore covered with small islands, which are so situated as to form several convenient harbours, having various depths of water, from thirty to seven fathoms, with a good bottom. Two leagues within the Sound, on this west side, there runs in an arm in the direction of north north-west; and two miles farther is another nearly in the same direction, with a pretty large island before it. I had no time to examine either of these arms; but have reason to believe that they do not extend far inland, as the water was no more than brackish at their entrances. A mile above the second arm, I found the remains of a village. The logs or framings of the houses were standing; but the boards that had composed their sides and roofs did not exist*. Before this village were some large fishing weirs; but I saw nobody attending them. These weirs were composed of pieces of wicker-work made of small rods, some closer than others, according to the size of the fish intended to be caught in them. These pieces of wicker-work (some of whose superficies are at least twenty feet by twelve), are fixed up edgewise in shallow water, by strong poles or pickets that stand firm in the ground. Behind this ruined village is a plain of a few hours' extent, covered with the largest pine-trees that I ever saw. This was the more remarkable, as the elevated ground, in most other parts of this west side of the Sound, was rather naked.

From this place I crossed over to the other, or east side of the Sound, passing an arm of it that runs in north north-east, to appearance not far. I now found what I had before conjectured, that the land under which the ships lay was an island; and that there were many smaller ones lying scattered in the Sound on the west side of it. Opposite the north end of our large island, upon the mainland, I observed a village, and there I landed. The inhabitants of it were not so polite as those of the other I had just visited. But this cold reception seemed, in a great measure, if not entirely, owing to one surly chief, who would not let me enter their houses, following me wherever I went; and several times, by expressive signs, marking his impatience that I should be gone. I attempted in vain to soothe him by presents; but though he did not refuse them, they did not alter his behaviour. Some of the young women, better pleased with us than was their inhospitable chief, dressed

* The natives are accustomed to move from station to station, for the convenience of fishing. At each station they are accustomed to frequent they erect the frames of their houses, but the boards forming the outer covering are carried about with them. It was therefore only a dismantled, not a ruined, village which was seen by Captain Cook.—Ed.

themselves expeditiously in their best apparel, and assembling in a body welcomed us to their village, by joining in a song, which was far from harsh or disagreeable. The day being now far spent, I proceeded for the ships round the north end of the large island; meeting in my way with several canoes laden with sardines, which had been just caught somewhere in the east corner of the Sound. When I got on board I was informed, that while I was absent the ships had been visited by some strangers, in two or three large canoes, who by signs made our people understand that they had come from the south-east, beyond the bay. They brought several skins, garments, and other articles, which they bartered. But what was most singular, two silver table-spoons were purchased from them, which, from their peculiar shape, we supposed to be of Spanish manufacture. One of these strangers wore them round his neck by way of ornament. These visitors also appeared to be more plentifully supplied with iron than the inhabitants of the Sound.

The mizen-mast being finished, it was got in and rigged on the 21st; and the carpenters were set to work to make a new fore-topmast, to replace the one that had been carried away some time before. Next morning, about eight o'clock, we were visited by a number of strangers in twelve or fourteen canoes. They came into the cove from the southward; and as soon as they had turned the point of it, they stopped, and lay drawn up in a body above half an hour, about two or three hundred yards from the ships. At first we thought that they were afraid to come nearer; but we were mistaken in this, and they were only preparing an introductory ceremony. On advancing toward the ships, they all stood up in their canoes, and began to sing. Some of their songs, in which the whole body joined, were in a slow, and others in quicker time; and they accompanied their notes with the most regular motions of their hands; or beating in concert, with their paddles, on the sides of the canoes; and making other very expressive gestures. At the end of each song they remained silent a few seconds, and then began again, sometimes pronouncing the word *hoee!* forcibly, as a chorus. After entertaining us with this specimen of their music, which we listened to with admiration, for above half an hour, they came alongside the ships and bartered what they had to dispose of. Some of our old friends of the Sound were now found to be amongst them; and they took the whole management of the traffic between us and the strangers, much to the advantage of the latter.

Our attendance on these visitors being finished, Captain Clerke and I went in the forenoon with two boats to the village at the west point of the Sound. When I was there the day before, I had observed that plenty of grass grew near it, and it was necessary to lay in a quantity of this as food for the few goats and sheep which were still left on board. The inhabitants received us with the same demonstrations of friendship which I had experienced before; and the moment we landed, I ordered some of my people to begin their operation of cutting. I had not the least imagination that the natives could make any objection to our furnishing ourselves with what seemed to be of no use to them, but was necessary for us. However, I was mistaken, for the moment that our men began to cut, some of the inhabitants interposed and would not permit them to proceed, saying they must "*makook;*" that is, must first buy it. I was now in one of the houses, but as soon as I heard of this, I went to the field, where I found about a dozen of the natives, each of whom laid claim to some part of the grass that grew in this place. I bargained with them for it, and having completed the purchase, thought we were now at liberty to cut wherever we pleased; but here, again, it appeared that I was under a mistake, for the liberal manner in which I had paid the first pretended proprietors, brought fresh demands upon me from others, so that there did not seem to be a single blade of grass that had not a separate owner; and so many of them were to be satisfied, that I very soon emptied my pockets. When they found that I really had nothing more to give, their importunities ceased, and we were permitted to cut wherever we pleased, and as much as we chose to carry away.

Here I must observe, that I have nowhere in my several voyages met with any uncivilised nation or tribe who had such strict notions of their having a right to the exclusive property of everything that their country produces, as the inhabitants of this Sound. At first they wanted our people to pay for the wood and water that they carried on board, and had I been upon the spot when these demands were made, I should certainly have complied with

them. Our workmen, in my absence, thought differently, for they took but little notice of such claims, and the natives, when they found that we were determined to pay nothing, at last ceased to apply. But they made a merit of necessity, and frequently afterward took occasion to remind us that they had given us wood and water out of friendship *.

During the time I was at this village, Mr. Webber, who had attended me thither, made drawings of everything that was curious, both within and without doors. I had also an opportunity of inspecting more narrowly the construction of the houses, household furniture, and utensils, and the striking peculiarities of the customs and modes of living of the inhabitants. These shall be described in another place in the best manner I can, calling in to my assistance the observations of Mr. Anderson. When we had completed all our operations at this village, the natives and we parted very good friends, and we got back to the ships in the afternoon. The three following days were employed in getting ready to put to sea, the sails were bent, the observatories and instruments, brewing vessels, and other things, were moved from the shore; some small spars for different uses, and pieces of timber which might be occasionally sawn into boards, were prepared and put on board, and both ships were cleared and put into a sailing condition.

Everything being now ready, in the morning of the 26th I intended to have put to sea, but both wind and tide being against us, was obliged to wait till noon, when the S.W. wind was succeeded by a calm; and the tide turning in our favour, we cast off the moorings, and with our boats towed the ships out of the cove. After this, we had variable light airs and calms till four in the afternoon, when a breeze sprung up northerly with very thick hazy weather. The mercury in the barometer fell unusually low; and we had every other forerunner of an approaching storm, which we had reason to expect would be from the southward; this made me hesitate a little, as night was at hand, whether I should venture to sail or wait till the next morning. But my anxious impatience to proceed upon the voyage, and the fear of losing this opportunity of getting out of the Sound, making a greater impression on my mind than any apprehension of immediate danger, I determined to put to sea at all events.

Our friends, the natives, attended us till we were almost out of the Sound, some on board the ships, and others in their canoes. One of their chiefs, who had some time before attached himself to me, was amongst the last who left us. Having, before he went, bestowed upon him a small present, I received in return a beaver skin of much greater value. This called upon me to make some addition to my present, which pleased him so much, that he insisted upon my acceptance of the beaver-skin cloak which he then wore, and of which I knew he was particularly fond. Struck with this instance of generosity, and desirous that he should be no sufferer by his friendship to me, I presented to him a new broad-sword with a brass hilt, the possession of which made him completely happy. He, and also many others of his countrymen, importuned us much to pay them another visit, and, by way of encouragement, promised to lay in a good stock of skins. I make no doubt, that whoever comes after me to this place, will find the natives prepared accordingly, with no inconsiderable supply of an article of trade, which they could observe we were eager to possess, and which we found could be purchased to great advantage.

Such particulars about the country and its inhabitants as came to our knowledge during our short stay, and have not been mentioned in the course of the narrative, will furnish materials for the two following chapters.

* Similar to the behaviour of the natives of Nootka on this occasion was that of another tribe of Indians farther north, in latitude 57° 18′, to the Spaniards, who had preceded Captain Cook only three years in a voyage to explore the coast of America, northward of California. See the journal of that voyage, writ by the second pilot of the fleet, and published by the Honourable Mr. Daines Barrington, to whom the literary world owes so many obligations.—Miscellanies, p. 505, 506.

CHAPTER II.—THE NAME OF THE SOUND, AND DIRECTIONS FOR SAILING INTO IT.—ACCOUN OF THE ADJACENT COUNTRY.—WEATHER.—CLIMATE.—TREES.—OTHER VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS.—QUADRUPEDS, WHOSE SKINS WERE BROUGHT FOR SALE.—SEA ANIMALS.—DESCRIPTION OF A SEA-OTTER.—BIRDS.—WATER-FOWL.—FISH.—SHELL-FISH, &c.—REPTILES.—INSECTS.—STONES, &c.—PERSONS OF THE INHABITANTS.—THEIR COLOUR.—COMMON DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.—OCCASIONAL DRESSES, MONSTROUS DECORATIONS OF WOODEN MASKS.—THEIR GENERAL DISPOSITIONS.—SONGS.—MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.—THEIR EAGERNESS TO POSSESS IRON AND OTHER METALS.

On my arrival in this inlet, I had honoured it with the name of King George's Sound, but I afterward found that it is called Nootka by the natives. The entrance is situated in the E. corner of Hope Bay, in the latitude of 49° 33′ N., and in the longitude of 233° 12′ E. The E. coast of that bay, all the way from Breaker's Point to the entrance of the Sound, is covered by a chain of sunken rocks, that seemed to extend some distance from the shore, and near the Sound are some islands and rocks above water. We enter this Sound between two rocky points that lie E.S.E., and W.N.W. from each other, distant between three and four miles. Within these points the Sound widens considerably, and extends in to the northward four leagues at least, exclusive of the several branches towards its bottom, the termination of which we had not an opportunity to ascertain. But, from the circumstance of finding that the water freshened where our boats crossed their entrance, it is probable that they had almost reached its utmost limits. And this probability is increased by the hills that bounded it toward the land being covered with thick snow, when those toward the sea, or where we lay, had not a speck remaining on them, though, in general, they were much higher. In the middle of the Sound are a number of islands of various sizes. The depth of water in the middle of the Sound, and even close home to some parts of its shore, is from forty-seven to ninety fathoms, and perhaps more. The harbours and anchoring-places within its circuit are numerous; but we had no time to survey them. The cove in which our ships lay is on the east side of the Sound, and on the east side of the largest of the islands. It is covered from the sea, but has little else to recommend it, being exposed to the south-east winds, which we found to blow with great violence; and the devastation they make sometimes was apparent in many places.

The land bordering upon the sea-coast is of a middling height and level; but within the Sound it rises almost everywhere into steep hills, which agree in their general formation, ending in round or blunted tops, with some sharp, though not very prominent, ridges on their sides. Some of these hills may be reckoned high, while others of them are of a very moderate height; but even the highest are entirely covered to their tops with the thickest woods, as well as every flat part toward the sea. There are sometimes spots upon the sides of some of the hills which are bare; but they are few in comparison of the whole, though they sufficiently point out the general rocky disposition of these hills. Properly speaking, they have no soil upon them, except a kind of compost, produced from rotten mosses and trees, of the depth of two feet or more. Their foundations are, therefore, to be considered as nothing more than stupendous rocks, of a whitish or grey cast, where they have been exposed to the weather; but, when broken, they appeared to be of a bluish-grey colour, like that universal sort which were found at Kerguelen's Land. The rocky shores are a continued mass of this; and the little coves in the Sound have beaches composed of fragments of it, with a few other pebbles. All these coves are furnished with a great quantity of fallen wood lying in them, which is carried in by the tide; and with rills of fresh water, sufficient for the use of a ship, which seem to be supplied entirely from the rains and fogs that hover about the tops of the hills. For few springs can be expected in so rocky a country, and the fresh water found farther up the Sound most probably arose from the melting of the snow; there being no room to suspect that any large river falls into the Sound, either from strangers coming down it, or from any other circumstance. The water of these rills is perfectly clear, and dissolves soap easily.

The weather, during our stay, corresponded pretty nearly with that which we had

experienced off the coast. That is, when the wind was anywhere between north and west, the weather was fine and clear; but if to the southward of west, hazy with rain. The climate, as far as we had any experience of it, is infinitely milder than that on the east coast of America, under the same parallel of latitude. The mercury in the thermometer never, even in the night, fell lower than 42°; and very often in the day it rose to 60°. No such thing as frost was perceived in any of the low ground; on the contrary, vegetation had made a considerable progress; for I met with grass that was already above a foot long. The trees which chiefly compose the woods are the Canadian pine, white cypress, *Cupressus thyoides*, the wild pine, with two or three other sorts of pine less common. The first two make up almost two-thirds of the whole; and, at a distance, might be mistaken for the same tree, as they both run up into pointed spire-like tops; but they are easily distinguished on coming nearer from their colour, the cypress being of a much paler green, or shade, than the other. The trees, in general, grow with great vigour, and are all of a large size.

There is but little variety of other vegetable productions, though, doubtless, several had not yet sprung up at the early season when we visited the place, and many more might be hid from the narrow sphere of our researches. About the rocks, and verge of the woods, we found strawberry plants, some raspberry, currant, and gooseberry bushes, which were all in a most flourishing state; with a few small black alder-trees. There are likewise a species of sow-thistle; goose-grass; some crow's-foot, which has a very fine crimson flower; and two sorts of *Anthericum;* one with a large orange flower, and the other with a blue one. We also found in these situations, some wild rose-bushes, which were just budding; a great quantity of young leeks with triangular leaves; a small sort of grass, and some water-cresses, which grow about the sides of the rills; besides great abundance of *Andromeda*. Within the woods, besides two sorts of underwood shrubs unknown to us, are mosses and ferns. Of the first of which, are seven or eight different sorts; of the last not above three or four; and the species of both are mostly such as are common to Europe and America.

As the season of the year was unfavourable to our gaining much knowledge of the vegetable productions of this country, so our own situation while there put it out of our power to learn much about its animals; for as the want of water made it necessary that we should enter the Sound at first, the unforeseen accidents which happened afterward, though they lengthened our stay, were rather unfavourable to our obtaining any knowledge of this kind. The emergency of the case required that every person should be constantly employed in the necessary business of the ships, which was the capital object, as the season was advancing very fast, and the success of the voyage depended upon their diligence and alacrity in expediting the various tasks assigned to them. Hence it happened that excursions of every kind, either on the land or by water, were never attempted. And as we lay in a cove on an island, no other animals were ever seen alive in the woods there, than two or three racoons, martins, and squirrels. Besides these, some of our people who one day landed on the continent near the south-east side of the entrance of the Sound, observed the prints of a bear's feet near the shore. The account, therefore, that we can give of the quadrupeds is taken from the skins which the natives brought to sell; and these were often so mutilated, with respect to the distinguishing parts, such as the paws, tails, and heads, that it was impossible even to guess at the animals to whom they belonged; though others were so perfect, or at least, so well known, that they left no room to doubt about them.

Of these the most common were bears, deer, foxes, and wolves. The bear-skins were in great numbers; few of them very large; but in general, of a shining black colour. The deer-skins were scarcer, and they seem to belong to that sort called the fallow-deer by the historians of Carolina; though Mr. Pennant thinks it quite a different species from ours, and distinguishes it by the name of Virginian deer*. The foxes are in great plenty, and of several varieties; some of their skins being quite yellow, with a black tip to the tail; others of a deep or reddish yellow, intermixed with black; and a third sort, of a whitish grey or ash-colour, also intermixed with black. Our people used to apply the name of fox or wolf indiscriminately, when the skins were so mutilated as to leave room for a doubt. But we got, at last, an entire wolf's skin with the head on; and it was grey. Besides the common sort of mar-

* See *Virginian deer:* Pennant's Hist. Quad. vol. i. No. 46; and Arctic Zool. No. 6.

tin, the pine-martin is also here; and another, whose skin is of a lighter brown colour than either, with coarser hair; but is not so common, and is, perhaps, only a mere variety arising from age, or some other accidental circumstance. The ermine is also found at this place, but is rare and small; nor is the hair remarkably fine, though the animal appeared to be perfectly white, and squirrels are of the common sort; but the latter is rather smaller than ours, and has a deeper rusty colour running along the back.

VIRGINIAN DEER.

We were clear as to the existence of all the animals already mentioned; but there are two others besides, which we could not distinguish with sufficient certainty. Of the first of these we saw none of the skins, but what were dressed or tanned like leather. The natives wear them on some occasions; and from the size as well as thickness, they were generally concluded to belong to the elk, or moose-deer; though some of them, perhaps, might belong to the buffalo. The other animal, which seems by no means rare, was guessed to be a species of the wild cat or *lynx*. The length of the skins without the head, which none of them had, was about two feet two inches. They are covered with a very fine wool or fur, of a very light brown or whitish yellow colour, intermixed with long hairs, which on the back, where they are shortest, are blackish; on the sides, where they are longer, of a silver white; and on the belly, where they are longest, of the colour of the wool; but the whitish or silver hairs are often so predominant, that the whole animal acquires a cast of that kind. The tail is only three inches long, and has a black tip. The whole skin being by the natives called *wanshee;* that, most probably, is their name for this animal. Hogs, dogs, and goats have not as yet found their way to this place. Nor do the natives seem to have any knowledge of our brown rats, to which, when they saw one on board the ships, they applied the name they give to squirrels. And though they called our goats *eincetla*, this, most probably, is their name for a young deer or fawn.

The sea animals seen off the coast were whales, porpoises, and seals. The last of these seem only of the common sort, judging from the skins which we saw here; their colour being either silvery, yellowish, plain, or spotted with black. The porpoise is the *phocena*. I have chosen to refer to this class the sea-otter, as living mostly in the water. It might have been sufficient to have mentioned that this animal abounds here, as it is fully described in different books, taken from the accounts of the Russian adventurers in their expeditions eastward from Kamtschatka, if there had not been a small difference in one that we saw. We for some time entertained doubts, whether the many skins which the natives brought, really belonged to this animal; as our only reason for being of that opinion was founded on the size, colour, and fineness of the fur; till a short while before our departure, when a whole one, that had been just killed, was purchased from some strangers who came to barter; and of this Mr. Webber made a drawing. It was rather young, weighing only twenty-five pounds, of a shining or glossy black colour; but many of the hairs being tipped with white, gave it a greyish cast at first sight. The face, throat, and breast, were of a yellowish white, or very light brown colour, which, in many of the skins, extended the whole length of the belly. It had six cutting teeth in each jaw; two of those of the lower jaw being very minute, and placed without, at the base of the two middle ones. In these circumstances it seems to

disagree with those found by the Russians; and also in not having the outer toes of the hind feet skirted with a membrane. There seemed also a greater variety in the colour of the skins than is mentioned by the describers of the Russian sea-otters. These changes of colour certainly take place at the different gradations of life. The very young ones had brown hair, which was coarse, with very little fur underneath; but those of the size of the entire animal which came into our possession, and just described, had a considerable quantity of that substance; and both in that colour and state the sea-otters seem to remain till they have attained their full growth. After that they lose their black colour, and assume a deep brown or sooty colour; but have then a greater quantity of very fine fur, and scarcely any long hairs. Others, which we suspected to be still older, were of a chesnut brown; and a few skins were seen that had even acquired a perfectly yellow colour. The fur of these animals, as mentioned in the Russian accounts, is certainly softer and finer than that of any others we know of; and therefore the discovery of this part of the continent of North America, where so valuable an article of commerce may be met with, cannot be a matter of indifference*.

Birds, in general, are not only rare as to the different species, but very scarce as to numbers; and these few are so shy, that in all probability they are continually harassed by the natives; perhaps to eat them as food, certainly to get possession of their feathers, which they use as ornaments. Those which frequent the woods are crows and ravens, not at all different from our English ones; a bluish jay or magpie; common wrens, which are the only singing-bird that we hear; the Canadian, or migrating thrush; and a considerable number of brown eagles, with white heads and tails, which, though they seem principally to frequent the coast, come into the Sound in bad weather, and sometimes perch upon the trees. Amongst some other birds, of which the natives either brought fragments or dried skins, we could distinguish a small species of hawk, a heron, and the *alcyon* or large-crested American king-fisher. There are also some which I believe are not mentioned, or at least vary very considerably from the accounts given of them by any writers who have treated professedly on this part of natural history. The first two of these are species of wood-peckers. One less than a thrush, of a black colour above, with white spots on the wings, a crimson head, neck, and breast, and a yellowish olive-coloured belly; from which last circumstance it might, perhaps, not improperly be called the yellow-bellied wood-pecker. The other is a larger, and much more elegant bird, of a dusky brown colour on the upper part, richly waved with black, except about the head; the belly of a reddish cast, with round black spots; a black spot on the breast; and the under side of the wings and tail of a plain scarlet colour, though blackish above; with a crimson streak running from the angle of the mouth, a little down the neck on each side. The third and fourth are a small bird of the finch kind, about the size of a linnet, of a dark dusky colour, whitish below, with a black head and neck, and white bill; and a sand-piper of the size of a small pigeon, of a dusky brown colour, and white below, except the throat and breast, with a broad white band across the wings. There are also humming-birds, which yet seem to differ from the numerous sorts of this delicate animal already known, unless they be a mere variety of the *Trochilus colubris* of Linnæus. These perhaps inhabit more to the southward, and spread northward as the season advances; because we saw none at first, though near the time of our departure the natives brought them to the ships in great numbers.

The birds which frequent the waters and the shores are not more numerous than the others. The quebrantahuessos, gulls, and shags, were seen off the coast, and the last two also frequent the Sound; they are of the common sorts, the shags being our cormorant or water-crow. We saw two sorts of wild ducks, one black with a white head, which were in considerable flocks, the other white with a red bill, but of a larger size; and the greater *lumme* or diver, found in our northern countries. There were also seen once or twice some swans flying across the Sound to the northward; but we knew nothing of their haunts. On the shores, besides the sand-piper described above, we found another about the size of a lark, which bears a great affinity to the burre, and a plover differing very little from our common sea-lark.

* Mr. Coxe, on the authority of Mr. Pallas, informs us that the old and middle-aged sea-otter skins are sold at Kachta, by the Russians to the Chinese, from 80 to 100 rubles a skin; that is, from 16*l.* to 20*l.* each. See "Coxe's Russian Discoveries," p. 13.

Fish are more plentiful in quantity than birds, though the variety is not very great; and yet, from several circumstances, it is probable that even the variety is considerably increased at certain seasons. The principal sorts which we found in great numbers, are the common herring, but scarcely exceeding seven inches in length, a smaller sort which is the same with the anchovy or sardine, though rather larger; a white or silver-coloured bream, and another of a gold-brown colour, with many narrow longitudinal blue stripes. The herrings and sardines, doubtless, come in large shoals and only at stated seasons, as is common with that sort of fish. The bream of both sorts may be reckoned the next to these in quantity, and the full-grown ones weighed at least a pound. The other fish, which are all scarce, are a small brown kind of *sculpin*, such as is found on the coast of Norway, another of a brownish red cast; frost-fish, a large one, somewhat resembling the bull-head, with a tough skin, destitute of scales; and now and then, toward the time of our leaving the Sound, the natives brought a small brownish cod spotted with white, and a red fish of the same size, which some of our people said they had seen in the Straits of Magellan, besides another differing little from the hake. There are also considerable numbers of those fish called the *chimæra*, or little sea-wolves by some, which is akin to and about the size of the *pezegallo*, or elephant-fish. Sharks likewise sometimes frequent the Sound, for the natives have some of their teeth in their possession; and we saw some pieces of ray, or skate, which seemed to have been pretty large. The other marine animals that ought to be mentioned here, are a small cruciated *medusa*, or blubber; star-fish, which differ somewhat from the common ones; two small sorts of crabs; and two others which the natives brought; one of them of a thick, tough, gelatinous consistence, and the other a sort of membranaceous tube or pipe, both which are probably taken from the rocks. And we also purchased from them once a very large cuttle-fish.

There is abundance of large muscles about the rocks, many sea-ears, and we often saw shells of pretty large plain *chamæ*. The smaller sorts are some *trochi* of two species, a curious *murex*, rugged wilks, and a snail, all which are probably peculiar to this place, at least I do not recollect to have seen them in any country near the same latitude in either hemisphere. There are, besides these, some small plain cockles, limpets, and some strangers who came into the Sound wore necklaces of a small bluish *volute*, or *panamæ*. Many of the muscles are a span in length, and some have pretty large pearls, which, however, are both badly shaped and coloured. We may conclude that there is red coral in the Sound, or somewhere upon the coast, some thick pieces or branches having been seen in the canoes of the natives.

The only animals of the reptile kind observed here, and found in the woods, were brown snakes two feet long, with whitish stripes on the back and sides, which are harmless, as we often saw the natives carry them alive in their hands; and brownish water-lizards, with a tail exactly like that of an eel, which frequented the small standing pools about the rocks. The insect tribe seem to be more numerous. For though the season which is peculiarly fitted to their appearing abroad was only beginning, we saw four or five different sorts of butterflies, none of which were uncommon, a good many humble-bees, some of our common gooseberry-moths, two or three sorts of flies, a few beetles, and some mosquitoes, which probably may be more numerous and troublesome, in a country so full of wood, during the summer, though at this time they did little mischief

As to the mineral substances in this country, though we found both iron and copper here there is little reason to believe that either of them beiong to the place. Neither were the ores of any metal seen, if we except a coarse, red, earthy or ochry substance, used by the natives in painting themselves, which probably may contain a little iron, with a white and black pigment used for the same purpose. But we did not procure specimens of them, and therefore cannot positively determine what are their component parts. Besides the stone or rock that constitutes the mountains and shores, which sometimes contains pieces of very coarse quartz, we found amongst the natives things made of a hard black granite, though not remarkably compact or fine-grained; a greyish whetstone, the common oil-stone of our carpenters, in coarser and finer pieces, and some black bits which are little inferior to the hone-stone. The natives also use the transparent leafy glimmer, or Muscovy glass, a brown leafy or martial sort: and they sometimes brought to us pieces of rock crystal, tolerably

transparent. The first two are probably found near the spot, as they seemed to be in considerable quantities, but the latter seems to be brought from a greater distance, or is very scarce, for our visitors always parted with it reluctantly. Some of the pieces were octangular, and had the appearance of being formed into that shape by art.

NATIVES OF NOOTKA SOUND.

The persons of the natives are in general under the common stature, but not slender in proportion, being commonly pretty full or plump, though not muscular. Neither doth the soft fleshiness seem ever to swell into corpulence, and many of the older people are rather spare or lean. The visage of most of them is round and full, and sometimes, also, broad, with large prominent cheeks; and above these the face is frequently much depressed, or seems fallen in quite across between the temples, the nose also flattening at its base, with pretty wide nostrils, and a rounded point. The forehead rather low, the eyes small, black, and rather languishing than sparkling, the mouth round with large round thickish lips, the teeth tolerably equal and well set, but not remarkably white. They have either no beards at all, which was most commonly the case, or a small thin one upon the point of the chin, which does not arise from any natural defect of hair on that part, but from plucking it out more or less; for some of them, and particularly the old men, have not only considerable beards all over the chin, but whiskers or mustachios, both on the upper lip and running from thence toward the lower jaw obliquely downward*. Their eyebrows are also scanty

* One of the most curious singularities observable in the natural history of the human species, is the supposed defect in the habit and temperature of the bodies of the American Indians, exemplified in their having no beards, while they are furnished with a profusion of hair on their heads. M. de Pauw, the ingenious author of "Récherches sur les Américains," Dr. Robertson, in his "History of America," and, in general, the writers for whose authority we ought to have the highest deference, adopt this as an indisputable matter of fact. May we not be permitted to request those who espouse their sentiments, to reconsider the question, when we can produce Captain Cook's evidence on the opposite side, at least so far as relates to the American tribe, whom he had intercourse with at Nootka? Nor is Captain Cook singular in his report. What he saw on the sea-coast Captain Carver also met with among the American Indians far up in the country. His words are as follow:—"From minute inquiries and a curious inspection, I am able to declare (however respectable I may think the authority of these historians in other points) that their assertions are erroneous, and proceeding from a want of a thorough knowledge of the customs of the Indians. After the age of puberty, their bodies in their natural state are covered in the same manner as those of the Europeans. The men, indeed, esteem a beard very unbecoming, and take great pains to get rid of it; nor is there one ever to be perceived on their faces, except when they grow old, and become inattentive to appearances. The Naudowessies, and the remote nations, pluck them out with two pieces of hard wood formed into a kind of nippers; those who have communication with Europeans, procure from them wire, which they twist into a screw or screws; applying this to the part, they press the rings together, and with a sudden twitch draw out all the hairs that are inclosed in them."—"Carver's Travels," p. 224, 225. The remark made by Mr. Marsden, who also quotes Carver, is worth attending to, that the vizor or musk of Montezuma's armour, preserved at Brussels, has remarkably large whiskers; and that those Americans could not have imitated this ornament unless nature had presented them with the model. From Captain Cook's observation on the west coast of North America, combined with Carver's in the inland parts of that continent, and confirmed by the Mexican vizor as above, there seems abundant reason to agree with Mr. Marsden, who thus modestly expresses himself:—"Were it not for the numerous and very respectable authorities, from which we are assured that the natives of America are naturally beardless, I should think that the common opinion on that subject had been hastily adopted; and that their appearing thus at a mature age, was only the consequence of an early practice, similar to that observed among the Sumatrans. Even now, I must confess that it would remove some degree of doubt from my mind, could it be ascertained that no such custom prevails."—"Marsden's History of Sumatra," p. 39, 40.

[This question is best decided by the evidence of an Indian chief, the celebrated Joseph Brant, or Thayendanegia, the chief of the Six Nations, and the ally of the British in the American War of Independence. He was a remarkable man, and had received a fair education, of which he made good use. The question was proposed to him by a Mr. M'Causeland, soon after the close of the American War. The following was the chief's reply:—

"*Niagara, April* 19, 1783.

"The men of the Six Nations have all beards by nature; as have likewise all other Indian nations of North America, which I have seen. Some Indians allow a part of the beard upon the chin and upper lip to grow, and a few of the Mohawks shave with razors, in the same manner as Europeans; but the generality pluck out the hairs of the

and always narrow, but the hair of the head is in great abundance, very coarse and strong, and without a single exception black, straight, and lank, or hanging down over the shoulders. The neck is short; the arms and body have no particular mark of beauty or elegance in their formation, but are rather clumsy; and the limbs in all are very small in proportion to the other parts, and crooked or ill made, with large feet badly shaped, and projecting ankles. This last defect seems, in a great measure, to arise from their sitting so much on their hams or knees, both in their canoes and houses.

Their colour we could never positively determine, as their bodies were incrusted with paint and dirt; though, in particular cases, when these were well rubbed off, the whiteness of the skin appeared almost to equal that of Europeans, though rather of that pale effete cast which distinguishes those of our southern nations. Their children, whose skins had never been stained with paint, also equalled ours in whiteness. During their youth, some of them have no disagreeable look, if compared to the generality of the people; but this seems to be entirely owing to the particular animation attending that period of life, for after attaining a certain age, there is hardly any distinction. Upon the whole, a very remarkable sameness seems to characterise the countenances of the whole nation, a dull phlegmatic want of expression, with very little variation, being strongly marked in all of them. The women are nearly of the same size, colour, and form, with the men, from whom it is not easy to distinguish them, as they possess no natural delicacies sufficient to render their persons agreeable; and hardly any one was seen, even amongst those who are in the prime of life, who had the least pretensions to be called handsome.

DRESS OF NATIVES OF NOOTKA SOUND.

Their common dress is a flaxen garment, or mantle, ornamented on the upper edge by a narrow strip of fur, and at the latter edge, by fringes or tassels. It passes under the left arm, and is tied over the right shoulder by a string before and one behind, near its middle, by which means both arms are free, and it hangs evenly, covering the left side, but leaving the right open, except from the loose part of the edges falling upon it, unless when the mantle is fastened by a girdle (of coarse matting or woollen) round the waist, which is often done. Over this, which reaches below the knees, is worn a small cloak of the same substance, likewise fringed at the lower part. In shape this resembles a round dish-cover, being quite close, except in the middle, where there is a hole just large enough to admit the head, and then, resting upon the shoulders, it covers the arms to the elbows, and the body as far as the waist. Their head is covered with a cap of the figure of a truncated cone, or like a flower-pot, made of fine matting, having the top frequently ornamented with a round or pointed knob, or a bunch of leathern tassels, and there is a string that passes under the chin to prevent its blowing off.

Besides the above dress, which is common to both sexes, the men frequently throw over their other garments the skin of a bear, wolf, or sea-otter, with the hair outward, and tie it

beard by the roots, as soon as they begin to appear; and as they continue this practice all their lives, they appear to have no beard, or, at most, only a few straggling hairs, which they have neglected to pluck out. I am, however, of opinion, that if the Indians were to shave, they would never have beards altogether so thick as the Europeans; and there are some to be met with who have actually very little beard.—Joseph Brant Thayendanegia."

Jewitt, the English sailor who has been mentioned in a previous note, page 264, says that the people of Nootka Sound "have no beard, completely extirpating it, as well as the hair from their bodies,—Maquina (the head chief, or king) being the only exception, who suffered his beard to grow on his upper lip, in the manner of mustachios, which was considered as a mark of dignity."—Ed.]

coarse and strong,
over the shoulders.
auty or elegance in
all in proportion to
d projecting ankles.
much on their hams

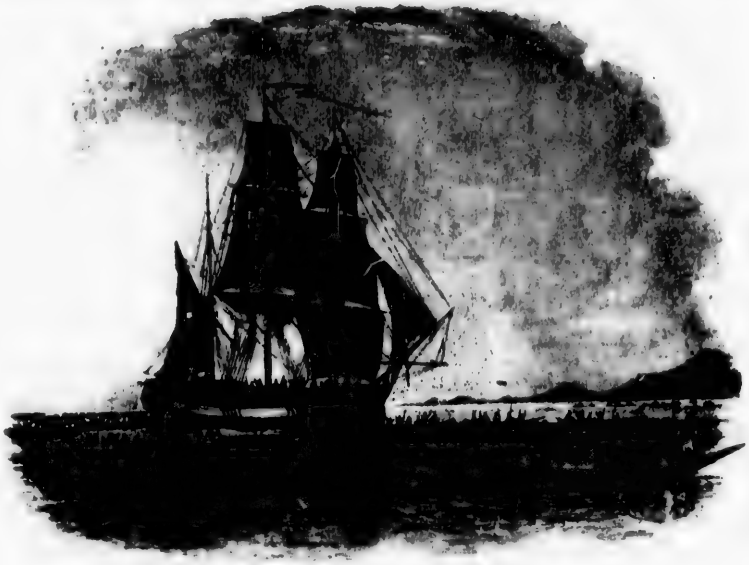
ere incrusted with
d off, the whiteness
r of that pale effete
n, whose skins had
their youth, some of
ple; but this seems
d of life, for after
, a very remarkable
ull phlegmatic want
them. The women
om it is not easy to
render their persons
in the prime of life,

CTKA SOUND.

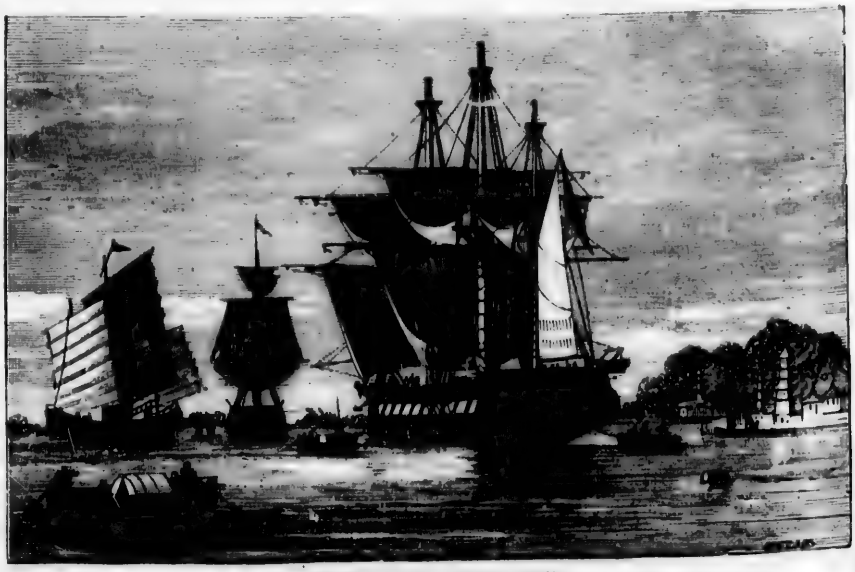
large enough to admit
the elbows, and the
figure of a truncated
ntly ornamented with
is a string that passes

frequently throw over
air outward, and tie it

who has been mentioned
64, says that the people of
eard, completely extirpating
their bodies.—Maquina (the
the only exception, who suf-
his upper lip, in the manner
considered as a mark of



CAPTAIN COOK'S SHIP, "DISCOVERY."



SCENE ON THE CANTON RIVER.

Plate XXI. *Cook's Voyages.*

as a cloak near the upper part, wearing it sometimes before and sometimes behind. In rainy weather they throw a coarse mat about their shoulders. They have also woollen garments, which, however, are little in use. The hair is commonly worn hanging down loose; but some, when they have no cap, tie it in a bunch on the crown of the head. Their dress, upon the whole, is convenient, and would by no means be inelegant, were it kept clean. But as they rub their bodies constantly over with a red paint, of a clayey or coarse ochry substance, mixed with oil, their garments, by this means, contract a rancid offensive smell, and a greasy nastiness, so that they make a very wretched dirty appearance; and what is still worse, their heads and their [illegible]ts swarm with vermin, which, so depraved is their taste for cleanliness, we used to see them pick off with great composure and eat.

Though their bodies are always covered with red paint, their faces are often stained with a black, a bright red, or a white colour, by way of ornament. The last of these gives them a ghastly, disgusting aspect. They also strew the brown martial mica upon the paint, which makes it glitter*, the ears of many of them are perforated in the lobe, where they make a pretty large hole; and two others higher up on the outer edge. In these holes they hang bits of bone; quills fixed upon a leathern thong; small shells; bunches of woollen tassels; or pieces of thin copper, which our beads could never supplant. The septum of the nose in many is also perforated, through which they draw a piece of soft cord; and others wear, at the same place, small thin pieces of iron, brass, or copper, shaped almost like a horse-shoe, the narrow opening of which receives the septum, so as that the two points may gently pinch it; and the ornament thus hangs over the upper lip. The rings of our brass buttons, which they eagerly purchased, were appropriated to this use †. About their wrists they wear bracelets or bunches of white bugle beads, made of a conic shelly substance ‡; bunches of thongs, with tassels; or a broad black shining horny substance, of one piece. And about their ankles they also frequently wear many folds of leathern thongs, or the sinews of animals twisted to a considerable thickness.

* The following passage is extracted from Jewitt's Narrative:—"On extraordinary occasions the king and principal chiefs used to strew over their faces, after painting, a fine black shining powder, procured from some mineral, as Maquina told me it was got from the rocks. This they call *Pelpeth*, and value it highly, as, in their opinion, it serves to set off their looks to great advantage, glittering, especially in the sun, like silver. This article is brought them in bags by the *Newchemass*, a very savage nation, who live a long way to the north, from whom they likewise receive a superior kind of red paint, a species of very fine and rich ochre, which they hold in much estimation. Notwithstanding this custom of painting themselves, they make it an invariable practice, both in summer and winter to bathe once a day, and sometimes oftener; but as the paint is put on with oil, it is not much discomposed thereby, and whenever they wash it off, they repair to some piece of fresh water, and scour themselves with sand or rushes."

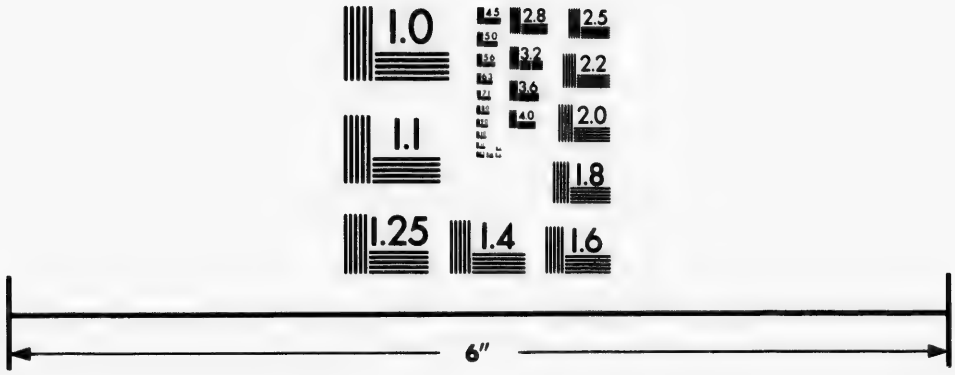
The women, "though fond of ornamenting their persons, are by no means so partial to paint as the men, merely colouring their eyebrows black, and drawing a bright red stripe from each corner of the mouth towards the ear."—Ed.

† Those who cannot afford more expensive ornaments, substitute for them, usually, a smooth round stick, often projecting eight or nine inches beyond the face on each side, the length being apportioned to the self-supposed consequence of the wearer; this is made fast, or secured in its place by little wedges on each side of it. The English sailors jestingly term these uncouth appendages "sprit-sail-yards."—Ed.

‡ This is the well known *Wampum*, which is used in Tartary, as well as among the North American Indians, as an ornament, and as a circulating medium. Among those tribes with whom a European traffic has been established, artificial bugles have very generally been substituted for the shells of which it should properly be composed, and its value, except as a matter of mere ornament and ceremony, is little regarded. Jewitt states that at Nootka Sound it was termed *Ife-waw*. He says, "This *Ife-waw*, as they term it, is a kind of shell, of a dazzling whiteness, and as smooth as ivory. It is of a cylindrical form, in a slight degree curved, about the size of a goose-quill, hollow, three inches in length, and gradually tapering to a point, which is broken off by the natives as it is taken from the water. This they afterwards string upon threads of bark, and sell it by the fathom. It forms a kind of circulating medium among these nations, five fathoms being considered as the price of a slave, their most valuable species of property. It is principally obtained from the Aitizzarts, a people living about thirty or forty miles to the northward, who collect it from the reefs and sunken rocks with which their coast abounds, though it is also brought in considerable quantity from the south. Their mode of taking it has been thus described to me:—To one end of a pole is fastened a piece of plank, in which a considerable number of pine pegs are inserted, made sharp at the ends. Above the plank, in order to sink it, a stone or some weight is tied, and the other end of the pole suspended to a long rope. This is let down perpendicularly by the *Ife-waw* fishers in those places where that substance is found, which are usually from fifty to sixty fathoms deep. On finding the bottom, they raise the pole up a few feet, and let it fall. This they repeat a number of times as if sounding, when they draw it up, and take off the *Ife-waw*, which is found adhering to the points. This method of procuring it is very laborious and fatiguing, especially as they seldom take more than two or three of these shells at a time, and frequently none."—Ed.

Cook's Voyages.

IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)



Photographic
Sciences
Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

2.8
2.5
3.2
3.6
2.2
2.0
1.8
1.1
1.0

could not but be struck with the singularity of this scene; and perhaps there were few on board who now lamented our having failed in our endeavours to find a northern passage homeward, last summer. To this disappointment we owed our having it in our power to revisit the Sandwich Islands, and to enrich our voyage with a discovery which, though the last, seemed, in many respects, to be the most important that had hitherto been made by Europeans throughout the extent of the Pacific Ocean.

[Here Captain Cook's Journal ends. The remaining transactions of the voyage are related by Captain King.]

BOOK V.

CAPTAIN KING'S JOURNAL OF THE TRANSACTIONS ON RETURNING TO THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

CHAPTER I.—DESCRIPTION OF KARAKAKOOA BAY.—VAST CONCOURSE OF THE NATIVES.—POWER OF THE CHIEFS OVER THE INFERIOR PEOPLE.—VISIT FROM KOAH, A PRIEST AND WARRIOR.—THE MORAI AT KAKOOA DESCRIBED.—CEREMONIES AT THE LANDING OF CAPTAIN COOK.—OBSERVATORIES ERECTED.—POWERFUL OPERATION OF THE TABOO.—METHOD OF SALTING PORK IN TROPICAL CLIMATES.—SOCIETY OF PRIESTS DISCOVERED.—THEIR HOSPITALITY AND MUNIFICENCE.—RECEPTION OF CAPTAIN COOK.—ARTIFICE OF KOAH.—ARRIVAL OF TERREEOBOO, KING OF THE ISLAND.—SINGULAR CEREMONY.—VISIT FROM THE KING.—RETURNED BY CAPTAIN COOK.

KARAKAKOOA Bay is situated on the west side of the island of Owhyhee, in a district called Akona. It is about a mile in depth, and bounded by two low points of land at the distance of half a league, and bearing south south-east and north north-west from each other. On the north point, which is flat and barren, stands the village of Kowrowa; and in the bottom of the bay, near a grove of tall cocoa-nut trees, there is another village of a more considerable size, called Kakooa: between them runs a high rocky cliff, inaccessible from the sea-shore. On the south side, the coast, for about a mile inland, has a rugged appearance; beyond which the country rises with a gradual ascent, and is overspread with cultivated inclosures and groves of cocoa-nut trees, where the habitations of the natives are scattered in great numbers. The shore, all around the bay, is covered with a black coral rock, which makes the landing very dangerous in rough weather; except at the village of Kakooa, where there is a fine sandy beach, with a Morai, or burying-place, at one extremity, and a small well of fresh water at the other. This bay appearing to Captain Cook a proper place to refit the ships, and lay in an additional supply of water and provisions, we moored on the north side, about a quarter of a mile from the shore, Kowrowa bearing north-west. As soon as the inhabitants perceived our intention of anchoring in the bay, they came off from the shore in astonishing numbers, and expressed their joy by singing and shouting, and exhibiting a variety of wild and extravagant gestures. The sides, the decks, and rigging of both ships were soon completely covered with them; and a multitude of women and boys, who had not been able to get canoes, came swimming round us in shoals; many of whom not finding room on board, remained the whole day playing in the water.

Among the chiefs who came on board the Resolution, was a young man, called Pareea, whom we soon perceived to be a person of great authority. On presenting himself to Captain Cook, he told him, that he was *Jakanee** to the king of the island, who was at that

* We afterward met with several others of the same denomination; but whether it be an office, or some degree of affinity, we could never learn with certainty.

time engaged on a military expedition at Mowee, and was expected to return within three or four days. A few presents from Captain Cook attached him entirely to our interests, and he became exceedingly useful to us in the management of his countrymen, as we had soon occasion to experience. For we had not been long at anchor, when it was observed that the Discovery had such a number of people hanging on one side, as occasioned her to heel considerably; and that the men were unable to keep off the crowds which continued pressing into her. Captain Cook, being apprehensive that she might suffer some injury, pointed out the danger to Pareea, who immediately went to their assistance, cleared the ship of its incumbrances, and drove away the canoes that surrounded her.

The authority of the chiefs over the inferior people appeared, from this incident, to be of the most despotic kind. A similar instance of it happened the same day on board the Resolution; where the crowd being so great as to impede the necessary business of the ship, we were obliged to have recourse to the assistance of Kaneena, another of their chiefs, who had likewise attached himself to Captain Cook. The inconvenience we laboured under being made known, he immediately ordered his countrymen to quit the vessel; and we were not a little surprised to see them jump overboard, without a moment's hesitation; all except one man, who loitering behind, and showing some unwillingness to obey, Kaneena took him up in his arms, and threw him into the sea. Both these chiefs were men of strong and well-proportioned bodies, and of countenances remarkably pleasing. Kaneena especially, whose portrait was drawn by Mr. Webber, was one of the finest men I ever saw. He was about six feet high, had regular and expressive features, with lively, dark eyes; his carriage was easy, firm, and graceful.

KANEENA IN HIS HELMET.

It has been already mentioned, that during our long cruise off this island, the inhabitants had always behaved with great fairness and honesty in their dealings, and had not shown the slightest propensity to theft; which appeared to us the more extraordinary, because those with whom we had hitherto held any intercourse were of the lowest rank, either servants or fishermen. We now found the case exceedingly altered. The immense crowd of islanders, which blocked up every part of the ships, not only afforded frequent opportunity of pilfering without risk of discovery, but our inferiority in number held forth a prospect of escaping with impunity in case of detection. Another circumstance, to which we attributed this alteration in their behaviour, was the presence and encouragement of their chiefs; for generally tracing the booty into the possession of some men of consequence, we had the strongest reason to suspect that these depredations were committed at their instigation.

Soon after the Resolution had got into her station, our two friends, Pareea and Kaneena, brought on board a third chief, named Koah, who, we were told, was a priest, and had been, in his youth, a distinguished warrior. He was a little old man, of an emaciated figure; his eyes exceedingly sore and red, and his body covered with a white leprous scurf, the effects of an immoderate use of the *ava*. Being led into the cabin, he approached Captain Cook with great veneration, and threw over his shoulders a piece of red cloth, which he had brought along with him. Then stepping a few paces back, he made an offering of a small pig, which he held in his hand, whilst he pronounced a discourse that lasted for a considerable time. This ceremony was frequently repeated during our stay at Owhyhee, and

appeared to us, from many circumstances, to be a sort of religious adoration *. Their idols we found always arrayed with red cloth, in the same manner as was done to Captain Cook; and a small pig was their usual offering to the *Eatooas*. Their speeches, or prayers, were uttered too with a readiness and volubility that indicated them to be according to some formulary.

When this ceremony was over, Koah dined with Captain Cook, eating plentifully of what was set before him; but, like the rest of the inhabitants of the islands in these seas, could scarcely be prevailed on to taste a second time our wine or spirits. In the evening, Captain Cook, attended by Mr. Bayly and myself, accompanied him on shore. We landed at the beach, and were received by four men, who carried wands tipt with dogs' hair, and marched before us, pronouncing with a loud voice a short sentence, in which we could only distinguish the word *Orono*†. The crowd which had been collected on the shore retired at our approach; and not a person was to be seen, except a few lying prostrate on the ground, near the huts of the adjoining village.

Before I proceed to relate the adoration that was paid to Captain Cook, and the peculiar ceremonies with which he was received on this fatal island, it will be necessary to describe the Morai, situated, as I have already mentioned, at the south side of the beach at Kakooa. It was a square solid pile of stones, about forty yards long, twenty broad, and fourteen in height. The top was flat and well paved, and surrounded by a wooden rail, on which were fixed the skulls of the captives, sacrificed on the death of their chiefs. In the centre of the area stood a ruinous old building of wood, connected with the rail on each side by a stone wall, which divided the whole space into two parts. On the side next the country were five poles, upward of twenty feet high, supporting an irregular kind of scaffold; on the opposite side, toward the sea, stood two small houses, with a covered communication.

We were conducted by Koah to the top of this pile by an easy ascent, leading from the beach to the north-west corner of the area. At the entrance, we saw two large wooden images, with features violently distorted, and a long piece of carved wood, of a conical form inverted, rising from the top of their heads; the rest was without form, and wrapped round with red cloth. We were here met by a tall young man with a long beard, who presented Captain Cook to the images; and after chanting a kind of hymn, in which he was joined by Koah, they led us to that end of the Morai where the five poles were fixed. At the foot of them were twelve images ranged in a semicircular form, and before the middle figure stood a high stand or table exactly resembling the *Whatta*‡ of Otaheite, on which lay a putrid hog, and under it pieces of sugar-cane, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, plantains, and sweet potatoes. Koah having placed the Captain under this stand, took down the hog, and held it toward him; and after having a second time addressed him in a long speech, pronounced with much vehemence and rapidity, he let it fall on the ground, and led him to the scaffolding, which they began to climb together, not without great risk of falling. At this time we saw, coming in solemn procession, at the entrance of the top of the Morai, ten men carrying a live hog, and a large piece of red cloth. Being advanced a few paces, they stopped and prostrated themselves; and Kaireekeea, the young man above-mentioned, went to them, and receiving the cloth, carried it to Koah, who wrapped it round the Captain, and afterward offered him the hog, which was brought by Kaireekeea with the same

* Mr. Ellis gives the following explanation of the singular honours that were paid to Captain Cook at Owhyhee:—"Among the kings who governed Hawaii, or an extensive district in the island, during what may, in its chronology, be called the fabulous age, was Rono, or Orono; who, on some account, became offended with his wife, and murdered her; but afterwards lamented the act so much, as to induce a state of mental derangement. In this state he travelled through all the islands, boxing and wrestling with every one he met. He subsequently set sail in a singularly-shaped canoe for Tahiti, or a foreign country. After his departure, he was deified by his countrymen, and annual games of boxing and wrestling were instituted to his honour. As soon as Captain Cook arrived, it was supposed and reported that the god Rono was returned; the priests clothed him with the sacred cloth worn only by the god, conducted him to their temples, sacrificed animals to propitiate his favour, and hence the people prostrated themselves before him as he walked through the villages."—ED.

† Captain Cook generally went by this name amongst the natives of Owhyhee; but we could never learn its precise meaning. Sometimes they applied it to an invisible being, who, they said, lived in the heavens. We also found that it was a title belonging to a personage of great rank and power in the island, who resembles pretty much the Delai Lama of the Tartars, and the ecclesiastical emperor of Japan.

‡ See Captain Cook's former Voyage.

ceremony. Whilst Captain Cook was aloft, in this awkward situation, swathed round with red cloth, and with difficulty keeping his hold amongst the pieces of rotten scaffolding, Kaireekeea and Koah began their office, chanting sometimes in concert, and sometimes alternately. This lasted a considerable time; at length Koah let the hog drop, when he and the Captain descended together. He then led him to the images before mentioned, and having said something to each in a sneering tone, snapping his fingers at them as he passed, he brought him to that in the centre, which, from its being covered with red cloth, appeared to be in greater estimation than the rest. Before this figure he prostrated himself, and kissed it, desiring Captain Cook to do the same; who suffered himself to be directed by Koah throughout the whole of this ceremony.

We were now led back into the other division of the Morai, where there was a space, ten or twelve feet square, sunk about three feet below the level of the area. Into this we descended, and Captain Cook was seated between two wooden idols, Koah supporting one of his arms, whilst I was desired to support the other. At this time, arrived a second procession of natives, carrying a baked hog, and a pudding, some bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other vegetables. When they approached us, Kaireekeea put himself at their head, and presenting the pig to Captain Cook in the usual manner, began the same kind of chant as before, his companions making regular responses. We observed, that after every response, their parts became gradually shorter, till, toward the close, Kaireekeea's consisted of only two or three words, which the rest answered by the word *Orono.*

When this offering was concluded, which lasted a quarter of an hour, the natives sat down, fronting us, and began to cut up the baked hog, to peel the vegetables, and break the cocoa-nuts; whilst others employed themselves in brewing the *ava;* which is done, by chewing it in the same manner as at the Friendly Islands. Kaireekeea then took part of the kernel of a cocoa-nut, which he chewed, and wrapping it in a piece of cloth rubbed with it the Captain's face, head, hands, arms, and shoulders. The *ava* was then handed round, and after we had tasted it, Koah and Pareea began to pull the flesh of the hog in pieces, and to put it into our mouths. I had no great objection to being fed by Pareea, who was very cleanly in his person; but Captain Cook, who was served by Koah, recollecting the putrid hog, could not swallow a morsel; and his reluctance, as may be supposed, was not diminished, when the old man, according to his own mode of civility, had chewed it for him.

When this last ceremony was finished, which Captain Cook put an end to as soon as he decently could, we quitted the Morai, after distributing amongst the people some pieces of iron and other trifles, with which they seemed highly gratified. The men with wands conducted us to the boats, repeating the same words as before. The people again retired, and the few that remained, prostrated themselves as we passed along the shore. We immediately went on board, our minds full of what we had seen, and extremely well satisfied with the good dispositions of our new friends. The meaning of the various ceremonies with which we had been received, and which, on account of their novelty and singularity, have been related at length, can only be the subject of conjectures, and those uncertain and partial: they were, however, without doubt, expressive of high respect on the part of the natives; and, as far as related to the person of Captain Cook, they seemed approaching to adoration.

The next morning I went on shore with a guard of eight marines, including the corporal and lieutenant, having orders to erect the observatory in such a situation as might best enable me to superintend and protect the waterers, and the other working parties that were to be on shore. As we were viewing a spot conveniently situated for this purpose, in the middle of the village, Pareea, who was always ready to show both his power and his good-will, offered to pull down some houses that would have obstructed our observations. However, we thought it proper to decline this offer, and fixed on a field of sweet potatoes adjoining to the Morai, which was readily granted us; and the priests, to prevent the intrusion of the natives, immediately consecrated the place, by fixing their wands round the wall by which it was inclosed.

This sort of religious interdiction they call *taboo;* a word we heard often repeated during

our stay amongst these islanders, and found to be of very powerful and extensive operation. A more particular explanation of it will be given in the general account of these islands, under the article of religion; at present it is only necessary to observe, that it procured us even more privacy than we desired. No canoes ever presumed to land near us; the natives sat on the wall, but none offered to come within the *tabooed* space, till he had obtained our permission. But though the men, at our request, would come across the field with provisions, yet not all our endeavours could prevail on the women to approach us. Presents were tried, but without effect; Pareea and Koah were tempted to bring them, but in vain; we were invariably answered, that the *Eatooa* and Terreeoboo (which was the name of their king) would kill them. This circumstance afforded no small matter of amusement to our friends on board, where the crowds of people, and particularly of women, that continued to flock thither, obliged them almost every hour to clear the vessel, in order to have room to do the necessary duties of the ship. On these occasions, two or three hundred women were frequently made to jump into the water at once, where they continued swimming and playing about, till they could again procure admittance.

From the 19th to the 24th, when Pareea and Koah left us to attend Terreeoboo, who had landed on some other part of the island, nothing very material happened on board. The caulkers were set to work on the sides of the ships, and the rigging was carefully overhauled and repaired. The salting of hogs for sea-store was also a constant, and one of the principal objects of Captain Cook's attention. As the success we met with in this experiment, during our present voyage, was much more complete than it had been in any former attempt of the same kind, it may not be improper to give an account of the detail of the operation. It has generally been thought impracticable to cure the flesh of animals by salting, in tropical climates; the progress of putrefaction being so rapid, as not to allow time for the salt to take (as they express it) before the meat gets a taint, which prevents the effect of the pickle. We do not find that experiments relative to this subject have been made by the navigators of any nation before Captain Cook. In his first trials, which were made in 1774, during his second voyage to the Pacific Ocean, the success he met with, though very imperfect, was yet sufficient to convince him of the error of the received opinion. As the voyage in which he was now engaged was likely to be protracted a year beyond the time for which the ships had been victualled, he was under the necessity of providing, by some such means, for the subsistence of the crews, or of relinquishing the further prosecution of his discoveries. He therefore lost no opportunity of renewing his attempts, and the event answered his most sanguine expectations.

The hogs which we made use of for this purpose were of various sizes, weighing from four to twelve stone *. The time of slaughtering was always in the afternoon; and as soon as the hair was scalded off, and the entrails removed, the hog was divided into pieces of four or eight pounds each, and the bones of the legs and chine taken out; and, in the larger sort, the ribs also. Every piece then being carefully wiped and examined, and the veins cleared of the coagulated blood, they were handed to the salters whilst the flesh remained still warm. After they had been well rubbed with salt, they were placed in a heap, on a stage raised in the open air, covered with planks, and pressed with the heaviest weights we could lay on them. In this situation they remained till the next evening, when they were again well wiped and examined, and the suspicious parts taken away. They were then put into a tub of strong pickle, where they were always looked over once or twice a day, and if any piece had not taken the salt, which was readily discovered by the smell of the pickle, they were immediately taken out, re-examined, and the sound pieces put to fresh pickle. This, however, after the precautions before used, seldom happened. After six days, they were taken out, examined for the last time, and being again slightly pressed, they were packed in barrels, with a thin layer of salt between them. I brought home with me some barrels of this pork, which was pickled at Owhyhee in January 1779, and was tasted by several persons in England, about Christmas 1780, and found perfectly sound and wholesome †.

* 14 lb.

† Since these papers were prepared for the press, I have been informed by Mr. Vancouver, who was one of my Midshipmen in the Discovery, and was afterwards appointed Lieutenant of the Martin sloop of war, that he tried the method here recommended, both with English and Spanish

I shall now return to our transactions on shore at the observatory, where we had not been long settled, before we discovered, in our neighbourhood, the habitations of a society of priests, whose regular attendance at the Morai had excited our curiosity. Their huts stood round a pond of water, and were surrounded by a grove of cocoa-nut trees, which separated them from the beach and the rest of the village, and gave the place an air of religious retirement. On my acquainting Captain Cook with these circumstances, he resolved to pay them a visit; and as he expected to be received in the same manner as before, he brought Mr. Webber with him to make a drawing of the ceremony. On his arrival at the beach, he was conducted to a sacred building called Harre-no-Orono, or the house of Orono, and seated before the entrance, at the foot of a wooden idol, of the same kind with those on the Morai. I was here again made to support one of his arms, and after wrapping him in red cloth, Kaireekeea, accompanied by twelve priests, made an offering of a pig with the usual solemnities. The pig was then strangled, and a fire being kindled, it was thrown into the embers, and after the hair was singed off, it was again presented, with a repetition of the chanting, in the manner before described. The dead pig was then held for a short time under the Captain's nose; after which it was laid, with a cocoa-nut, at his feet, and the performers sat down. The *ava* was then brewed, and handed round; a fat hog, ready dressed, was brought in; and we were fed as before.

During the rest of the time we remained in the bay, whenever Captain Cook came on shore, he was attended by one of these priests, who went before him, giving notice that the *Orono* had landed, and ordering the people to prostrate themselves. The same person also constantly accompanied him on the water, standing in the bow of the boat, with a wand in his hand, and giving notice of his approach to the natives, who were in canoes, on which they immediately left off paddling, and lay down on their faces till he had passed. Whenever he stopped at the observatory, Kaireekeea and his brethren immediately made their appearance with hogs, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, &c. and presented them with the usual solemnities. It was on these occasions that some of the inferior chiefs frequently requested to be permitted to make an offering to the *Orono*. When this was granted, they presented the hog themselves, generally with evident marks of fear in their countenances; whilst Kaireekeea and the priests chanted their accustomed hymns.

The civilities of this society were not, however, confined to mere ceremony and parade. Our party on shore received from them, every day, a constant supply of hogs and vegetables, more than sufficient for our subsistence; and several canoes loaded with provisions were sent to the ships with the same punctuality. No return was ever demanded, or even hinted at in the most distant manner. Their presents were made with a regularity more like the discharge of a religious duty than the effect of mere liberality; and when we inquired at whose charge all this munificence was displayed, we were told, it was at the expense of a great man called Kaoo, the chief of the priests, and grandfather to Kaireekeea, who was at that time absent attending the king of the island.

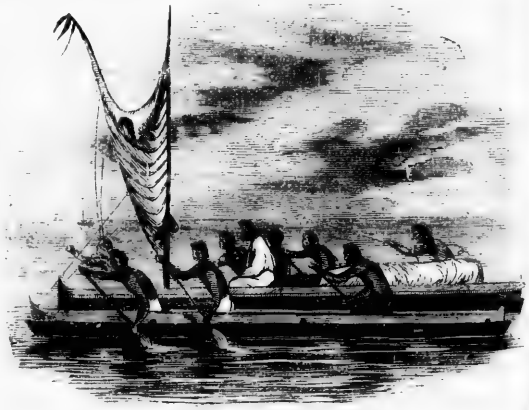
As everything relating to the character and behaviour of this people must be interesting to the reader, on account of the tragedy that was afterwards acted here, it will be proper to acquaint him, that we had not always so much reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the warrior chiefs, or *Earees*, as with that of the priests. In all our dealings with the former, we found them sufficiently attentive to their own interests; and besides their habit of stealing, which may admit of some excuse from the universality of the practice amongst the islanders of these seas, they made use of other artifices equally dishonourable. I shall only mention one instance, in which we discovered, with regret, our friend Koah to be a party principally concerned. As the chiefs, who brought us presents of hogs, were always sent back handsomely

pork, during a cruise on the Spanish Main, in the year 1782, and succeeded to the utmost of his expectations. He also made the experiment at Jamaica with the beef served by the victualling-office to the ships, but not with the same success, which he attributes to the want of the necessary precautions in killing and handling the beasts; to their being hung up and opened before they had sufficient time to bleed, by which means the blood-vessels were exposed to the air, and the blood condensed before it had time to empty itself; and to their being hard driven and bruised. He adds, that having himself attended to the killing of an ox, which was carefully taken on board the Martin, he salted a part of it, which at the end of the week was found to have taken the salt completely, and he has no doubt would have kept for any length of time; but the experiment was not tried.

rewarded, we had generally a greater supply than we could make use of. On these occasions, Koah, who never failed in his attendance on us, used to beg such as we did not want, and they were always given to him. It one day happened, that a pig was presented us by a man whom Koah himself introduced as a chief, who was desirous of paying his respects, and we recollected the pig to be the same that had been given to Koah just before. This leading us to suspect some trick, we found, on further inquiry, the pretended chief to be an ordinary person: and on connecting this with other circumstances, we had reason to suspect that it was not the first time we had been the dupes of the like imposition.

Things continued in this state till the 24th, when we were a good deal surprised to find that no canoes were suffered to put off from the shore, and that the natives kept close to their houses. After several hours' suspense, we learned that the bay was *tabooed*, and all intercourse with us interdicted, on account of the arrival of Terreeoboo. As we had not foreseen an accident of this sort, the crews of both ships were obliged to pass the day without their usual supply of vegetables. The next morning, therefore, they endeavoured, both by threats and promises, to induce the natives to come alongside; and as some of them were at last venturing to put off, a chief was observed attempting to drive them away. A musket was immediately fired over his head, to make him desist, which had the desired effect, and refreshments were soon after purchased as usual. In the afternoon, Terreeoboo arrived, and visited the ships in a private manner, attended only by one canoe, in which were his wife and children. He staid on board till near ten o'clock, when he returned to the village of Kowrowa.

The next day, about noon, the king, in a large canoe, attended by two others, set out from the village and paddled toward the ships in great state. Their appearance was grand and magnificent. In the first canoe was Terreeoboo and his chiefs, dressed in their rich feathered cloaks and helmets, and armed with long spears and daggers; in the second came the venerable Kaoo, the chief of the priests, and his brethren, with their idols displayed on red cloth. These idols were busts of a gigantic size, made of wicker-work, and curiously covered with small feathers of various colours, wrought in the same manner with their cloaks. Their eyes were made of large pearl oysters, with a black nut fixed in the centre; their mouths were set with a double row of the fangs of dogs, and, together with the rest of their features, were strangely distorted. The third canoe was filled with hogs and various sorts of vegetables. As they went along, the priests in the centre canoe sung their hymns with great solemnity; and after paddling round the ships, instead of going on board, as was expected, they made toward the shore at the beach where we were stationed.



TERREEOBOO'S CANOE.

As soon as I saw them approaching, I ordered out our little guard to receive the king; and Captain Cook, perceiving that he was going on shore, followed him and arrived nearly at the same time. We conducted them into the tent, where they had scarcely been seated, when the king rose up, and in a very graceful manner threw over the Captain's shoulders the cloak he himself wore, put a feathered helmet on his head, and a curious fan into his hand. He also spread at his feet five or six other cloaks, all exceedingly beautiful, and of the greatest value. His attendants then brought four very large hogs, with sugar-canes, cocoa-nuts, and bread-fruit; and this part of the ceremony was concluded by the king's exchanging

names with Captain Cook, which amongst all the islanders of the Pacific Ocean is esteemed the strongest pledge of friendship. A procession of priests, with a venerable old personage at their head, now appeared, followed by a long train of men leading large hogs, and others carrying plantains, sweet potatoes, &c. By the looks and gestures of Kaireekeea, I immediately knew the old man to be the chief of the priests before mentioned, on whose bounty we had so long subsisted. He had a piece of red cloth in his hands, which he wrapped round Captain Cook's shoulders, and afterward presented him with a small pig in the usual form. A seat was then made for him, next to the king; after which, Kaireekeea and his followers began their ceremonies, Kaoo and the chiefs joining in the responses.

I was surprised to see, in the person of this king, the same infirm and emaciated old man, that came on board the Resolution when we were off the north-east side of the island of Mowee; and we soon discovered amongst his attendants most of the persons who at that time had remained with us all night. Of this number were the two younger sons of the king, the eldest of whom was sixteen years of age, and his nephew Maiha-Maiha, whom at first we had some difficulty in recollecting, his hair being plastered over with a dirty brown paste and powder, which was no mean heightening to the most savage face I ever beheld.

As soon as the formalities of the meeting were over, Captain Cook carried Terreeoboo, and as many chiefs as the pinnace could hold, on board the Resolution. They were received with every mark of respect that could be shown them; and Captain Cook, in return for the feathered cloak, put a linen shirt on the king, and girt his own hanger round him. The ancient Kaoo, and about half a dozen more old chiefs, remained on shore, and took up their abode at the priests' houses. During all this time, not a canoe was seen in the bay, and the natives either kept within their huts, or lay prostrate on the ground. Before the king left the Resolution, Captain Cook obtained leave for the natives to come and trade with the ships as usual; but the women, for what reason we could not learn, still continued under the effects of the *taboo;* that is, were forbidden to stir from home, or to have any communication with us.

CHAPTER II.—FARTHER ACCOUNT OF TRANSACTIONS WITH THE NATIVES.—THEIR HOSPITALITY.—PROPENSITY TO THEFT.—DESCRIPTION OF A BOXING-MATCH.—DEATH OF ONE OF OUR SEAMEN.—BEHAVIOUR OF THE PRIESTS AT HIS FUNERAL.—THE WOOD-WORK AND IMAGES ON THE MORAI PURCHASED.—THE NATIVES INQUISITIVE ABOUT OUR DEPARTURE.—THEIR OPINION ABOUT THE DESIGN OF OUR VOYAGE.—MAGNIFICENT PRESENTS OF TERREEOBOO TO CAPTAIN COOK.—THE SHIPS LEAVE THE ISLAND.—THE RESOLUTION DAMAGED IN A GALE, AND OBLIGED TO RETURN.

THE quiet and inoffensive behaviour of the natives having taken away every apprehension of danger, we did not hesitate to trust ourselves amongst them at all times, and in all situations. The officers of both ships went daily up the country in small parties, or even singly, and frequently remained out the whole night. It would be endless to recount all the instances of kindness and civility which we received upon those occasions. Wherever we went, the people flocked about us, eager to offer every assistance in their power, and highly gratified if their services were accepted. Various little arts were practised to attract our notice, or to delay our departure. The boys and girls ran before, as we walked through their villages, and stopped us at every opening where there was room to form a group for dancing. At one time, we were invited to accept a draught of cocoa-nut milk, or some other refreshment, under the shade of their huts; at another, we were seated within a circle of young women, who exerted all their skill and agility to amuse us with songs and dances.

The satisfaction we derived from their gentleness and hospitality was, however, frequently interrupted by that propensity to stealing which they have in common with all the other islanders of these seas. This circumstance was the more distressing, as it sometimes obliged us to have recourse to acts of severity, which we should willingly have avoided, if the necessity of the case had not absolutely called for them. Some of their most expert swimmers

were one day discovered under the ships, drawing out the filling nails of the sheathing, which they performed very dexterously by means of a short stick, with a flint stone fixed in the end of it. To put a stop to this practice, which endangered the very existence of the vessels, we at first fired small-shot at the offenders; but they easily got out of our reach by diving under the ship's bottom. It was therefore found necessary to make an example, by flogging one of them on board the Discovery.

About this time, a large party of gentlemen, from both ships, set out on an excursion into the interior parts of the country, with a view of examining its natural productions. An account of this journey will be given in a subsequent part of our narrative. It is, therefore, only necessary at present to observe, that it afforded Kaoo a fresh opportunity of showing his attention and generosity. For as soon as he was informed of their departure, he sent a large supply of provisions after them, together with orders that the inhabitants of the country through which they were to pass should give them every assistance in their power.

And, to complete the delicacy and disinterestedness of his conduct, even the people he employed could not be prevailed on to accept the smallest present. After remaining out six days, our officers returned, without having been able to penetrate above twenty miles into the island; partly from want of proper guides, and partly from the impracticability of the country.

The head of the Resolution's rudder being found exceedingly shaken, and most of the pintles either loose or broken, it was unhung, and sent on shore, on the 27th in the morning, to undergo a thorough repair. At the same time, the carpenters were sent into the country, under conduct of some of Kaoo's people, to cut planks for the head rail-work, which was also entirely decayed and rotten. On the 28th, Captain Clerke, whose ill health confined him, for the most part, on board, paid Terreeoboo his first visit, at his hut on shore. He was received with the same formalities as were observed with Captain Cook; and, on his coming away, though the visit was quite unexpected, he received a present of thirty large hogs, and as much fruit and roots as his crew could consume in a week.

As we had not yet seen anything of their sports or athletic exercises, the natives, at the request of some of our officers, entertained us this evening with a boxing-match. Though these games were much inferior, as well in point of solemnity and magnificence, as in the skill and powers of the combatants, to what we had seen exhibited at the Friendly Islands; yet, as they differed in some particulars, it may not be improper to give a short account of them. We found a vast concourse of people assembled on a level spot of ground, at a little distance from our tents. A long space was left vacant in the midst of them, at the upper end of which sat the judges, under three standards, from which hung slips of cloth of various colours, the skins of two wild geese, a few small birds, and bunches of feathers. When the sports were ready to begin, the signal was given by the judges, and immediately two combatants appeared. They came forward slowly, lifting up their feet very high behind, and drawing their hands along the soles. As they approached, they frequently eyed each other from head to foot, in a contemptuous manner, casting several arch looks at the spectators, straining their muscles, and using a variety of affected gestures. Being advanced within reach of each other, they stood with both arms held out straight before their faces, at which part all their blows were aimed. They struck, in what appeared to our eyes an awkward manner, with a full swing of the arm; made no attempt to parry, but eluded their adversary's attack by an inclination of the body, or by retreating. The battle was quickly decided; for if either of them was knocked down, or even fell by accident, he was considered as vanquished, and the victor expressed his triumph by a variety of gestures, which usually excited, as was intended, a loud laugh among the spectators. He then waited for a second antagonist; and if again victorious, for a third, till he was, at last, in his turn defeated. A singular rule observed in these combats is, that whilst any two are preparing to fight, a third person may step in, and choose either of them for his antagonist, when the other is obliged to withdraw. Sometimes three or four followed each other in this manner, before the match was settled. When the combat proved longer than usual, or appeared too unequal, one of the chiefs generally stepped in, and ended it by putting a stick between the combatants. The same good-humour was preserved throughout, which we before so much admired in the

Friendly Islanders. As these games were given at our desire, we found it was universally expected tl ' we should have borne our part in them; but our people, though much pressed by the natives, turned a deaf ear to their challenge, remembering full well the blows they got at the Friendly Islands.

This day died William Watman, a seaman of the gunner's crew; an event which I mention the more particularly, as death had hitherto been very rare amongst us. He was an old man, and much respected on account of his attachment to Captain Cook. He had formerly served as a marine twenty-one years; after which he entered as a seaman on board the Resolution in 1772, and served with Captain Cook in his voyage toward the South Pole. At their return, he was admitted into Greenwich Hospital, through the Captain's interest, at the same time with himself; and being resolved to follow throughout the fortunes of his benefactor, he also quitted it along with him, on his being appointed to the command of the present expedition. During the voyage, he had frequently been subject to slight fevers, and was a convalescent when we came into the bay, where, being sent on shore for a few days, he conceived himself perfectly recovered, and, at his own desire, returned on board; but the day following, he had a paralytic stroke, which in two days more carried him off.

At the request of the king of the island, he was buried on the Morai, and the ceremony was performed with as much solemnity as our situation permitted. Old Kaoo and his brethren were spectators, and preserved the most profound silence and attention whilst the service was reading. When we began to fill up the grave, they approached it with great reverence, threw in a dead pig, some cocoa-nuts, and plantains; and, for three nights afterward, they surrounded it, sacrificing hogs, and performing their usual ceremonies of hymns and prayers, which continued till daybreak. At the head of the grave, we erected a post, and nailed upon it a square piece of board, on which was inscribed the name of the deceased, his age, and the day of his death. This they promised not to remove; and we have no doubt, but that it will be suffered to remain, as long as the frail materials of which it is made will permit.

The ships being in great want of fuel, the Captain desired me, on the 2d of February, to treat with the priests for the purchase of the rail that surrounded the top of the Morai. I must confess I had, at first, some doubt about the decency of this proposal, and was apprehensive that even the bare mention of it might be considered by them as a piece of shocking impiety. In this, however, I found myself mistaken. Not the smallest surprise was expressed at the application, and the wood was readily given, even without stipulating for anything in return. Whilst the sailors were taking it away, I observed one of them carrying off a carved image; and, on further inquiry, I found that they had conveyed to the boats the whole* semicircle. Though this was done in the presence of the natives, who had not shown any mark of resentment at it, but had even assisted them in the removal, I thought it proper to speak to Kaoo on the subject; who appeared very indifferent about the matter, and only desired that we would restore the centre image I have mentioned before, which he carried into one of the priest's houses.

Terreeoboo, and his chiefs, had, for some days past, been very inquisitive about the time of our departure. This circumstance had excited in me a great curiosity to know what opinion this people had formed of us, and what were their ideas respecting the cause and objects of our voyage. I took some pains to satisfy myself on these points; but could never learn anything farther, than that they imagined we came from some country where provisions had failed; and that our visit to them was merely for the purpose of filling our bellies. Indeed, the meagre appearance of some of our crew, the hearty appetites with which we sat down to their fresh provisions, and our great anxiety to purchase and carry off as much as we were able, led them, naturally enough, to such a conclusion. To these may be added, a circumstance which puzzled them exceedingly, our having no women with us; together with our quiet conduct, and unwarlike appearance. It was ridiculous enough to see them stroking the sides and patting the bellies of the sailors (who were certainly much improved in the sleekness of their looks, during our short stay in the island,) and telling them, partly by

* See description of the Morai in the preceding chapter.

signs, and partly by words, that it was time for them to go; but if they would come again the next bread-fruit season, they should be better able to supply their wants. We had now been sixteen days in the bay; and if our enormous consumption of hogs and vegetables be considered, it need not be wondered, that they should wish to see us take our leave. It is very probable, however, that Terreeoboo had no other view in his inquiries, at present, than a desire of making sufficient preparation for dismissing us with presents suitable to the respect and kindness with which he had received us. For, on our telling him we should leave the island on the next day but one, we observed, that a sort of proclamation was immediately made through the villages, to require the people to bring in their hogs and vegetables, for the king to present to the Orono on his departure.

We were this day much diverted, at the beach, by the buffooneries of one of the natives. He held in his hand an instrument of the sort we have already described *; some bits of sea-weed were tied round his neck; and round each leg, a piece of strong netting, about nine inches deep, on which a great number of dog's teeth were loosely fastened in rows. His style of dancing was entirely burlesque, and accompanied with strange grimaces, and pantomimical distortions of the face; which, though at times inexpressibly ridiculous, yet, on the whole, was without much meaning or expression. Mr. Webber thought it worth his while to make a drawing of this person, as exhibiting a tolerable specimen of the natives; the manner in which the maro is tied; the figure of the instrument before-mentioned, and of the ornaments round the legs, which, at other times, we also saw used by their dancers. In the evening, we were again entertained with wrestling and boxing matches; and we displayed, in return, the few fireworks we had left. Nothing could be better calculated to excite the admiration of these islanders, and to impress them with an idea of our great superiority, than an exhibition of this kind. Captain Cook has already described the extraordinary effects of that which was made at Hapaee; and though the present was, in every respect, infinitely inferior, yet the astonishment of the natives was not less.

DANCE OF OWHYHEE.

I have before mentioned, that the carpenters from both ships had been sent up the country to cut planks, for the head-rail work of the Resolution. This was the third day since their departure; and having received no intelligence from them, we began to be very anxious for their safety. We were communicating our apprehensions to old Kaoo, who appeared as much concerned as ourselves, and were concerting measures with him for sending after them, when they arrived all safe. They had been obliged to go farther into the country than was expected, before they met with trees fit for their purpose; and it was this circumstance, together with the badness of the roads, and the difficulty of bringing back the timber, which had detained them so long. They spoke in high terms of their guides, who both supplied them with provisions, and guarded their tools with the utmost fidelity.

The next day being fixed for our departure, Terreeoboo invited Captain Cook and myself to attend him, on the 3d, to the place where Kaoo resided. On our arrival, we found the

* See Vol ii. p. 250.

ground covered with parcels of cloth, a vast quantity of red and yellow feathers tied to the fibres of cocoa-nut husks, and a great number of hatchets, and other pieces of iron-ware, that had been got in barter from us. At a little distance from these lay an immense quantity of vegetables of every kind; and near them was a large herd of hogs. At first, we imagined the whole to be intended as a present for us, but Kaireekeea informed me that it was a gift or tribute from the people of that district to the king; and, accordingly, as soon as we were seated, they brought all the bundles and laid them severally at Terreeoboo's feet, spreading out the cloth, and displaying the feathers and iron-ware before him. The king seemed much pleased with this mark of their duty; and having selected about a third part of the iron-ware, the same proportion of feathers, and a few pieces of cloth, these were set aside by themselves; and the remainder of the cloth, together with all the hogs and vegetables, were afterwards presented to Captain Cook and myself. We were astonished at the value and magnitude of this present, which far exceeded everything of the kind we had seen, either at the Friendly or Society Islands. Boats were immediately sent to carry them on board; the large hogs were picked out to be salted for sea-store, and upwards of thirty smaller pigs, and the vegetables, were divided between the two crews.

The same day, we quitted the Morai, and got the tents and astronomical instruments on board. The charm of the *taboo* was now removed; and we had no sooner left the place, than the natives rushed in and searched eagerly about, in expectation of finding something of value that we might have left behind. As I happened to remain the last on shore, and waited for the return of the boat, several came crowding about me, and having made me sit down by them, began to lament our separation. It was, indeed, not without difficulty I was able to quit them. And here I hope I may be permitted to relate a trifling occurrence, in which I was principally concerned. Having had the command of the party on shore, during the whole time we were in the bay, I had an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the natives, and of being better known to them, than those whose duty required them to be generally on board. As I had every reason to be satisfied with their kindness in general, so I cannot too often, nor too particularly, mention the unbounded and constant friendship of their priests. On my part, I spared no endeavours to conciliate their affections, and gain their esteem; and I had the good fortune to succeed so far, that, when the time of our departure was made known, I was strongly solicited to remain behind, not without offers of the most flattering kind. When I excused myself, by saying that Captain Cook would not give his consent, they proposed that I should retire into the mountains, where, they said, they would conceal me till after the departure of the ships; and, on my farther assuring them that the Captain would not leave the bay without me, Terreeoboo and Kaoo waited upon Captain Cook, whose son they supposed I was, with a formal request that I might be left behind. The Captain, to avoid giving a positive refusal to an offer so kindly intended, told them that he could not part with me at that time, but that he should return to the island next year, and would then endeavour to settle the matter to their satisfaction.

Early in the morning of the 4th, we unmoored, and sailed out of the bay, with the Discovery in company, and were followed by a great number of canoes. Captain Cook's design was to finish the survey of Owhyhee, before he visited the other islands, in hopes of meeting with a road better sheltered than the bay we had just left; and in case of not succeeding here, he purposed to take a view of the south-east part of Mowee, where the natives informed us we should find an excellent harbour. We had calm weather all this and the following day, which made our progress to the northward very slow. We were accompanied by a great number of the natives in their canoes; and Terreeoboo gave a fresh proof of his friendship to Captain Cook, by a large present of hogs and vegetables, that was sent after him.

In the night of the 5th, having a light breeze off the land, we made some way to the northward; and in the morning of the 6th, having passed the westernmost point of the island, we found ourselves abreast of a deep bay, called by the natives Toe-yahyah. We had great hopes that this bay would furnish us with a safe and commodious harbour, as we saw to the north-east several fine streams of water; and the whole had the appearance of being well sheltered. These observations agreeing with the accounts given us by Keah, who

accompanied Captain Cook, and had changed his name, out of compliment to us, into Britannee, the pinnace was hoisted out, and the master, with Britannee for his guide, was sent to examine the bay, whilst the ships worked up after them. In the afternoon the weather became gloomy, and the gusts of wind that blew off the land were so violent, as to make it necessary to take in all the sails, and bring-to under the mizen stay-sail. All the canoes left us at the beginning of the gale; and Mr. Bligh, on his return, had the satisfaction of saving an old woman and two men, whose canoe had been overset by the violence of the wind, as they were endeavouring to gain the shore. Besides these distressed people, we had a great many women on board, whom the natives had left behind in their hurry to shift for themselves.

The master reported to Captain Cook, that he had landed at the only village he saw on the north side of the bay, where he was directed to some wells of water, but found they would by no means answer our purpose; that he afterward proceeded farther into the bay, which runs inland to a great depth, and stretches toward the foot of a very conspicuous high mountain, situated on the north-west end of the island; but that instead of meeting with safe anchorage, as Britannee had taught him to expect, he found the shores low and rocky, and a flat bed of coral rocks running along the coast, and extending upward of a mile from the land, on the outside of which, the depth of water was twenty fathoms, over a sandy bottom; and that, in the mean time, Britannee had contrived to slip away, being afraid of returning, as we imagined, because his information had not proved true and successful.

In the evening, the weather being more moderate, we again made sail; but about midnight it blew so violently, as to split both the fore and maintopsails. On the morning of the 7th, we bent fresh sails, and had fair weather and a light breeze. At noon, the latitude, by observation, was 20° 1′ north, the west point of the island bearing south, 7° east, and the north-west point north, 38° east. As we were, at this time, four or five leagues from the shore, and the weather very unsettled, none of the canoes would venture out, so that our guests were obliged to remain with us, much indeed to their dissatisfaction; for they were all sea-sick, and many of them had left young children behind them. In the afternoon, though the weather was still squally, we stood in for the land, and being about three leagues from it, we saw a canoe, with two men paddling toward us, which we immediately conjectured had been driven off the shore by the late boisterous weather; and therefore stopped the ship's way, in order to take them in. These poor wretches were so entirely exhausted with fatigue, that had not one of the natives on board, observing their weakness, jumped into the canoe to their assistance, they would scarcely have been able to fasten it to the rope we had thrown out for that purpose. It was with difficulty we got them up the ship's side, together with a child, about four years old, which they had lashed under the thwarts of the canoe, where it had lain with only its head above water. They told us, they had left the shore the morning before, and had been, from that time, without food or water. The usual precautions were taken in giving them victuals, and the child being committed to the care of one of the women, we found them all next morning perfectly recovered.

At midnight, a gale of wind came on, which obliged us to double reef the topsails, and get down the top-gallant yards. On the 8th, at daybreak, we found that the foremast had again given way, the fishes which were put on the head, in King George's or Nootka Sound, on the coast of America, being sprung, and the parts so very defective, as to make it absolutely necessary to replace them, and, of course, to unstep the mast. In this difficulty Captain Cook was for some time in doubt, whether he should run the chance of meeting with a harbour in the islands to leeward, or return to Karakakooa. That bay was not so remarkably commodious, in any respect, but that a better might probably be expected, both for the purpose of repairing the masts, and for procuring refreshments, of which it was imagined that the neighbourhood of Karakakooa had been already pretty well drained. On the other hand, it was considered as too great a risk to leave a place that was tolerably sheltered, and which, once left, could not be regained, for the mere hopes of meeting with a better; the failure of which might perhaps have left us without resource. We therefore continued standing on toward the land, in order to give the natives an opportunity of releasing their friends on board from their confinement; and, at noon, being within a mile of the

shore, a few canoes came off to us, but so crowded with people, that there was not room in them for any of our guests; we therefore hoisted out the pinnace to carry them on shore; and the master, who went with them, had directions to examine the south coasts of the bay for water; but returned without finding any.

The winds being variable, and a current setting strong to the northward, we made but little progress in our return; and at eight o'clock in the evening of the 9th, it began to blow very hard from the south-east, which obliged us to close reef the topsails; and at two in the morning of the 10th, in a heavy squall, we found ourselves close in with the breakers that lie to the northward of the west point of Owhyhee. We had just room to haul off and avoid them, and fired several guns to apprise the Discovery of the danger. In the forenoon, the weather was more moderate, and a few canoes came off to us, from which we learned, that the late storms had done much mischief, and that several large canoes had been lost. During the remainder of the day we kept beating to windward, and, before night, we were within a mile of the bay; but not choosing to run on while it was dark, we stood off and on till daylight next morning, when we dropped anchor nearly in the same place as before.

CHAPTER III.—SUSPICIOUS BEHAVIOUR OF THE NATIVES, ON OUR RETURN TO KARAKAKOOA BAY.—THEFT ON BOARD THE DISCOVERY, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.—THE PINNACE ATTACKED, AND THE CREW OBLIGED TO QUIT HER.—CAPTAIN COOK'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE OCCASION.—ATTEMPT AT THE OBSERVATORY.—THE CUTTER OF THE DISCOVERY STOLEN.—MEASURES TAKEN BY CAPTAIN COOK FOR ITS RECOVERY.—GOES ON SHORE, TO INVITE THE KING ON BOARD.—THE KING BEING STOPPED BY HIS WIFE AND THE CHIEFS, A CONTEST ARISES.—NEWS ARRIVE OF ONE OF THE CHIEFS BEING KILLED BY ONE OF OUR PEOPLE.—FERMENT ON THIS OCCASION.—ONE OF THE CHIEFS THREATENS CAPTAIN COOK, AND IS SHOT BY HIM.—GENERAL ATTACK BY THE NATIVES.—DEATH OF CAPTAIN COOK.—ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTAIN'S SERVICES, AND A SKETCH OF HIS CHARACTER.

We were employed the whole of the 11th and part of the 12th in getting out the foremast, and sending it with the carpenters on shore. Besides the damage which the head of the mast had sustained, we found the heel exceedingly rotten, having a large hole up the middle of it, capable of holding four or five cocoa-nuts. It was not, however, thought necessary to shorten it; and fortunately, the logs of red toa-wood, which had been cut at Eimeo, for anchor-stocks, were found fit to replace the sprung parts of the fishes. As these repairs were likely to take up several days, Mr. Bayly and myself got the astronomical apparatus on shore, and pitched our tents on the Morai; having with us a guard of a corporal and six marines. We renewed our friendly correspondence with the priests, who, for the greater security of the workmen and their tools, tabooed the place where the mast lay, sticking their wands round it, as before. The sailmakers were also sent on shore, to repair the damages which had taken place in their department during the late gales. They were lodged in a house adjoining to the Morai, that was lent us by the priests. Such were our arrangements on shore. I shall now proceed to the account of those other transactions with the natives which led, by degrees, to the fatal catastrophe of the 14th.

Upon coming to anchor, we were surprised to find our reception very different from what it had been on our first arrival; no shouts, no bustle, no confusion; but a solitary bay, with only here and there a canoe stealing close along the shore The impulse of curiosity, which had before operated to so great a degree, might now indeed be supposed to have ceased; but the hospitable treatment we had invariably met with, and the friendly footing on which we parted, gave us some reason to expect that they would again have flocked about us with great joy on our return. We were forming various conjectures upon the occasion of this extraordinary appearance, when our anxiety was at length relieved by the return of a boat, which had been sent on shore, and brought us word, that Terreeoboo was absent, and had left the bay under the taboo. Though this account appeared very satisfactory to most of us, yet others were of opinion, or rather, perhaps, have been led, by subsequent events, to

imagine, that there was something at this time very suspicious in the behaviour of the natives; and that the interdiction of all intercourse with us, on pretence of the king's absence, was only to give him time to consult with his chiefs in what manner it might be proper to treat us. Whether these suspicions were well founded, or the account given by the natives was the truth, we were never able to ascertain. For though it is not improbable that our sudden return, for which they could see no apparent cause, and the necessity of which we afterward found it very difficult to make them comprehend, might occasion some alarm; yet the unsuspicious conduct of Terreeoboo, who, on his supposed arrival, the next morning, came immediately to visit Captain Cook, and the consequent return of the natives to their former friendly intercourse with us, are strong proofs that they neither meant nor apprehended any change of conduct.

In support of this opinion, I may add the account of another accident, precisely of the same kind, which happened to us on our first visit, the day before the arrival of the king. A native had sold a hog on board the Resolution, and taken the price agreed on, when Parcea passing by, advised the man not to part with the hog without an advanced price. For this he was sharply spoken to, and pushed away; and the taboo being soon after laid on the bay, we had at first no doubt but that it was in consequence of the offence given to the chief. Both these accidents serve to show how very difficult it is to draw any certain conclusion from the actions of people with whose customs, as well as language, we are so imperfectly acquainted; at the same time, some idea may be formed from them of the difficulties, at the first view, perhaps, not very apparent, which those have to encounter who, in all their transactions with these strangers, have to steer their course amidst so much uncertainty, where a trifling error may be attended with even the most fatal consequences. However true or false our conjectures may be, things went on in their usual quiet course, till the afternoon of the 13th.

Toward the evening of that day, the officer who commanded the watering-party of the Discovery came to inform me, that several chiefs had assembled at the well near the beach, driving away the natives whom he had hired to assist the sailors in rolling down the casks to the shore. He told me, at the same time, that he thought their behaviour extremely suspicious, and that they meant to give him some farther disturbance. At his request, therefore, I sent a marine along with him, but suffered him to take only his side-arms. In a short time the officer returned, and, on his acquainting me that the islanders had armed themselves with stones and were growing very tumultuous, I went myself to the spot, attended by a marine with his musket. Seeing us approach, they threw away their stones, and, on my speaking to some of the chiefs, the mob were driven away, and those who chose it were suffered to assist in filling the casks. Having left things quiet here, I went to meet Captain Cook, whom I saw coming on shore, in the pinnace. I related to him what had just passed; and he ordered me, in case of their beginning to throw stones or behave insolently, immediately to fire a ball at the offenders. I accordingly gave orders to the corporal, to have the pieces of the sentinels loaded with ball, instead of small-shot.

Soon after our return to the tents, we were alarmed by a continued fire of muskets from the Discovery, which we observed to be directed at a canoe, that we saw paddling toward the shore in great haste, pursued by one of our small boats. We immediately concluded that the firing was in consequence of some theft, and Captain Cook ordered me to follow him with a marine armed, and to endeavour to seize the people as they came on shore. Accordingly we ran toward the place where we supposed the canoe would land, but were too late; the people having quitted it, and made their escape into the country before our arrival. We were at this time ignorant that the goods had been already restored; and as we thought it probable, from the circumstances we had at first observed, that they might be of importance, were unwilling to relinquish our hopes of recovering them. Having therefore inquired of the natives which way the people had fled, we followed them till it was near dark, when judging ourselves to be about three miles from the tents, and suspecting that the natives, who frequently encouraged us in the pursuit, were amusing us with false information, we thought it in vain to continue our search any longer, and returned to the beach.

During our absence, a difference of a more serious and unpleasant nature had happened. The officer, who had been sent in the small boat, and was returning on board with the goods which had been restored, observing Captain Cook and me engaged in the pursuit of the offenders, thought it his duty to seize the canoe, which was left drawn up on the shore. Unfortunately, this canoe belonged to Pareea, who arriving, at the same moment, from on board the Discovery, claimed his property, with many protestations of his innocence. The officer refusing to give it up, and being joined by the crew of the pinnace, which was waiting for Captain Cook, a scuffle ensued, in which Pareea was knocked down by a violent blow on the head with an oar. The natives, who were collected about the spot, and had hitherto been peaceable spectators, immediately attacked our people with such a shower of stones as forced them to retreat with great precipitation, and swim off to a rock, at some distance from the shore. The pinnace was immediately ransacked by the islanders; and, but for the timely interposition of Pareea, who seemed to have recovered from the blow, and forgot it at the same instant, would soon have been entirely demolished. Having driven away the crowd, he made signs to our people, that they might come and take possession of the pinnace, and that he would endeavour to get back the things which had been taken out of it. After their departure, he followed them in his canoe, with a midshipman's cap, and some other trifling articles of the plunder, and with much apparent concern at what had happened, asked, if the Orono would kill him, and whether he would permit him to come on board the next day? On being assured that he should be well received, he joined noses (as their custom is) with the officers, in token of friendship, and paddled over to the village of Kowrowa.

When Captain Cook was informed of what had passed, he expressed much uneasiness at it, and as we were returning on board, "I am afraid," said he, "that these people will oblige me to use some violent measures; for," he added, "they must not be left to imagine that they have gained an advantage over us." However, as it was too late to take any steps this evening, he contented himself with giving orders, that every man and woman on board should be immediately turned out of the ship. As soon as this order was executed, I returned on shore; and our former confidence in the natives being now much abated by the events of the day, I posted a double guard on the Morai, with orders to call me if they saw any men lurking about the beach. At about eleven o'clock, five islanders were observed creeping round the bottom of the Morai; they seemed very cautious in approaching us, and, at last, finding themselves discovered, retired out of sight. About midnight, one of them venturing up close to the observatory, the sentinel fired over him; on which the men fled, and we passed the remainder of the night without further disturbance.

Next morning, at daylight, I went on board the Resolution for the timekeeper, and, in my way, was hailed by the Discovery, and informed that their cutter had been stolen during the night from the buoy where it was moored. When I arrived on board, I found the marines arming, and Captain Cook loading his double-barrelled gun. Whilst I was relating to him what had happened to us in the night, he interrupted me with some eagerness, and acquainted me with the loss of the Discovery's cutter, and with the preparations he was making for its recovery. It had been his usual practice, whenever anything of consequence was lost at any of the islands in this ocean, to get the king, or some of the principal Erees, on board, and to keep them as hostages till it was restored. This method, which had been always attended with success, he meant to pursue on the present occasion; and, at the same time, had given orders to stop all the canoes that should attempt to leave the bay, with an intention of seizing and destroying them, if he could not recover the cutter by peaceable means. Accordingly the boats of both ships, well manned and armed, were stationed across the bay; and, before I left the ship, some great-guns had been fired at two large canoes, that were attempting to make their escape.

It was between seven and eight o'clock when we quitted the ship together; Captain Cook in the pinnace, having Mr. Phillips and nine marines with him; and myself in the small boat. The last orders I received from him were, to quiet the minds of the natives on our side of the bay, by assuring them they should not be hurt; to keep my people together; and to be on my guard. We then parted: the captain went toward Kowrowa, where the king resided; and I proceeded to the beach. My first care, on going ashore, was to give

strict orders to the marines to remain within their tent, to load their pieces with ball, and not to quit their arms. Afterward I took a walk to the huts of old Kaoo and the priests, and explained to them, as well as I could, the object of the hostile preparations, which had exceedingly alarmed them. I found that they had already heard of the cutter's being stolen, and I assured them, that though Captain Cook was resolved to recover it, and to punish the authors of the theft, yet that they, and the people of the village on our side, need not be under the smallest apprehension of suffering any evil from us. I desired the priests to explain this to the people, and to tell them not to be alarmed, but to continue peaceable and quiet. Kaoo asked me, with great earnestness, if Terreeoboo was to be hurt? I assured him, he was not; and both he and the rest of his brethren seemed much satisfied with this assurance.

In the mean time, Captain Cook having called off the launch, which was stationed at the north point of the bay, and taken it along with him, proceeded to Kowrowa, and landed with the lieutenant and nine marines. He immediately marched into the village, where he was received with the usual marks of respect; the people prostrating themselves before him, and bringing their accustomed offerings of small hogs. Finding that there was no suspicion of his design, his next step was to inquire for Terreeoboo and the two boys, his sons, who had been his constant guests on board the Resolution. In a short time the boys returned along with the natives, who had been sent in search of them, and immediately led Captain Cook to the house where the king had slept. They found the old man just awoke from sleep; and after a short conversation about the loss of the cutter, from which Captain Cook was convinced that he was in no wise privy to it, he invited him to return in the boat, and spend the day on board the Resolution. To this proposal the king readily consented, and immediately got up to accompany him.

Things were in this prosperous train, the two boys being already in the pinnace, and the rest of the party having advanced near the water-side, when an elderly woman called Kaneekabareea, the mother of the boys, and one of the king's favourite wives, came after him, and, with many tears and entreaties, besought him not to go on board. At the same time, two chiefs who came along with her laid hold of him, and insisting that he should go no farther, forced him to sit down. The natives, who were collecting in prodigious numbers along the shore, and had probably been alarmed by the firing of the great-guns and the appearances of hostility in the bay, began to throng round Captain Cook and their king. In this situation, the lieutenant of marines observing that his men were huddled close together in the crowd, and thus incapable of using their arms, if any occasion should require it, proposed to the captain to draw them up along the rocks, close to the water's edge; and the crowd readily making way for them to pass, they were drawn up in a line, at the distance of about thirty yards from the place where the king was sitting. All this time the old king remained on the ground, with the strongest marks of terror and dejection in his countenance; Captain Cook, not willing to abandon the object for which he had come on shore, continuing to urge him in the most pressing manner, to proceed; whilst, on the other hand, whenever the king appeared inclined to follow him, the chiefs, who stood round him, interposed at first with prayers and entreaties, but afterward, having recourse to force and violence, insisted on his staying where he was. Captain Cook, therefore, finding that the alarm had spread too generally, and that it was in vain to think any longer of getting him off without bloodshed, at last gave up the point; observing to Mr. Phillips, that it would be impossible to compel him to go on board, without the risk of killing a great number of the inhabitants.

Though the enterprise which had carried Captain Cook on shore had now failed, and was abandoned, yet his person did not appear to have been in the least danger, till an accident happened, which gave a fatal turn to the affair. The boats which had been stationed across the bay, having fired at some canoes that were attempting to get out, unfortunately had killed a chief of the first rank. The news of his death arrived at the village where Captain Cook was, just as he had left the king, and was walking slowly toward the shore. The ferment it occasioned was very conspicuous; the women and children were immediately sent off; and the men put on their war-mats, and armed themselves with

spears and stones. One of the natives, having in his hands a stone, and a long iron spike (which they call a *pahooa*), came up to the captain, flourishing his weapon, by way of defiance, and threatening to throw the stone. The captain desired him to desist; but the man persisting in his insolence, he was at length provoked to fire a load of small-shot. The man having his mat on, which the shot were not able to penetrate, this had no other effect than to irritate and encourage them. Several stones were thrown at the marines; and one of the Erees attempted to stab Mr. Phillips with his *pahooa*, but failed in the attempt, and received from him a blow with the butt end of his musket. Captain Cook now fired his second barrel, loaded with ball, and killed one of the foremost of the natives. A general attack with stones immediately followed, which was answered by a discharge of musketry from the marines and the people in the boats. The islanders, contrary to the expectations of every one, stood the fire with great firmness; and before the marines had time to reload, they broke in upon them with dreadful shouts and yells. What followed was a scene of the utmost horror and confusion.

Four of the marines were cut off amongst the rocks in their retreat, and fell a sacrifice to the fury of the enemy; three more were dangerously wounded; and the lieutenant, who had received a stab between the shoulders with a *pahooa*, having fortunately reserved his fire, shot the man who had wounded him just as he was going to repeat his blow. Our unfortunate commander, the last time he was seen distinctly, was standing at the water's edge, and calling out to the boats to cease firing, and to pull in. If it be true, as some of those who were present have imagined, that the marines and boatmen had fired without his orders, and that he was desirous of preventing any further bloodshed, it is not improbable that his humanity, on this occasion, proved fatal to him. For it was remarked, that whilst he faced the natives, none of them had offered him any violence, but that having turned about to give his orders to the boats, he was stabbed in the back, and fell with his face into the water. On seeing him fall, the islanders set up a great shout, and his body was immediately dragged on shore, and surrounded by the enemy, who snatching the daggers out of each other's hands, showed a savage eagerness to have a share in his destruction.

Thus fell our great and excellent commander! After a life of so much distinguished and successful enterprise, his death, as far as regards himself, cannot be reckoned premature; since he lived to finish the great work for which he seems to have been designed; and was rather removed from the enjoyment, than cut off from the acquisition of glory. How sincerely his loss was felt and lamented by those who had so long found their general security in his skill and conduct, and every consolation, under their hardships, in his tenderness and humanity, it is neither necessary nor possible for me to describe; much less shall I attempt to paint the horror with which we were struck, and the universal dejection and dismay which followed so dreadful and unexpected a calamity. The reader will not be displeased to turn from so sad a scene, to the contemplation of his character and virtues, whilst I am paying my last tribute to the memory of a dear and honoured friend, in a short history of his life and public services

Captain James Cook was born near Whitby, in Yorkshire, in the year 1727; and, at an early age, was put apprentice to a shopkeeper in a neighbouring village. His natural inclination not having been consulted on this occasion, he soon quitted the counter from disgust, and bound himself for nine years, to the master of a vessel in the coal trade. At the breaking out of the war in 1755, he entered into the King's service on board the Eagle, at that time commanded by Captain Hamer, and afterward by Sir Hugh Palliser, who soon discovered his merit, and introduced him on the quarter-deck. In the year 1758, we find him master of the Northumberland, the flag-ship of Lord Colville, who had then the command of the squadron stationed on the coast of America. It was here, as I have often heard him say, that, during a hard winter, he first read Euclid, and applied himself to the study of mathematics and astronomy, without any other assistance than what a few books and his own industry afforded him. At the same time that he thus found means to cultivate and improve his mind and to supply the deficiencies of an early education, he was engaged in most of the busy and active scenes of the war in America. At the siege of Quebec, Sir Charles Saunders committed to his charge the execution of services of the first importance in the naval department. He

piloted the boats to the attack of Montmorency; conducted the embarkation to the Heights of Abraham; examined the passage, and laid buoys for the security of the large ships in proceeding up the river. The courage and address with which he acquitted himself in these services, gained him the warm friendship of Sir Charles Saunders and Lord Colville, who continued to patronise him during the rest of their lives with the greatest zeal and affection. At the conclusion of the war, he was appointed, through the recommendation of Lord Colville and Sir Hugh Palliser, to survey the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the coasts of Newfoundland. In this employment he continued till the year 1767, when he was fixed on by Sir Edward Hawke, to command an expedition to the South Seas; for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus, and prosecuting discoveries in that part of the globe.

From this period, as his services are too well known to require a recital here, so his reputation has proportionably advanced to a height too great to be affected by my panegyric. Indeed, he appears to have been most eminently and peculiarly qualified for this species of enterprise. The earliest habits of his life, the course of his services, and the constant application of his mind, all conspired to fit him for it, and gave him a degree of professional knowledge which can fall to the lot of very few. The constitution of his body was robust, inured to labour, and capable of undergoing the severest hardships. His stomach bore, without difficulty, the coarsest and most ungrateful food. Indeed, temperance in him was scarcely a virtue; so great was the indifference with which he submitted to every kind of self-denial. The qualities of his mind were of the same hardy, vigorous kind with those of his body. His understanding was strong and perspicacious; his judgment, in whatever related to the services he was engaged in, quick and sure. His designs were bold and manly; and both in the conception, and in the mode of execution, bore evident marks of a great original genius. His courage was cool and determined, and accompanied with an admirable presence of mind in the moment of danger. His manners were plain and unaffected. His temper might perhaps have been justly blamed as subject to hastiness and passion, had not these been disarmed by a disposition the most benevolent and humane.

Such were the outlines of Captain Cook's character; but its most distinguishing feature was that unremitting perseverance in the pursuit of his object, which was not only superior to the opposition of dangers and the pressure of hardships, but even exempt from the want of ordinary relaxation. During the long and tedious voyages in which he was engaged, his eagerness and activity were never in the least abated. No incidental temptation could detain him for a moment; even those intervals of recreation, which sometimes unavoidably occurred, and were looked for by us with a longing, that persons who have experienced the fatigues of service will readily excuse, were submitted to by him with a certain impatience, whenever they could not be employed in making further provision for the more effectual prosecution of his designs.

It is not necessary, here, to enumerate the instances in which these qualities were displayed, during the great and important enterprises in which he was engaged. I shall content myself with stating the result of those services, under the two principal heads to which they may be referred, those of geography and navigation, placing each in a separate and distinct point of view. Perhaps no science ever received greater additions from the labour of a single man than geography has done from those of Captain Cook. In his first voyage to the South Seas, he discovered the Society Islands; determined the insularity of New Zealand; discovered the straits which separate the two islands, and are called after his name; and made a complete survey of both. He afterward explored the eastern coast of New Holland, hitherto unknown; an extent of twenty-seven degrees of latitude, or upward of two thousand miles. In his second expedition he resolved the great problem of a southern continent; having traversed that hemisphere between the latitudes of 40° and 70°, in such a manner as not to leave a possibility of its existence, unless near the pole, and out of the reach of navigation. During this voyage he discovered New Caledonia, the largest island in the Southern Pacific, except New Zealand; the island of Georgia; and an unknown coast, which he named Sandwich Land, the Thule of the southern hemisphere; and having twice visited the tropical seas, he settled the situations of the old, and made several new discoveries.

But the voyage we are now relating is distinguished above all the rest by the extent and importance of its discoveries. Besides several smaller islands in the Southern Pacific, he discovered, to the north of the equinoctial line, the group called the Sandwich Islands; which, from their situation and productions, bid fairer for becoming an object of consequence, in the system of European navigation, than any other discovery in the South Sea. He afterward explored what had hitherto remained unknown of the western coast of America, from the latitude of 43° to 70° north, containing an extent of three thousand five hundred miles; ascertained the proximity of the two great continents of Asia and America; passed the straits between them, and surveyed the coast, on each side, to such a height of northern latitude as to demonstrate the impracticability of a passage in that hemisphere, from the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean, either by an eastern or a western course. In short, if we except the sea of Amur, and the Japanese Archipelago, which still remain imperfectly known to Europeans, he has completed the hydrography of the habitable globe.

As a navigator, his services were not perhaps less splendid; certainly not less important and meritorious. The method which he discovered, and so successfully pursued, of preserving the health of seamen, forms a new era in navigation, and will transmit his name to future ages amongst the friends and benefactors of mankind. Those who are conversant in naval history need not be told at how dear a rate the advantages which have been sought through the medium of long voyages at sea have always been purchased. That dreadful disorder which is peculiar to this service, and whose ravages have marked the tracks of discoverers with circumstances almost too shocking to relate, must, without exercising an unwarrantable tyranny over the lives of our seamen, have proved an insuperable obstacle to the prosecution of such enterprises. It was reserved for Captain Cook to show the world, by repeated trials, that voyages might be protracted to the unusual length of three or even four years, in unknown regions, and under every change and rigour of climate, not only without affecting the health, but even without diminishing the probability of life in the smallest degree. The method he pursued has been fully explained by himself in a paper which was read before the Royal Society, in the year 1776*; and whatever improvements the experience of the present voyage has suggested are mentioned in their proper places.

With respect to his professional abilities, I shall leave them to the judgment of those who are best acquainted with the nature of the services in which he was engaged. They will readily acknowledge, that to have conducted three expeditions of so much danger and difficulty, of so unusual a length, and in such a variety of situation, with uniform and invariable success, must have required not only a thorough and accurate knowledge of his business, but a powerful and comprehensive genius, fruitful in resources, and equally ready in the application of whatever the higher and inferior calls of the service required.

Having given the most faithful account I have been able to collect, both from my own observation, and the relations of others, of the death of my ever-honoured friend, and also of his character and services, I shall now leave his memory to the gratitude and admiration of posterity; accepting, with a melancholy satisfaction, the honour, which the loss of him hath procured me, of seeing my name joined with his; and of testifying that affection and respect for his memory, which, whilst he lived, it was no less my inclination, than my constant study to show him.

* Sir Godfrey Copley's gold medal was adjudged to him on that occasion.

CHAPTER IV.—TRANSACTIONS AT OWHYHEE SUBSEQUENT TO THE DEATH OF CAPTAIN COOK.—GALLANT BEHAVIOUR OF THE LIEUTENANT OF MARINES.—DANGEROUS SITUATION OF THE PARTY AT THE MORAI.—BRAVERY OF ONE OF THE NATIVES.—CONSULTATION RESPECTING FUTURE MEASURES.—DEMAND OF THE BODY OF CAPTAIN COOK.—EVASIVE AND INSIDIOUS CONDUCT OF KOAH, AND THE CHIEFS.—INSOLENT BEHAVIOUR OF THE NATIVES.—PROMOTION OF OFFICERS.—ARRIVAL OF TWO PRIESTS WITH PART OF THE BODY.—EXTRAORDINARY BEHAVIOUR OF TWO BOYS.—BURNING OF THE VILLAGE OF KAKOOA.—UNFORTUNATE DESTRUCTION OF THE DWELLINGS OF THE PRIESTS.—RECOVERY OF THE BONES OF CAPTAIN COOK.—DEPARTURE FROM KARAKAKOOA BAY.

It has been already related that four of the marines who attended Captain Cook were killed by the islanders on the spot. The rest, with Mr. Phillips, their lieutenant, threw themselves into the water, and escaped, under cover of a smart fire from the boats. On this occasion, a remarkable instance of gallant behaviour, and of affection for his men, was shown by that officer. For he had scarcely got into the boat, when, seeing one of the marines, who was a bad swimmer, struggling in the water, and in danger of being taken by the enemy, he immediately jumped into the sea to his assistance, though much wounded himself; and after receiving a blow on the head from a stone, which had nearly sent him to the bottom, he caught the man by the hair, and brought him safe off. Our people continued for some time to keep up a constant fire from the boats (which during the whole transaction were not more than twenty yards from the land), in order to afford their unfortunate companions, if any of them should still remain alive, an opportunity of escaping. These efforts, seconded by a few guns, that were fired at the same time from the Resolution, having forced the natives at last to retire, a small boat, manned by five of our young midshipmen, pulled toward the shore, where they saw the bodies, without any signs of life, lying on the ground; but judging it dangerous to attempt to bring them off with so small a force, and their ammunition being nearly expended, they returned to the ships, leaving them in possession of the islanders, together with ten stand of arms.

As soon as the general consternation, which the news of this calamity occasioned throughout both crews had a little subsided, their attention was called to our party at the Morai, where the mast and sails were on shore, with a guard of only six marines. It is impossible for me to describe the emotions of my own mind, during the time these transactions had been carrying on at the other side of the bay. Being at the distance only of a short mile from the village of Kowrowa, we could see distinctly an immense crowd collected on the spot where Captain Cook had just before landed. We heard the firing of the musketry, and could perceive some extraordinary bustle and agitation in the multitude. We afterwards saw the natives flying, the boats retire from the shore, and passing and repassing, in great stillness, between the ships. I must confess that my heart soon misgave me. Where a life so dear and valuable was concerned, it was impossible not to be alarmed, by appearances both new and threatening. But, besides this, I knew that a long and uninterrupted course of success, in his transactions with the natives of these seas, had given the Captain a degree of confidence, that I was always fearful might, at some unlucky moment, put him too much off his guard; and I now saw all the dangers to which that confidence might lead, without receiving much consolation from considering the experience that had given rise to it.

My first care on hearing the muskets fired, was, to assure the people, who were assembled in considerable numbers round the wall of our consecrated field, and seemed equally at a loss with ourselves how to account for what they had seen and heard, that they should not be molested; and that, at all events, I was desirous of continuing on peaceable terms with them. We remained in this posture, till the boats had returned on board, when Captain Clerke, observing, through his telescope, that we were surrounded by the natives, and apprehending they meant to attack us, ordered two four-pounders to be fired at them. Fortunately these guns, though well aimed, did no mischief, and yet gave the natives a convincing proof of their power. One of the balls broke a cocoa-nut tree in the middle, under which a party of them were sitting; and the other shivered a rock, that stood in an

exact line with them. As I had, just before, given them the strongest assurances of their safety, I was exceedingly mortified at this act of hostility; and, to prevent a repetition of it, immediately despatched a boat to acquaint Captain Clerke, that at present I was on the most friendly terms with the natives; and that, if occasion should hereafter arise for altering my conduct towards them, I would hoist a jack as a signal for him to afford us all the assistance in his power.

We expected the return of the boat with the utmost impatience; and after remaining a quarter of an hour under the most torturing anxiety and suspense, our fears were at length confirmed, by the arrival of Mr. Bligh, with orders to strike the tents as quickly as possible, and to send the sails that were repairing, on board. Just at the same moment, our friend Kaireekeea, having also received intelligence of the death of Captain Cook from a native, who had arrived from the other side of the bay, came to me, with great sorrow and dejection in his countenance, to inquire if it was true. Our situation was at this time extremely critical and important; not only our own lives, but the event of the expedition, and the return of at least one of the ships, being involved in the same common danger. We had the mast of the Resolution, and the greater part of our sails, on shore, under the protection of only six marines: their loss would have been irreparable; and though the natives had not as yet shown the smallest disposition to molest us, yet it was impossible to answer for the alteration which the news of the transaction at Kowrowa might produce. I therefore thought it prudent to dissemble my belief of the death of Captain Cook, and to desire Kaireekeea to discourage the report; lest either the fear of our resentment, or the successful example of their countrymen, might lead them to seize the favourable opportunity which at this time offered itself of giving us a second blow. At the same time, I advised him to bring old Kaoo, and the rest of the priests, into a large house that was close to the Morai; partly out of regard to their safety, in case it should have been found necessary to proceed to extremities; and partly to have him near us, in order to make use of his authority with the people, if it could be instrumental in preserving peace.

Having placed the marines on the top of the Morai, which formed a strong and advantageous post, and left the command with Mr. Bligh, giving him the most positive directions to act entirely on the defensive, I went on board the Discovery, in order to represent to Captain Clerke the dangerous situation of our affairs. As soon as I quitted the spot, the natives began to annoy our people with stones; and I had scarcely reached the ship, before I heard the firing of the marines. I therefore returned instantly on shore, where I found things growing every moment more alarming. The natives were arming, and putting on their mats; and their numbers increased very fast. I could also perceive several large bodies marching toward us, along the cliff which separates the village of Kakooa from the north side of the bay, where the village of Kowrowa is situated.

They began, at first, to attack us with stones from behind the walls of their inclosures, and finding no resistance on our part, they soon grew more daring. A few resolute fellows having crept along the beach under cover of the rocks, suddenly made their appearance at the foot of the Morai, with a design, as it seemed, of storming it on the side next the sea, which was its only accessible part; and were not dislodged till after they had stood a considerable number of shot, and seen one of their party fall. The bravery of one of these assailants well deserves to be particularly mentioned; for having returned to carry off his companion, amidst the fire of our whole party, a wound which he received made him quit the body and retire; but in a few minutes, he again appeared, and being again wounded, he was obliged a second time to retreat. At this moment I arrived at the Morai, and saw him return the third time, bleeding and faint; and being informed of what had happened, I forbade the soldiers to fire, and he was suffered to carry off his friend; which he was just able to perform, and then fell down himself and expired.

About this time, a strong reinforcement from both ships having landed, the natives retreated behind their walls; which giving me access to our friendly priests, I sent one of them to endeavour to bring their countrymen to some terms, and to propose to them, that if they would desist from throwing stones, I would not permit our men to fire. This truce was agreed to, and we were suffered to launch the mast, and carry off the sails and our

astronomical apparatus unmolested. As soon as we had quitted the Morai, they took possession of it, and some of them threw a few stones, but without doing us any mischief.

It was half an hour past eleven o'clock when I got on board the Discovery, where I found no decisive plan had been adopted for our future proceedings. The restitution of the boat, and the recovery of the body of Captain Cook, were the objects which, on all hands, we agreed to insist on; and it was my opinion that some vigorous steps should be taken, in case the demand of them was not immediately complied with. Though my feelings, on the death of a beloved and honoured friend, may be suspected to have had some share in this opinion, yet there were certainly other reasons, and those of the most serious kind, that had considerable weight with me. The confidence which their success in killing our chief, and forcing us to quit the shore, must naturally have inspired; and the advantage, however trifling, which they had obtained over us the preceding day; would, I had no doubt, encourage them to make some further dangerous attempts; and the more especially, as they had little reason, from what they had hitherto seen, to dread the effects of our fire-arms. Indeed, contrary to the expectations of every one, this sort of weapon had produced no signs of terror in them. On our side, such was the condition of the ships, and the state of discipline amongst us, that had a vigorous attack been made on us in the night, it would have been impossible to answer for the consequences. In these apprehensions, I was supported by the opinion of most of the officers on board; and nothing seemed to me so likely to encourage the natives to make the attempt, as the appearance of our being inclined to an accommodation, which they could only attribute to weakness or fear. In favour of more conciliatory measures, it was justly urged, that the mischief was done, and irreparable; that the natives had a strong claim to our regard on account of their former friendship and kindness; and the more especially, as the late melancholy accident did not appear to have arisen from any premeditated design; that, on the part of Terreeoboo, his ignorance of the theft, his readiness to accompany Captain Cook on board, and his having actually sent his two sons into the boat, must free him from the smallest degree of suspicion; that the conduct of his women and the Erees might easily be accounted for, from the apprehensions occasioned by the armed force with which Captain Cook came on shore, and the hostile preparations in the bay; appearances so different from the terms of friendship and confidence in which both parties had hitherto lived, that the arming of the natives was evidently with a design to resist the attempt, which they had some reason to imagine would be made, to carry off their king by force, and was naturally to be expected from a people full of affection and attachment to their chiefs. To these motives of humanity, others of a prudential nature were added: that we were in want of water, and other refreshments; that our foremast would require six or eight days' work before it could be stepped; that the spring was advancing apace; and that the speedy prosecution of our next northern expedition ought now to be our sole object; that therefore to engage in a vindictive contest with the inhabitants might not only lay us under the imputation of unnecessary cruelty, but would occasion an unavoidable delay in the equipment of the ships.

In this latter opinion Captain Clerke concurred; and though I was convinced that an early display of vigorous resentment would more effectually have answered every object both of prudence and humanity, I was not sorry that the measures I had recommended were rejected. For though the contemptuous behaviour of the natives, and their subsequent opposition to our necessary operations on shore, arising, I have no doubt, from a misconstruction of our lenity, compelled us at last to have recourse to violence in our own defence; yet I am not so sure that the circumstances of the case would, in the opinion of the world, have justified the use of force on our part in the first instance. Cautionary rigour is at all times invidious, and has this additional objection to it, that the severity of a preventive course, when it best succeeds, leaves its expediency the least apparent.

During the time we were thus engaged in concerting some plan for our future conduct, a prodigious concourse of natives still kept possession of the shore; and some of them came off in canoes, and had the boldness to approach within pistol-shot of the ships, and to insult us by various marks of contempt and defiance. It was with great difficulty we could restrain the sailors from the use of their arms on these occasions; but as pacific measures

had been resolved on, the canoes were suffered to return unmolested. In pursuance of this plan, it was determined that I should proceed toward the shore, with the boats of both ships well manned and armed, with a view to bring the natives to a parley, and, if possible, to obtain a conference with some of the chiefs. If this attempt succeeded, I was to demand the dead bodies, and particularly that of Captain Cook; to threaten them with our vengeance in case of a refusal; but, by no means, to fire unless attacked; and not to land on any account whatever. These orders were delivered to me before the whole party, and in the most positive manner.

I left the ships about four o'clock in the afternoon; and, as we approached the shore, I perceived every indication of a hostile reception. The whole crowd of natives was in motion; the women and children retiring; the men putting on their war mats, and arming themselves with long spears and daggers. We also observed, that, since the morning, they had thrown up stone breast-works along the beach, where Captain Cook had landed, probably in expectation of an attack at that place; and, as soon as we were within reach, they began to throw stones at us with slings, but without doing any mischief. Concluding, therefore, that all attempts to bring them to a parley would be in vain, unless I first gave them some ground for mutual confidence; I ordered the armed boats to stop, and went on, in the small boat, alone, with a white flag in my hand, which, by a general cry of joy from the natives, I had the satisfaction to find was instantly understood. The women immediately returned from the side of the hill, whither they had retired; the men threw off their mats; and all sat down together by the water-side, extending their arms, and inviting me to come on shore. Though this behaviour was very expressive of a friendly disposition, yet I could not help entertaining some suspicions of its sincerity. But when I saw Koah, with a boldness and assurance altogether unaccountable, swimming off toward the boat, with a white flag in his hand, I thought it necessary to return this mark of confidence, and therefore received him into the boat, though armed; a circumstance which did not tend to lessen my suspicions. I must confess, I had long harboured an unfavourable opinion of this man. The priests had always told us, that he was of a malicious disposition, and no friend of ours; and the repeated detections of his fraud and treachery had convinced us of the truth of their representations. Add to all this, the shocking transaction of the morning, in which he was seen acting a principal part, made me feel the utmost horror at finding myself so near him; and as he came up to me with feigned tears, and embraced me, I was so distrustful of his intentions, that I could not help taking hold of the point of the pahooah, which he held in his hand, and turning it from me. I told him, that I had come to demand the body of Captain Cook; and to declare war against them unless it was instantly restored. He assured me this should be done as soon as possible; and that he would go himself for that purpose; and, after begging of me a piece of iron, with much assurance, as if nothing extraordinary had happened, he leaped into the sea, and swam ashore, calling out to his countrymen, that we were all friends again.

We waited near an hour, with great anxiety for his return; during which time the rest of the boats had approached so near the shore, as to enter into conversation with a party of the natives at some distance from us; by whom they were plainly given to understand, that the body had been cut to pieces and carried up the country; but of this circumstance I was not informed till our return to the ships. I began now to express some impatience at Koah's delay, upon which the chiefs pressed me exceedingly to come on shore; assuring me, that if I would go myself to Terreeoboo, the body would certainly be restored to me. When they found they could not prevail on me to land, they attempted, under a pretence of wishing to converse with more ease, to decoy our boat among some rocks, where they would have had it in their power to cut us off from the rest. It was no difficult matter to see through these artifices; and I was, therefore, strongly inclined to break off all further communication with them, when a chief came to us who was the particular friend of Captain Clerke, and of the officers of the Discovery, on board which ship he had sailed when we last left the bay, intending to take his passage to Mowee. He told us he came from Terreeoboo to acquaint us that the body was carried up the country; but that it should be brought to us the next morning. There appeared a great deal of sincerity in his manner; and being asked if he

told a falsehood, he hooked his two fore-fingers together, which is understood amongst these islanders as the sign of truth, in the use of which they are very scrupulous.

As I was now at a loss in what manner to proceed, I sent Mr. Vancouver to acquaint Captain Clerke with all that had passed; that my opinion was, they meant not to keep their word with us, and were so far from being sorry at what had happened, that, on the contrary, they were full of spirits and confidence on account of their late success, and sought only to gain time, till they could contrive some scheme for getting us into their power. Mr. Vancouver came back with orders for me to return on board; having first given the natives to understand, that if the body was not brought the next morning, the town should be destroyed. When they saw that we were going off, they endeavoured to provoke us by the most insulting and contemptuous gestures. Some of our people said, they could distinguish several of the natives parading about in the clothes of our unfortunate comrades; and, among them, a chief brandishing Captain Cook's hanger, and a woman holding the scabbard. Indeed, there can be no doubt but that our behaviour had given them a mean opinion of our courage; for they could have but little notion of the motives of humanity that directed it.

In consequence of the report I made to Captain Clerke, of what I conceived to be the present temper and disposition of the islanders, the most effectual measures were taken to guard against any attack they might make in the night. The boats were moored with top-chains; additional sentinels were posted on both ships; and guard-boats were stationed to row round them, in order to prevent the natives from cutting the cables. During the night we observed a prodigious number of lights on the hills, which made some of us imagine they were removing their effects back into the country, in consequence of our threats. But I rather believed them to have been the sacrifices that were performing on account of the war in which they imagined themselves about to be engaged; and most probably the bodies of our slain countrymen were at that time burning. We afterward saw fires of the same kind, as we passed the island of Morotoi; and which, we were told by some natives then on board, were made on account of the war they had declared against a neighbouring island. And this agrees with what we learned amongst the Friendly and Society Isles, that, previous to any expedition against an enemy, the chiefs always endeavoured to animate and inflame the courage of the people by feasts and rejoicings in the night.

We remained the whole night undisturbed, except by the howlings and lamentations which were heard on shore; and early the next morning, Koah came alongside the Resolution, with a present of cloth and a small pig, which he desired leave to present to me. I have mentioned before, that I was supposed by the natives to be the son of Captain Cook; and as he, in his lifetime, had always suffered them to believe it, I was probably considered as the chief after his death. As soon as I came on deck, I questioned him about the body; and, on his returning me nothing but evasive answers, I refused to accept his presents; and was going to dismiss him with some expressions of anger and resentment, had not Captain Clerke, judging it best at all events to keep up the appearance of friendship, thought it more proper that he should be treated with the usual respect. This treacherous fellow came frequently to us during the course of the forenoon, with some trifling present or other; and as I always observed him eyeing every part of the ship with great attention, I took care he should see we were well prepared for our defence.

He was exceedingly urgent, both with Captain Clerke and myself, to go on shore, laying all the blame of the detention of the bodies on the other chiefs; and, assuring us that everything might be settled to our satisfaction, by a personal interview with Terreeoboo. However, his conduct was too suspicious to make it prudent to comply with this request; and, indeed, a fact came afterward to our knowledge, which proved the entire falsehood of his pretensions. For we were told, that immediately after the action in which Captain Cook was killed, the old king had retired to a cave in the steep part of the mountain, that hangs over the bay, which was accessible only by the help of ropes, and where he remained for many days, having his victuals let down to him by cords.

When Koah returned from the ships, we could perceive that his countrymen, who had been collected by break of day in vast crowds on the shore, thronged about him with great

eagerness, as if to learn the intelligence he had acquired, and what was to be done in consequence of it. It is very probable, that they expected we should attempt to put our threats in execution; and they seemed fully resolved to stand their ground. During the whole morning, we heard conchs blowing in different parts of the coast; large parties were seen marching over the hills; and, in short, appearances were so alarming, that we carried out a stream anchor, to enable us to haul the ship abreast of the town, in case of an attack; and stationed boats off the north point of the bay, to prevent a surprise from that quarter. The breach of their engagement to restore the bodies of the slain, and the warlike posture in which they at this time appeared, occasioned fresh debates amongst us concerning the measures next to be pursued. It was at last determined, that nothing should be suffered to interfere with the repair of the mast, and the preparations for our departure; but that we should, nevertheless, continue our negotiations for the recovery of the bodies.

The greatest part of the day was taken up in getting the fore-mast into a proper situation on deck, for the carpenters to work upon it; and in making the necessary alterations in the commissions of the officers. The command of the expedition having devolved on Captain Clerke, he removed on board the Resolution, appointed Lieutenant Gore to be Captain of the Discovery, and promoted Mr. Harvey, a midshipman, who had been with Captain Cook in his two last voyages, to the vacant Lieutenancy. During the whole day, we met with no interruption from the natives; and, at night, the launch was again moored with a top chain, and guard-boats stationed round both ships as before.

About eight o'clock, it being very dark, a canoe was heard paddling toward the ship; and as soon as it was seen, both the sentinels on deck fired into it. There were two persons in the canoe, and they immediately roared out "Tinnee" (which was the way in which they pronounced my name), and said they were friends, and had something for me belonging to Captain Cook. When they came on board, they threw themselves at our feet, and appeared exceeding frightened. Luckily neither of them was hurt, notwithstanding the balls of both pieces had gone through the canoe. One of them was the person, whom I have before mentioned under the name of the Taboo man, who constantly attended Captain Cook with the circumstances of ceremony I have already described; and who, though a man of rank in the island, could scarcely be hindered from performing for him the lowest offices of a menial servant. After lamenting, with abundance of tears, the loss of the Orono, he told us that he had brought us a part of his body. He then presented to us a small bundle wrapped up in cloth, which he brought under his arm; and it is impossible to describe the horror which seized us, on finding in it a piece of human flesh, about nine or ten pounds' weight. This, he said, was all that remained of the body; that the rest was cut to pieces, and burnt; but that the head and all the bones, except what belonged to the trunk, were in the possession of Terreeoboo, and the other Erees: that what we saw had been allotted to Kaoo, the chief of the priests, to be made use of in some religious ceremony; and that he had sent it as a proof of his innocence and attachment to us. This afforded an opportunity of informing ourselves, whether they were cannibals; and we did not neglect it. We first tried, by many indirect questions, put to each of them apart, to learn in what manner the rest of the bodies had been disposed of; and finding them very constant in one story, that after the flesh had been cut off, it was all burnt, we at last put the direct question, whether they had not ate some of it? They immediately showed as much horror at the idea as any European would have done, and asked, very naturally, if that was the custom amongst us? They afterwards asked us, with great earnestness and apparent apprehension, "when the Orono would come again? and what he would do to them on his return?" The same inquiry was frequently made afterward by others; and this idea agrees with the general tenor of their conduct toward him, which showed that they considered him as a being of a superior nature.

We pressed our two friendly visitors to remain on board till morning, but in vain. They told us, that if this transaction should come to the knowledge of the king or chiefs, it might be attended with the most fatal consequences to their whole society; in order to prevent which, they had been obliged to come off to us in the dark; and that the same precaution would be necessary in returning on shore. They informed us farther, that the chiefs were eager to revenge the death of their countrymen: and, particularly, cautioned us against trusting Koah,

who they said was our mortal and implacable enemy; and desired nothing more ardently, than an opportunity of fighting us; to which the blowing of the conchs we had heard in the morning was meant as a challenge. We learned from these men, that seventeen of their countrymen were killed in the first action at Kowrowa, of whom five were chiefs; and that Kaneena and his brother, our very particular friends, were unfortunately of that number. Eight, they said, were killed at the observatory; three of whom were also of the first rank. About eleven o'clock, our two friends left us, and took the precaution to desire that our guard-boat might attend them, till they had passed the Discovery, lest they should again be fired upon, which might alarm their countrymen on shore, and expose them to the danger of being discovered. This request was complied with; and we had the satisfaction to find, that they got safe and undiscovered to land.

During the remainder of this night, we heard the same loud howling and lamentations as in the preceding one. Early in the morning, we received another visit from Koah. I must confess, I was a little piqued to find, that, notwithstanding the most evident marks of treachery in his conduct, and the positive testimony of our friends the priests, he should still be permitted to carry on the same farce, and to make us at least appear to be the dupes of his hypocrisy. Indeed our situation was become extremely awkward and unpromising; none of the purposes for which this pacific course of proceeding had been adopted, having hitherto been in the least forwarded by it. No satisfactory answer whatever had been given to our demands; we did not seem to be at all advanced toward a reconciliation with the islanders; they still kept in force on the shore, as if determined to resist any attempts we might make to land; and yet the attempt was become absolutely necessary, as the completing our supply of water would not admit of any longer delay. However, it must be observed, in justice to the conduct of Captain Clerke, that it was very probable, from the great numbers of the natives, and from the resolution with which they seemed to expect us, an attack could not have been made without some danger; and that the loss of a very few men might have been severely felt by us, during the remaining course of our voyage. Whereas the delaying the execution of our threats, though, on the one hand, it lessened their opinion of our prowess, had the effect of causing them to disperse, on the other. For this day about noon, finding us persist in our inactivity, great bodies of them, after blowing their conchs, and using every mode of defiance, marched off over the hills and never appeared afterward. Those, however, who remained, were not the less daring and insolent. One man had the audacity to come within musket-shot ahead of the ship; and, after slinging several stones at us, he waved Captain Cook's hat over his head, whilst his countrymen on shore were exulting, and encouraging his boldness. Our people were all in a flame at this insult, and coming in a body on the quarter-deck, begged they might no longer be obliged to put up with these repeated provocations; and requested me to obtain permission for them, from Captain Clerke, to avail themselves of the first fair occasion of revenging the death of their commander. On my acquainting him with what was passing, he gave orders for some great-guns to be fired at the natives on shore; and promised the crew, that if they should meet with any molestation at the watering-place the next day, they should then be left at liberty to chastise them.

It is somewhat remarkable, that, before we could bring our guns to bear, the islanders had suspected our intentions, from the stir they saw in the ship, and had retired behind their houses and walls. We were therefore obliged to fire, in some measure at random; notwithstanding which, our shot produced all the effects that could have been desired. For, soon after, we saw Koah paddling toward us, with extreme haste, and on his arrival, we learned that some people had been killed, and amongst the rest Maiha-maiha, a principal chief, and a near relation of the king*.

Soon after the arrival of Koah, two boys swam off from the Morai toward the ships, having each a long spear in his hand; and after they had approached pretty near, they began to chant a song, in a very solemn manner: the subject of which, from their often mentioning the word Orono, and pointing to the village where Captain Cook was killed, we

* The word *matee*, is commonly used, in the language of these islands, to express either killing or wounding; and we were afterward told, that this chief had only received a slight blow on the face from a stone, which had been struck by one of the balls.

concluded to be the late calamitous disaster. Having sung in a plaintive strain for about twelve or fifteen minutes, during the whole of which time they remained in the water, they went on board the Discovery, and delivered their spears; and, after making a short stay, returned on shore. Who sent them, or what was the object of this ceremony, we were never able to learn. At night, the usual precautions were taken for the security of the ships; and as soon as it was dark, our two friends, who had visited us the night before, came off again. They assured us, that though the effects of our great-guns this afternoon had terrified the chiefs exceedingly, they had by no means laid aside their hostile intentions, and advised us to be on our guard.

The next morning, the boats of both ships were sent ashore for water; and the Discovery was warped close to the beach, in order to cover that service. We soon found that the intelligence which the priests had sent us was not without foundation; and that the natives were resolved to take every opportunity of annoying us, when it could be done without much risk. Throughout all this group of islands, the villages for the most part are situated near the sea; and the adjacent ground is inclosed with stone walls about three feet high. These, we at first imagined, were intended for the division of property; but we now discovered, that they served, and probably were principally designed, for a defence against invasion. They consist of loose stones, and the inhabitants are very dexterous in shifting them, with great quickness, to such situations as the direction of the attack may require. In the sides of the mountain, which hangs over the bay, they have also little holes, or caves, of considerable depth, the entrance of which is secured by a fence of the same kind. From behind both these defences the natives kept perpetually harassing our waterers with stones; nor could the small force we had on shore, with the advantage of muskets, compel them to retreat.

In this exposed situation our people were so taken up in attending to their own safety, that they employed the whole forenoon in filling only one ton of water. As it was therefore impossible to perform this service, till their assailants were driven to a greater distance, the Discovery was ordered to dislodge them, with her great-guns; which being effected by a few discharges, the men landed without molestation. However, the natives soon after made their appearance again, in their usual mode of attack; and it was now found absolutely necessary to burn down some straggling houses near the wall, behind which they had taken shelter. In executing these orders, I am sorry to add, that our people were hurried into acts of unnecessary cruelty and devastation. Something ought certainly to be allowed to their resentment of the repeated insults, and contemptuous behaviour of the islanders, and to the natural desire of revenging the loss of their commander. But at the same time, their conduct served strongly to convince me, that the utmost precaution is necessary in trusting, though but for a moment, the discretionary use of arms, in the hands of private seamen or soldiers on such occasions. The rigour of discipline, and the habits of obedience, by which their force is kept directed to its proper objects, lead them naturally enough to conceive, that whatever they have the power, they have also the right, to do. Actual disobedience being almost the only crime for which they are accustomed to expect punishment, they learn to consider it as the only measure of right and wrong; and hence are apt to conclude, that what they can do with impunity, they may do with justice and honour. So that the feelings of humanity, which are inseparable from us all, and that generosity toward an unresisting enemy, which, at other times, is the distinguishing mark of brave men, become but weak restraints to the exercise of violence, when opposed to the desire they naturally have of showing their own independence and power.

I have already mentioned, that orders had been given to burn only a few straggling huts, which afforded shelter to the natives. We were therefore a good deal surprised to see the whole village on fire; and before a boat that was sent to stop the progress of the mischief could reach the shore, the houses of our old and constant friends the priests were all in flames. I cannot enough lament the illness that confined me on board this day. The priests had always been under my protection; and, unluckily, the officers who were then on duty, having been seldom on shore at the Morai, were not much acquainted with the circumstances

of the place. Had I been present myself, I might probably have been the means of saving their little society from destruction.

Several of the natives were shot, in making their escape from the flames; and our people cut off the heads of two of them, and brought them on board. The fate of one poor islander was much lamented by us all. As he was coming to the well for water, he was shot at by one of the marines. The ball struck his calibash, which he immediately threw from him and fled. He was pursued into one of the caves I have before described, and no lion could have defended his den with greater courage and fierceness; till at last, after having kept two of our people at bay for a considerable time, he expired, covered with wounds. It was this accident, that first brought us acquainted with the use of these caverns. At this time, an elderly man was taken prisoner, bound, and sent on board in the same boat with the heads of his two countrymen. I never saw horror so strongly pictured as in the face of this man, nor so violent a transition to extravagant joy, as when he was untied, and told he might go away in safety. He showed us he did not want gratitude, as he frequently afterward returned with presents of provisions; and also did us other services.

Soon after the village was destroyed, we saw, coming down the hill, a man, attended by fifteen or twenty boys, holding pieces of white cloth, green boughs, plantains, &c., in their hands. I knew not how it happened, that this peaceful embassy, as soon as they were within reach, received the fire of a party of our men. This, however, did not stop them. They continued their procession; and the officer on duty came up in time to prevent a second discharge. As they approached nearer, it was found to be our much-esteemed friend Kaireekeea, who had fled on our first setting fire to the village, and had now returned, and desired to be sent on board the Resolution. When he arrived, we found him exceedingly grave and thoughtful. We endeavoured to make him understand the necessity we were under of setting fire to the village, by which his house, and those of his brethren, were unintentionally consumed. He expostulated a little with us on our want of friendship, and on our ingratitude. And, indeed, it was not till now that we learned the whole extent of the injury we had done them. He told us, that, relying on the promises I had made them, and on the assurances they had afterwards received from the men, who had brought us the remains of Captain Cook, they had not removed their effects back into the country, with the rest of the inhabitants, but had put everything that was valuable of their own, as well what they had collected from us, into a house close to the Morai, where they had the mortification to see it all set on fire by ourselves. On coming on board, he had seen the heads of his countrymen lying on the deck, at which he was exceedingly shocked, and desired, with great earnestness, that they might be thrown overboard. This request Captain Clerke instantly ordered to be complied with. In the evening, the watering party returned on board, having met with no farther interruption. We passed a gloomy night; the cries and lamentations we heard on shore being far more dreadful than ever. Our only consolation was, the hope that we should have no occasion in future for a repetition of such severities. It is very extraordinary, that amidst all these disturbances, the women of the island, who were on board, never offered to leave us, nor discovered the smallest apprehensions, either for themselves or their friends ashore. So entirely unconcerned did they appear, that some of them, who were on deck when the town was in flames, seemed to admire the sight, and frequently cried out, that it was *maitai*, or very fine.

The next morning Koah came off as usual to the ships. As there existed no longer any necessity for keeping terms with him, I was allowed to have my own way. When he approached toward the side of the ship, singing his song, and offering me a hog and some plantains, I ordered him to keep off, cautioning him never to appear again without Captain Cook's bones, lest his life should pay the forfeit of his frequent breach of promise. He did not appear much mortified with his reception, but went immediately on shore, and joined a party of his countrymen, who were pelting the waterers with stones. The body of the young man, who had been killed the day before, was found this morning lying at the entrance of the cave; and some of our people went and threw a mat over it. Soon after which they saw some men carrying him off on their shoulders, and could hear them singing, as they marched, a mournful song.

The natives, being at last convinced that it was not the want of ability to punish them, which had hitherto made us tolerate their provocations, desisted from giving us any farther molestation; and, in the evening, a chief called Eappo, who had seldom visited us, but whom we knew to be a man of the very first consequence, came with presents from Terreeoboo to sue for peace. These presents were received, and he was dismissed with the same answer which had before been given, that, until the remains of Captain Cook should be restored, no peace would be granted. We learned from this person, that the flesh of all the bodies of our people, together with the bones of the trunks, had been burnt; that the limb bones of the marines had been divided amongst the inferior chiefs; and that those of Captain Cook had been disposed of in the following manner: the head to a great chief, called Kahoo-opeon; the hair to Maia-maia; and the legs, thighs, and arms to Terreeoboo. After it was dark, many of the inhabitants came off with roots and other vegetables; and we also received two large presents of the same articles from Kaireekeea. The 19th was chiefly taken up in sending and receiving the messages which passed between Captain Clerke and Terreeoboo. Eappo was very pressing, that one of our officers should go on shore; and in the mean time, offered to remain as an hostage on board. This request, however, it was not thought proper to comply with; and he left us with a promise of bringing the bones the next day. At the beach, the waterers did not meet with the least opposition from the natives; who, notwithstanding our cautious behaviour, came amongst us again, without the smallest appearance of diffidence or apprehension.

Early in the morning of the 20th, we had the satisfaction of getting the fore-mast stepped. It was an operation attended with great difficulty, and some danger; our ropes being so exceedingly rotten, that the purchase gave way several times. Between ten and eleven o'clock, we saw a great number of people descending the hill, which is over the beach, in a kind of procession, each man carrying a sugar-cane or two on his shoulders, and bread-fruit, taro, and plantains in his hand. They were preceded by two drummers, who, when they came to the water-side, sat down by a white flag, and began to beat their drums, while those who had followed them, advanced one by one; and, having deposited the presents they had brought, retired in the same order. Soon after, Eappo came in sight, in his long feathered cloak, bearing something with great solemnity in his hands; and having placed himself on a rock, he made signs for a boat to be sent him.

Captain Clerke, conjecturing that he had brought the bones of Captain Cook, which proved to be the fact, went himself in the pinnace, to receive them; and ordered me to attend him in the cutter. When we arrived at the beach, Eappo came into the pinnace, and delivered to the captain the bones wrapped up in a large quantity of fine new cloth, and covered with a spotted cloak of black and white feathers. He afterward attended us to the Resolution, but could not be prevailed upon to go on board; probably not choosing, from a sense of decency, to be present at the opening of the bundle. We found in it both the hands of Captain Cook entire, which were well known from a remarkable scar on one of them, that divided the thumb from the fore-finger, the whole length of the metacarpal bone; the skull, but with the scalp separated from it, and the bones that form the face wanting; the scalp, with the hair upon it cut short, and the ears adhering to it; the bones of both arms, with the skin of the fore-arms hanging to them; the thigh and leg-bones joined together, but without the feet. The ligaments of the joints were entire; and the whole bore evident marks of having been in the fire, except the hands, which had the flesh left upon them, and were cut in several places, and crammed with salt, apparently with an intention of preserving them. The scalp had a cut in the back part of it, but the skull was free from any fracture. The lower jaw and feet, which were wanting, Eappo told us, had been seized by different chiefs, and that Terreeoboo was using every means to recover them.

The next morning, Eappo, and the king's son, came on board, and brought with them the remaining bones of Captain Cook; the barrels of his gun, his shoes, and some other trifles that belonged to him. Eappo took great pains to convince us, that Terreeoboo, Maiha-maiha, and himself, were most heartily desirous of peace; that they had given us the most convincing proof of it in their power; and that they had been prevented from giving it sooner by the other chiefs, many of whom were still our enemies. He lamented, with the greatest sorrow,

the death of six chiefs we had killed, some of whom, he said, were amongst our best friends. The cutter, he told us, was taken away by Pareea's people; very probably in revenge for the blow that had been given him; and that it had broken up the next day. The arms of the marines, which we had also demanded, he assured us, had been carried off by the common people, and were irrecoverable; the bones of the chief alone having been preserved, as belonging to Terreeoboo and the Erees. Nothing now remained but to perform the last offices to our great and unfortunate commander. Eappo was dismissed with orders to taboo all the bay; and, in the afternoon, the bones having been put into a coffin, and the service read over them, they were committed to the deep with the usual military honours. What our feelings were on this occasion, I leave the world to conceive; those who were present know, that it is not in my power to express them*.

During the forenoon of the 22nd, not a canoe was seen paddling in the bay; the taboo, which Eappo had laid on it the day before, at our request, not being yet taken off. At length Eappo came off to us. We assured him, that we were now entirely satisfied; and that, as the Orono was buried, all remembrance of what had passed was buried with him. We afterward desired him to take off the taboo, and to make it known, that the people might bring their provisions as usual. The ships were soon surrounded with canoes, and many of the chiefs came on board, expressing great sorrow at what happened, and their satisfaction at our reconciliation. Several of our friends, who did not visit us, sent presents of large hogs, and other provisions. Amongst the rest came the old treacherous Koah, but was refused admittance. As we had now everything ready for sea, Captain Clerke imagining that if the news of our proceedings should reach the islands to leeward before us, it might have a bad effect, gave orders to unmoor. About eight in the evening we dismissed all the

* The account which the natives have given to the Missionaries of this unfortunate affair, exactly tallies with that given by Captain King. They do not refer it to any previous offence, but ascribe it to the sudden announcement of the death of the chief who had been shot in the canoe, which was taken by them as a direct declaration of hostilities. Ledyard, who formed one of the party of marines who accompanied Captain Cook, confirms Captain King's account of the manner of his death, but considers that the natives had previously been much exasperated by many petty quarrels, and especially by the desecration of the Morai in carrying off the railing for firewood; an act which he, in direct contradiction to Captain King, represents as having been done in opposition to the wishes of the natives, and to have been accompanied with violence, both of words and actions.

The mutilation of Captain Cook's body was at first considered as a proof of disgusting revenge, but it was in fact only an evidence of the high honour in which he had been held. Mr. Ellis, who took great pains to ascertain all the facts attending this melancholy occurrence, was informed by one of the natives, who was present at the time, that after Cook's death "they all wailed. His bones were separated—the flesh was scraped off and burnt, as was the practice in regard to their own chiefs when they died. They thought he was the god Rono, worshipped him as such, and, after his death, reverenced his bones."

It has already been mentioned that the extraordinary honours paid to Cook, at the Sandwich Islands, were rendered in the belief that he was their god Rono, or Orono. "But," says Mr. Ellis, "when in the attack made upon him, they saw his blood running, and heard his groans, they said, 'No this is not Rono.' Some, however, after his death, still supposed him to be Rono, and expected he would appear again. Some of his bones, his ribs, and breast-bone, were considered sacred, as part of Rono, and deposited in a heiau (temple) dedicated to Rono, on the opposite side of the island. There religious homage was paid to them, and from thence they were annually carried in procession to several other heiaus, or borne by the priests round the island, to collect the offerings of the people, for the support of the worship of the god Rono. The bones were preserved in a small basket of wicker-work, completely covered over with red feathers; which in those days were considered to be the most valuable articles the natives possessed.

"The Missionaries in the Society Islands had, by means of some Sandwich Islanders, been long acquainted with the circumstance of some of Captain Cook's bones being preserved in one of their temples, and receiving religious worship; and since the time of my arrival, in company with the deputation from the London Missionary Society, in 1822, every endeavour has been made to learn, though without success, whether they were still in existence, and where they were kept. All those of whom inquiry has been made, have uniformly asserted, that they were formerly kept by the priests of Rono, and worshipped, but have never given any satisfactory information as to where they are now. Whenever we have asked the king, or Hevaheva the chief priest, or any of the chiefs, they have either told us they were under the care of those who had themselves said they knew nothing about them, or that they were now lost.

"The best conclusion we may form is, that part of Captain Cook's bones were preserved by the priests, and were considered sacred by the people, probably till the abolition of idolatry in 1819: that, at that period they were committed to the secret care of some chief, or deposited by the priests who had charge of them, in a cave, unknown to all besides themselves. The manner in which they were then disposed of, will, it is presumed, remain a secret, till the knowledge of it is entirely lost. The priests and chiefs always appear unwilling to enter into conversation on the subject, and desirous to avoid the recollection of the unhappy circumstance.

"From the above account, as well as every other statement given by the natives, it is evident that the death of Captain Cook was unpremeditated, and resulted from their dread of his anger; a sense of danger, or the momentary impulse of passion, exciting them to revenge the death of the chief who had been shot."—Ed.

natives; and Eappo, and the friendly Kaireekeea, took an affectionate leave of us. We immediately weighed, and stood out of the bay. The natives were collected on the shore in great numbers; and, as we passed along, received our last farewells with every mark of affection and good-will.

CHAPTER V.—DEPARTURE FROM KARAKAKOOA IN SEARCH OF A HARBOUR ON THE SOUTH-EAST SIDE OF MOWEE.—DRIVEN TO LEEWARD BY THE EASTERLY WINDS AND CURRENT.—PASS THE ISLAND OF TAHOOROWA.—DESCRIPTION OF THE SOUTH-WEST SIDE OF MOWEE.—RUN ALONG THE COASTS OF RANAI AND MOROTOI TO WOAHOO.—DESCRIPTION OF THE NORTH-EAST COAST OF WOAHOO.—UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO WATER.—PASSAGE TO ATOOI.—ANCHOR IN WYMOA BAY.—DANGEROUS SITUATION OF THE WATERING-PARTY ON SHORE.—CIVIL DISSENSIONS IN THE ISLANDS.—VISIT FROM THE CONTENDING CHIEFS.—ANCHOR OFF ONEEHEOW.—FINAL DEPARTURE FROM THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

We got clear of the land about ten; and, hoisting in the boats, stood to the northward, with the intention of searching for a harbour on the south-east side of Mowee, which we had heard frequently mentioned by the natives. The next morning we found ourselves driven to the leeward by a heavy swell from the north-east; and a fresh gale springing up from the same quarter carried us still farther to the westward. At midnight we tacked, and stood to the south for four hours, in order to keep clear of the land; and, at daybreak, we found ourselves standing toward a small barren island, called Tahoorowa, which lies seven or eight miles to the south-west of Mowee. All prospect of examining more nearly the south-east parts of Mowee being now destroyed, we bore away, and ran along the south-east side of Tahoorowa. As we were steering close round its western extremity, with an intention of fetching the west side of Mowee, we suddenly shoaled our water, and observed the sea breaking on some detached rocks, almost right a-head. This obliged us to keep away a league and a half, when we again steered to the northward; and, after passing over a bank with nineteen fathoms' water, stood for a passage between Mowee and an island called Ranai. At noon, the latitude was, by observation, 20° 42′ north, and the longitude 203° 22′ east; the southern extremity of Mowee bearing east south-east, quarter east; the southern extremity of Ranai west north-west, quarter west; Morotei, north-west and by north; and the western extremity of Tahoorowa, south by east, seven miles distant. Our longitude was accurately deduced from observations made by the timekeeper before and after noon, compared with the longitude found by a great many distances of the moon from the sun and stars, which were also observed the same day. In the afternoon, the weather being calm, with light airs from the west, we stood on to the north north-west; but, at sunset, observing a shoal which appeared to stretch to a considerable distance from the west point of Mowee, toward the middle of the passage, and the weather being unsettled, we tacked, and stood toward the south.

The south-west side of this island, which we now had passed without being able to get near the shore, forms the same distant view with the north-east, as seen on our return from the north, in November 1778; the mountainous parts, which are connected by a low, flat isthmus, appearing at first like two separate islands. This deception continued on the south-west side, till we approached within eight or ten leagues of the coast, which, bending inward to a great depth, formed a fine capacious bay. The westernmost point, off which the shoal we have just mentioned runs, is made remarkable by a small hillock, to the southward of which there is a fine sandy bay, with several huts on the shore, and a number of cocoa-nut trees growing about them.

During the course of the day, we were visited by several of the natives, who came off to sell provisions; and we soon found that they had heard of our late unfortunate transactions at Owhyhee. They were very curious to learn the particulars from a woman who had concealed herself on board the Resolution, in order to take her passage to Atooi; inquiring eagerly after Pareea, and some other chiefs, and appearing much shocked at the death of Kaneena and his brother. We had, however, the satisfaction to find, that in whatever light

the woman might have represented this business, it had no bad effect on their behaviour which was remarkably civil and submissive.

The weather continued variable during the night; but in the morning of the 25th, having the wind at east, we ran along the south side of Ranai till near noon; after which, we had calms and baffling winds till evening, when we steered, with a light easterly breeze, for the west part of Morotoi. In the course of the day, the current, which from the time we left Karakakooa Bay had set from the north-east, changed its direction to the south-east. During the night the wind was again variable; but early next morning it settled at east, and blew so fresh as to oblige us to double-reef the topsails. At seven, on hauling round the west point of Morotoi, we opened a small bay, at the distance of about two leagues, with a fine sandy beach; but seeing no appearance of fresh water, we stood on to the north, in order to get to the windward of Woahoo, an island which we had seen at our first visit, in January 1778. At two in the afternoon, we saw the land bearing west by north, eight leagues distant; and having tacked as soon as it was dark, we again bore away at daylight on the 27th; and at half past ten were within a league of the shore, near the middle of the north-east side of the island.

The coast to the northward is formed of detached hills, rising perpendicularly from the sea, with ragged and broken summits; the sides covered with wood, and the valleys between them of a fertile and well cultivated appearance. To the southward we saw an extensive bay, bounded by a low point of land to the south-east, which was covered with cocoa-nut trees; and off it stood a high insulated rock, about a mile from the shore. The haziness of the weather prevented our seeing distinctly the land to the southward of the point; we could only perceive that it was high and broken.

As the wind continued to blow very fresh, we thought it dangerous to entangle ourselves with a lee-shore; and therefore did not attempt to examine the bay, but hauled up, and steered to the northward, in the direction of the coast. At noon we were abreast of the north point of the island, about two leagues from the land, which is low and flat, and has a reef stretching off it to the distance of near a mile and a half. The latitude, by observation, 21° 50′ north, longitude 202° 15′ east; the extreme parts of the island in sight bearing south south-east, quarter east, and south-west by south, three-quarters west. Between the north point and a distant headland, which we saw to the south-west, the land bends inward considerably, and appeared likely to afford a good road. We therefore directed our course along the shore, at the distance of about a mile, carrying regular soundings from twenty to thirteen fathoms. At a quarter past two, the sight of a fine river, running through a deep valley, induced us to come to an anchor in thirteen fathoms water, with a sandy bottom; the extreme points of the bay bearing south-west by west half west, and north-east by east three-quarters east; and the mouth of the river south-east half east, one mile distant. In the afternoon, I attended the two captains on shore, where we found but few of the natives, and those mostly women; the men, they told us, were gone to Morotoi to fight Tahyterree; but that their chief Perreeoranee, who had staid behind, would certainly visit us as soon as he heard of our arrival.

We were much disappointed to find the water had a brackish taste for two hundred yards up the river, owing to the marshy ground through which it empties itself into the sea. Beyond this it was perfectly fresh, and formed a fine running stream, along the side of which I walked till I came to the conflux of two small rivulets, that branched off to the right and left of a remarkably steep and romantic mountain. The banks of this river, and indeed the whole we saw of the north-west part of Woahoo, are well cultivated, and full of villages; and the face of the country is uncommonly beautiful and picturesque. As the watering at this place would have been attended with great labour, I was sent to examine the coast to leeward; but not being able to land on account of a reef of coral, which stretched along the shore to the distance of half a mile, Captain Clerke determined, without farther loss of time, to proceed to Atooi. At eight in the morning we weighed, and stood to the northward till daylight on the 28th, when we bore away for that island, which we were in sight of by noon; and, about sunset, were off its eastern extremity, which shows itself in a fine, green, flat point.

It being too late to run for the road on the south-west side of the island, where we had been the last year, we passed the night in plying on and off, and at nine the next morning came to an anchor in twenty-five fathoms' water, and moored with the best bower in thirty-eight fathoms, the bluff-head on the west side of the village bearing north-east by north three-quarters east, two miles distant; the extremes of the island, north-west by west three-quarters west, and south-east by east half east; the island of Oneeheow west by south half west. In running down to the road, from the south-east point of the island, we saw the appearance of shoal water in several places, at a considerable distance from the land; and when we were about two miles to the eastward of the anchoring-place, and two or three miles from the shore, we got into four and a half fathoms' water, although our soundings had usually been seven and eight fathoms. We had no sooner anchored in our old station, than several canoes came alongside of us; but we could observe, that they did not welcome us with the same cordiality in their manner, and satisfaction in their countenances, as when we were here before. As soon as they got on board, one of the men began to tell us, that we had left a disorder amongst their women of which several persons of both sexes had died. He was himself afflicted with the venereal disease, and gave a very full and minute account of the various symptoms with which it had been attended. As there was not the slightest appearance of that disorder amongst them on our first arrival, I am afraid it is not to be denied that we were the authors of this irreparable mischief.

Our principal object here was to water the ships with the utmost expedition; and I was sent on shore early in the afternoon, with the pinnace and launch laden with casks. The gunner of the Resolution accompanied me to trade for provisions; and we had a guard of five marines. We found a considerable number of people collected upon the beach, who received us at first with great kindness; but as soon as we had got the casks on shore, began to be exceedingly troublesome. Former experience having taught me how difficult it was to repress this disposition, without having recourse to the authority of their chiefs, I was very sorry to find, that they were all at another part of the island. Indeed we soon felt the want of their assistance; for it was with great difficulty I was able to form a circle, according to our usual practice, for the convenience and security of the trading party; and had no sooner done it, and posted guards to keep off the crowd, than I saw a man laying hold of the bayonet of one of the soldiers' muskets, and endeavouring, with all his force, to wrench it out of his hand. On my coming up to them, the native let go his hold and retired; but returned in a moment with a spear in one hand, and dagger in the other; and his countrymen had much ado to restrain him from trying his prowess with the soldier. This fray was occasioned by the latter's having given the man a slight prick with his bayonet, in order to make him keep without the line.

I now perceived, that our situation required great circumspection and management; and accordingly gave the strictest orders, that no one should fire, nor have recourse to any other act of violence, without positive commands. As soon as I had given these directions, I was called to the assistance of the watering party, where I found the natives equally inclined to mischief. They had demanded from our people a large hatchet for every cask of water; and this not being complied with, they would not suffer the sailors to roll them down to the boats. I had no sooner joined them, than one of the natives advanced up to me with great insolence, and made the same claim. I told him that, as a friend, I was very willing to present him with a hatchet, but that I should certainly carry off the water without paying anything for it; and I immediately ordered the pinnace men to proceed in their business, and called three marines from the traders to protect them.

Though this show of spirit succeeded so far as to make the natives desist from any open attempt to interrupt us, they still continued to behave in the most teasing and provoking manner. While some of them, under pretence of assisting the men in rolling down the casks, turned them out of their course, and gave them a wrong direction, others were stealing the hats from off the sailors' heads, pulling them backward by their clothes, or tripping up their heels; the whole crowd all this time shouting and laughing, with a strange mixture of childishness and malice. They afterward found means to steal the cooper's bucket, and took away his bag by force; but the objects they were most eager to possess

themselves of, were the muskets of the marines, who were every instant complaining of their attempts to force them out of their hands. Though they continued, for the most part, to pay great deference and respect to me, yet they did not suffer me to escape without contributing my share to their stock of plunder. One of them came up to me with a familiar air, and with great management diverted my attention, whilst another, wrenching the hanger which I held carelessly in my hand, from me, ran off with it like lightning.

It was in vain to think of repelling this insolence by force; guarding, therefore, against its effects, in the best manner we were able, we had nothing to do but to submit patiently to it. My apprehensions were, however, a little alarmed, by the information I soon after received from the serjeant of marines, who told me, that, turning suddenly round, he saw a man behind me holding a dagger in the position of striking. In this he might possibly be mistaken; yet our situation was certainly alarming and critical, and the smallest error on our side might have been fatal to us. As our people were separated into three small parties, one at the lake, filling casks, another rolling them down to the shore, and the third, at some distance, purchasing provisions, it had once occurred to me, that it might be proper to collect them all together, and to execute and protect one duty at a time. But on second thoughts, I judged it more advisable to let them continue as they were. In case of a real attack, our whole force, however advantageously disposed, could have made but a poor resistance. On the other hand, I thought it of some consequence to show the natives, that we were under no fears; and, what was still more material, the crowd was, by this means, kept divided, and a considerable part of them fully employed in bartering provisions.

It is probable that their dread of the effects of our arms, was the principal cause of their backwardness in attacking us; and, indeed, the confidence we appeared to place in this advantage, by opposing only five marines to their whole force, must have raised in them a very high idea of our superiority. It was our business to keep up this opinion as much as possible; and in justice to the whole party, I must observe, that no men could possibly behave better, for the purpose of strengthening these impressions. Whatever could be taken in jest, they bore with the utmost temper and patience; and whenever any serious attempt was made to interrupt them, they opposed it with bold looks and menaces. By this management, we succeeded so far, as to get all the casks down to the water side, without any material accident. While we were getting them into the launch, the natives, perceiving the opportunity of plundering would soon be over, became every moment more daring and insolent. On this occasion, I was indebted to the serjeant of marines for suggesting to me, the advantage that would arise from sending off his party first into the boats; by which means, the muskets of the soldiers, which, as I have already mentioned, were the objects the islanders had principally in view, would be removed out of their reach; and in case of an attack, the marines themselves might be employed more effectually in our defence, than if they were on shore.

We had now got everything into the boats, and only Mr. Anderson the gunner, a seaman of the boat's crew, and myself, remained on shore. As the pinnace lay beyond the surf, through which we were obliged to swim, I told them to make the best of their way to it, and that I should follow them.

With this order I was surprised to find them both refuse to comply; and the consequence was a contest amongst us who should be the last on shore. It seems, that some hasty words I had just before used to the sailor, which he thought reflected on his courage, was the cause of this odd fancy in him; and the old gunner, finding a point of honour started, thought he could not well avoid taking a part in it. In this ridiculous situation we might have remained some time, had not our dispute been soon settled by the stones that began to fly about us, and by the cries of the people from the boats, to make haste, as the natives were following us into the water with clubs and spears. I reached the side of the pinnace first, and finding Mr. Anderson was at some distance behind, and not yet entirely out of danger, I called out to the marines to fire one musket. In the hurry of executing my orders, they fired two; and when I got into the boat, I saw the natives running away, and one man, with a woman sitting by him, left behind on the beach. The man made several

attempts to rise, without being able; and it was with much regret, I perceived him to be wounded in the groin. The natives soon after returned, and surrounded the wounded man, brandishing their spears and daggers at us, with an air of threatening and defiance; but before we reached the ships, we saw some persons, whom we supposed to be the chiefs, now arrived, driving them away from the shore.

During our absence, Captain Clerke had been under the greatest anxiety for our safety. And these apprehensions were considerably increased, from his having entirely mistaken the drift of the conversation he had held with some natives who had been on board. The frequent mention of the name of Captain Cook, with other strong and circumstantial descriptions of death and destruction, made him conclude, that the knowledge of the unfortunate events at Owhyhee had reached them, and that these were what they alluded to; whereas all they had in view was, to make known to him the wars that had arisen, in consequence of the goats that Captain Cook had left at Oneeheow, and the slaughter of the poor goats themselves during the struggle for the property of them. Captain Clerke, applying this earnestness of conversation, and these terrible representations, to our calamitous transactions at Owhyhee, and to an indication of revenge, kept his telescope fixed upon us, and the moment he saw the smoke of the muskets, ordered the boats to be manned and armed, and to put off to our assistance.

The next morning I was again ordered on shore with the watering party. The risk we had run the preceding day determined Captain Clerke to send a considerable force from both ships for our guard, amounting in all to forty men under arms. This precaution, however, was now unnecessary; for we found the beach left entirely to ourselves, and the ground between the landing-place and the lake, *tabooed*, with small white flags. We concluded, from this appearance, that some of the chiefs had certainly visited this quarter; and that, not being able to stay, they had kindly and considerately taken this step for our greater security and convenience. We saw several men armed with long spears and daggers on the other side of the river on our right; but they did not offer to give us the least molestation. Their women came over, and sat down on the banks close by us, and at noon we prevailed on some of the men to bring hogs and roots for our people, and to dress them for us. As soon as we had left the beach, they came down to the sea side, and one of them threw a stone at us; but his conduct seeming to be highly disapproved of by all the rest, we did not think it proper to show any resentment.

The next day we completed our watering without meeting with any material difficulty. On our return to the ships, we found that several chiefs had been on board, and had made excuses for the behaviour of their countrymen, attributing their riotous conduct to the quarrels which subsisted at that time amongst the principal people of the island, and which had occasioned a general want of order and subordination amongst them. The government of Atooi was in dispute between Toneoneo, who had the supreme power when we were here last year, and a boy named Teavee. They are both, by different fathers, the grandsons of Perecorannee, king of Woahoo, who had given the government of Atooi to the former, and that of Oneeheow to the latter. The quarrel had arisen about the goats we had left at Oneeheow the last year: the right of property in which was claimed by Toneoneo, on the pretence of that island's being a dependency of his. The friends of Teavee insisting on the right of possession, both parties prepared to maintain their pretensions by force; and a few days before our arrival, a battle had been fought, in which Toneoneo had been worsted. The consequence of this victory was likely to affect Toneoneo in a much deeper manner than by the mere loss of the objects in dispute; for the mother of Teavee, having married a second husband, who was a chief of Atooi, and at the head of a powerful faction there, he thought that the present opportunity was not to be neglected of driving Toneoneo entirely out of the island, and of advancing his son-in-law to the government. I have already had occasion to mention that the goats, which had increased to the number of six, and would probably in a few years have stocked all these islands, were destroyed in the contest.

On the 4th, the mother and sister of the young prince and his father-in-law, with many other chiefs of that party, came on board the Resolution, and made several curious and valuable presents to Captain Clerke. Amongst the former, were some fish-hooks, which

they assured us were made of the bones of our old friend Terreeoboo's father, who had been killed in an unsuccessful descent upon the island of Woahoo; and a fly-flap, presented to him by the prince's sister, the handle of which was a human bone, that had been given her as a trophy by her father-in-law. Young Teavee was not of the company, being engaged, as we were told, in performing some religious ceremonies, in consequence of the victory he had obtained, which were to last twenty days.

This and the two following days were employed on shore in completing the Discovery's water; and the carpenters were busy on board, in caulking the ships, and in making other preparations for our next cruise. The natives desisted from giving us any further disturbance; and we procured from them a plentiful supply of pork and vegetables. At this time, an Indian brought a piece of iron on board the Discovery, to be fashioned into the shape of *pahooa*. It was carefully examined both by the officers and men, and appeared to be the bolt of some large ship timbers. They were not able to discover to what nation it belonged; but from the pale colour * of the iron, and its not corresponding in shape to our bolts, they concluded that it certainly was not English. This led them to make a strict inquiry of the native, when and where he got it; and if they comprehended him right, it had been taken out of a piece of timber, larger than the cable bit, to which he pointed. This piece of wood, they farther understood from him, to have been driven upon their island, since we were here in January 1778.

On the 7th, we were surprised with a visit from Toneoneo. When he heard the dowager princess was in the ship, it was with great difficulty we could prevail on him to come on board, not from any apprehension that he appeared to entertain of his safety, but from an unwillingness to see her. Their meeting was with sulky and lowering looks on both sides. He staid but a short time, and seemed much dejected; but we remarked, with some surprise, that the women, both at his coming and going away, prostrated themselves before him; and that he was treated by all the natives on board with the respect usually paid to those of his rank. Indeed, it must appear somewhat extraordinary, that a person who was at this time in a state of actual hostility with Teavee's party, and was even prepared for another battle, should trust himself almost alone within the power of his enemies. It is therefore to be observed, that the civil dissensions, which are very frequent throughout all the South Sea Islands, seem to be carried on without much acrimony or bloodshed; and that the deposed governor still continues to enjoy the rank of an Eree, and is left to make use of such means as may arise for the regaining his lost consequence But I shall have occasion to speak more particularly on this subject in the next chapter; in which the best account will be given, which we were able to collect, of the political state of those countries.

On the 8th, at nine in the morning, we weighed, and sailed toward Oneeheow; and at three in the afternoon, anchored in twenty fathoms water, nearly on the same spot as in the year 1778. We moored with the other anchor in twenty-six fathoms' water. The high bluff, on the south end of the island, bore east south-east; the north point of the road, north half east; and a bluff head to the south of it, north-east by north. During the night we had a strong gale from the eastward; and, in the morning of the 9th, found the ship had driven a whole cable's length, and brought both anchors almost ahead. We shortened in the best bower cable; but the wind blowing too fresh to unmoor, we were obliged to remain this and the two following days, with the anchors still ahead.

On the 12th, the weather being moderate, the master was sent to the north-west side of the island to look for a more convenient place for anchoring. He returned in the evening, having found, close round the west point of the road where we now lay, which is also the westernmost point of the island, a fine bay, with good anchorage, in eighteen fathoms' water, a clear sandy bottom, not a mile from the beach, on which the surf beats, but not so as to hinder landing. The direction of the points of the bay were north by east, and south by west; and, in that line, the soundings seven, eight, and nine fathoms. On the north side of the bay was a small village; and a quarter of a mile to the eastward, were four small

* It was evident, that the iron we found in possession of the natives at Nootka Sound, and which was mostly made into knives, was of a much paler sort than ours.

wells of good water; the road to them level, and fit for rolling casks. Mr. Bligh went afterward so far to the north as to satisfy himself, that Orehoua was a separate island from Oneeheow; and that there was a passage between them; which, before, we only conjectured to exist. In the afternoon we hoisted in all the boats, and made ready for going to sea in the morning.

CHAPTER VI.—GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.—THEIR NUMBER, NAMES, AND SITUATION.—OWHYHEE.—ITS EXTENT AND DIVISION INTO DISTRICTS.—ACCOUNT OF ITS COASTS, AND THE ADJACENT COUNTRY.—VOLCANIC APPEARANCES.—SNOWY MOUNTAINS.—THEIR HEIGHT DETERMINED.—ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY INTO THE INTERIOR PARTS OF THE COUNTRY.—MOWEE.—TAHOOROWA.—MOROTOI.—RANAI.—WOAHOO.—ATOOI.—ONEEHEOW.—OREEHOUA.—TAHOORA.—CLIMATE.—WINDS.—CURRENTS.—TIDES.—ANIMALS AND VEGETABLES.—ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS.

As we are now about to take our final leave of the Sandwich Islands, it will not be improper to introduce here some general account of their situation and natural history, and of the manners and customs of the inhabitants. This subject has indeed been, in some measure, pre-occupied by persons far more capable of doing it justice than I can pretend to be. Had Captain Cook and Mr. Anderson lived to avail themselves of the advantages which we enjoyed by a return to these islands, it cannot be questioned, that the public would have derived much additional information from the skill and diligence of two such accurate observers. The reader will therefore lament with me our common misfortune, which hath deprived him of the labours of such superior abilities, and imposed on me the task of presenting him with the best supplementary account the various duties of my station permitted me to furnish *.

This group consists of eleven islands, extending in latitude from 18° 54′ to 22° 15′ north; and in longitude from 199° 36′ to 205° 06′ east. They are called by the natives; 1. Owhyhee. 2. Mowee. 3. Ranai, or Oranai. 4. Morotinnee, or Morokinnee. 5 Kahowrowee, or Tahoorowa. 6. Morotoi, or Morokoi. 7. Woahoo, or Oahoo. 8. Atooi, Atowi, or Towi, and sometimes Kowi †. 9. Neeheehow, or Oneeheow. 10. Orechoua, or Rechoua; and, 11. Tahoora; and are all inhabited, except Morotinnee and Tahoora. Besides the islands above enumerated, we are told by the Indians, that there is another called Modoopapapa ‡, or Komodoopapapa, lying to the west south-west of Tahoora, which is low and sandy, and visited only for the purpose of catching turtle and sea-fowl; and, as I could never learn that they knew of any others, it is probable that none exist in their neighbourhood.

They were named by Captain Cook the Sandwich Islands in honour of the Earl of Sandwich, under whose administration he had enriched geography with so many splendid and important discoveries; a tribute justly due to that noble person for the liberal support these voyages derived from his power, in whatever could extend their utility, or promote their success; for the zeal with which he seconded the views of that great navigator; and if I may be allowed to add the voice of private gratitude, for the generous protection, which, since the death of their unfortunate commander, he has afforded all the officers that served under him.

* "The descriptions which Captain Cook's voyages contained, were, I am convinced, faithful transcripts of the first impressions made on the minds of Captain Cook and his companions, and in every respect correct, so far as their partial observation extended. A residence of eight years in the Society and Sandwich Islands, has afforded me an opportunity of becoming familiar with many of the scenes and usages described in their Voyages, and I have often been struck with the fidelity with which they are uniformly portrayed. In the inferences they draw, and the reasons they assign, they are sometimes mistaken; but in the description of what they saw and heard, there is throughout a degree of accuracy, seldom if ever exceeded in accounts equally minute and extended. Still their acquaintance with the islands and the people was superficial, and the state of society which they witnessed was different from what generally existed." Ellis's Polynesian Researches, vol. iv., 12mo ed., p. 2.

† It is to be observed, that, among the windward islands, the *k* is used instead of the *t* as *Morokoi* instead of *Morotoi*, &c. [The orthography of all these names varies from that adopted by the missionaries.—Ed.]

‡ *Modoo* signifies island; *papapa*, flat. This island is called Tammatapappa, by Captain Cook, vol. ii. p. 244.

Owhyhee, the easternmost, and by much the largest of these islands, is of a triangular shape, and nearly equilateral. The angular points make the north, east, and south extremities, of which the northern is in latitude 20° 17′ north, longitude 204° 02′ east: the eastern in latitude 19° 34′ north, longitude 205° 06′ east: and the southern extremity in latitude 18° 54′ north, longitude 204° 15′ east. Its greatest length, which lies in a direction nearly north and south, is 28½ leagues; its breadth is 24 leagues; and it is about 255 geographical, or 293 English miles, in circumference. The whole island is divided into six large districts; Amakooa and Aheedoo, which lie on the north-east side; Apoona and Kaoo, on the south-east; Akoona and Kooarra, on the west.

The districts of Amakooa and Aheedoo are separated by a mountain, called Mouna Kaah (or the mountain Kaah), which rises in three peaks, perpetually covered with snow, and may be clearly seen at 40 leagues' distance. To the north of this mountain the coast consists of high and abrupt cliffs, down which fall many beautiful cascades of water. We were once flattered with the hopes of meeting with a harbour round a bluff head, in latitude 20° 10′ north, and longitude 204° 26′ east; but on doubling the point, and standing close in, we found it connected by a low valley with another high head to the north-west. The country rises inland with a gentle ascent, is intersected by deep narrow glens, or rather chasms, and appeared to be well cultivated and sprinkled over with a number of villages. The snowy mountain is very steep, and the lower part of it covered with wood.

The coast of Aheedoo, which lies to the south of Mouna Kaah, is of a moderate height and the interior parts appear more even than the country to the north-west, and less broken by ravines. Off these two districts we cruised for almost a month; and, whenever our distance from shore would permit it, were sure of being surrounded by canoes laden with all kinds of refreshments. We had frequently a very heavy sea, and great swell on this side of the island, and as we had no soundings, and could observe much foul ground off the shore, we never approached nearer the land than two or three leagues, excepting on the occasion already mentioned.

The coast to the north-east of Apoona, which forms the eastern extremity of the island, is low, and flat; the acclivity of the inland parts is very gradual, and the whole country covered with cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees. This, as far as we could judge, is the finest part of the island, and we were afterward told that the king had a place of residence here. At the south-west extremity the hills rise abruptly from the sea-side, leaving but a narrow border of low ground toward the beach. We were pretty near the shore at this part of the island, and found the sides of the hills covered with a fine verdure; but the country seemed to be very thinly inhabited. On doubling the east point of the island, we came in sight of another snowy mountain, called Mouna Roa (or the extensive mountain), which continued to be a very conspicuous object all the while we were sailing along the south-east side. It is flat at the top, making what is called by mariners table-land: the summit was constantly buried in snow, and we once saw its sides also slightly covered for a considerable way down; but the greatest part of this disappeared again in a few days.

According to the tropical line of snow, as determined by Mr. Condamine, from observations taken on the Cordilleras, this mountain must be at least 16,020 feet high, which exceeds the height of the Pico de Teyde, or Peak of Teneriffe, by 724 feet, according to Dr. Heberden's computation, or 3680, according to that of the Chevalier de Borda. The peaks of Mouna Kaah appeared to be about half a mile high; and as they are entirely covered with snow, the altitude of their summits cannot be less than 18,400 feet. But it is probable that both these mountains may be considerably higher. For, in insular situations, the effects of the warm sea air must necessarily remove the line of snow, in equal latitudes, to a greater height than where the atmosphere is chilled on all sides by an immense tract of perpetual snow *.

The coast of Kaoo presents a prospect of the most horrid and dreary kind: the whole country appearing to have undergone a total change from the effects of some dreadful con-

* Mr. Ellis considers Captain King's estimate of the heights of these mountains exaggerated, but he gives them a height of at least 15,000 feet.—Ed

vulsion, the ground is everywhere covered with cinders, and intersected in many places with black streaks, which seem to mark the course of a lava that has flowed, not many ages back, from the mountain Roa to the shore. The southern promontory looks like the mere dregs of a volcano. The projecting head-land is composed of broken and craggy rocks, piled irregularly on one another and terminating in sharp points.

Notwithstanding the dismal aspect of this part of the island, there are many villages scattered over it; and it certainly is much more populous than the verdant mountains of Apoona. Nor is this circumstance hard to be accounted for. As these islanders have no cattle, they have consequently no use for pasturage, and therefore naturally prefer such ground as either lies more convenient for fishing, or is best suited to the cultivation of yams and plantains. Now, amidst these ruins, there are many patches of rich soil, which are carefully laid out in plantations, and the neighbouring sea abounds with a variety of most excellent fish, with which, as well as with other provisions, we were always plentifully supplied. Off this part of the coast, we could find no ground at less than a cable's length from the shore, with a hundred and sixty fathoms of line, excepting in a small bight to the eastward of the south point, where we had regular soundings of fifty and fifty-eight fathoms over a bottom of fine sand. Before we proceed to the western districts, it may be necessary to remark, that the whole coast side of the island, from the northern to the southern extremity, does not afford the smallest harbour, or shelter for shipping.

The south-west parts of Akona are in the same state with the adjoining district of Kaoo; but farther to the north, the country has been cultivated with great pains, and is extremely populous. In this part of the island is situate Karakakooa Bay, which has been already described. Along the coast nothing is seen but large masses of slag, and the fragments of black scorched rocks; behind which, the ground rises gradually for about two miles and a half, and appears to have been formerly covered with loose burnt stones. These the natives have taken the pains of clearing away, frequently to the depth of three feet and upward; which labour, great as it is, the fertility of the soil amply repays. Here, in a rich ashy mould, they cultivate sweet potatoes, and the cloth-plant. The fields are inclosed with stone fences, and are interspersed with groves of cocoa-nut trees. On the rising ground beyond these, the bread-fruit trees are planted, and flourish with the greatest luxuriance.

Koaara extends from the westernmost point to the northern extremity of the island; the whole coast between them forming an extensive bay, called Toe-yah-yah, which is bounded to the north by two very conspicuous hills. Toward the bottom of this bay there is foul, corally ground, extending upward of a mile from the shore, without which the soundings are regular, with good anchorage, in twenty fathoms. The country, as far as the eye could reach, seemed fruitful and well inhabited, the soil being in appearance of the same kind with the district of Kaoo; but no fresh water is to be got here.

I have hitherto confined myself to the coasts of this island, and the adjacent country, which is all that I had an opportunity of being acquainted with from my own observation. The only account I can give of the interior parts, is from the information I obtained from a party who set out on the afternoon of the 26th of January, on an expedition up the country, with an intention of penetrating as far as they could; and principally of reaching, if possible, the snowy mountains.

Having procured two natives to serve them as guides, they left the village about four o'clock in the afternoon, directing their course a little to the southward of the east. To the distance of three or four miles from the bay, they found the country as before described; the hills afterward rose with a more sudden ascent, which brought them to the extensive plantations, that terminate the view of the country, as seen from the ships. These plantations consist of the tarrow * or eddy root, and the sweet potato, with plants of the cloth-

* Both the sweet potatoes, and the tarrow, are here planted four feet from each other; the former was earthed up almost to the top of the stalk, with about half a bushel of light mould; the latter is left bare to the root, and the mould round it is made in the form of a basin, in order to hold the rain-water, as this root requires a certain degree of moisture. It has been before observed, that the tarrow, at the Friendly and Society Islands, was always planted in low and moist situations, and generally where there was the conveniency of a rivulet to flood it. It was

tree, neatly set out in rows. The walls that separate them are made of the loose burnt stones which are got in clearing the ground; and being entirely concealed by sugar-canes, planted close on each side, make the most beautiful fences that can be conceived. The party stopped for the night at the second hut they found amongst the plantations, where they judged themselves to be about six or seven miles from the ships. They described the prospect from this spot as very delightful; they saw the ships in the bay before them; to the left a continued range of villages, interspersed with groves of cocoa-nut trees spreading along the sea-shore; a thick wood stretching out of sight behind them; and to the right, an extent of ground laid out in regular and well-cultivated plantations, as far as the eye could reach.

Near this spot, at a distance from any other dwelling, the natives pointed out to them the residence of a hermit, who, they said, had formerly been a great chief and warrior, but had long ago quitted the shores of the island, and now never stirred from his cottage. They prostrated themselves as they approached him, and afterwards presented to him a part of such provisions as they had brought with them. His behaviour was easy and cheerful; he scarce showed any marks of astonishment at the sight of our people, and though pressed to accept some of our curiosities, he declined the offer, and soon withdrew to his cottage. He was described as by far the oldest person any of the party had ever seen, and judged to be, by those who computed his age at the lowest, upward of 100 years old.

As our people had imagined the mountain not to be more than ten or twelve miles from the bay, and consequently, that they should reach it with ease early the next morning, an error into which its great height had probably led them, they were now much surprised to find the distance scarce perceptibly diminished. This circumstance, together with the uninhabited state of the country they were going to enter, made it necessary to procure a supply of provisions; and for that purpose they despatched one of their guides back to the village. Whilst they were waiting his return, they were joined by some of Kaoo's servants, whom that benevolent old man had sent after them, as soon as he heard of their journey, laden with refreshments, and authorised, as their route lay through his grounds, to demand and take away whatever they might have occasion for.

Our travellers were much astonished to find the cold here so intense; but having no thermometer with them, could judge of it only by their feelings; which, from the warm atmosphere they had left, must have been a very fallacious measure. They found it, however, so cold that they could get but little sleep, and the natives none at all; both parties being disturbed the whole night by continued coughing. As they could not at this time be at any very considerable height, the distance from the sea being only six or seven miles, and part of the road on a very moderate ascent, this extraordinary degree of cold must be ascribed to the easterly wind blowing fresh over the snowy mountains. Early on the 27th they set out again, and filled their calibashes at an excellent well, about half a mile from their hut. Having passed the plantations, they came to a thick wood, which they entered by a path made for the convenience of the natives, who go thither to fetch the wild or horse plantain, and to catch birds. Their progress now became very slow, and attended with much labour; the ground being either swampy, or covered with large stones; the path narrow, and frequently interrupted by trees lying across it, which it was necessary to climb over, the thickness of the under-wood on both sides making it impossible to pass round them. In these woods they observed, at small distances, pieces of white cloth fixed on poles, which they supposed to be landmarks for the division of property, as they only met with them where the wild plantains grew. The trees, which are of the same kind with those we called the spice-tree at New Holland, were lofty and straight, and from two to four feet in circumference.

After they had advanced about ten miles in the wood, they had the mortification to find themselves on a sudden within sight of the sea, and at no great distance from it; the path having turned imperceptibly to the southward, and carried them to the right of the mountain,

imagined that this mode of culture was absolutely necessary; but we now found, that, with the precaution above mentioned, it succeeds equally well in a drier situation: indeed, we all remarked, that the tarrow of the Sandwich Islands is the best we had ever tasted. The plantains are not admitted in these plantations, but grow amongst the bread-fruit trees.

which it was their object to reach. Their disappointment was greatly increased by the uncertainty they were now under of its true bearings, since they could not, at this time, get a view of it from the top of the highest trees. They, therefore, found themselves obliged to walk back six or seven miles to an unoccupied hut, where they had left three of the natives, and two of their own people, with the small stock that remained of their provisions. Here they spent the second night; and the air was so very sharp and so little to the liking of their guides, that, by the morning, they had all taken themselves off, except one.

The want of provisions now making it necessary to return to some of the cultivated parts of the island, they quitted the wood by the same path they had entered it; and, on their arrival at the plantations, were surrounded by the natives, of whom they purchased a fresh stock of necessaries; and prevailed upon two of them to supply the place of the guides that were gone away. Having obtained the best information in their power, with regard to the direction of their road, the party, being now nine in number, marched along the skirts of the wood for six or seven miles, and then entered it again by a path that bore to the eastward. For the first three miles they passed through a forest of lofty spice-trees, growing on a strong rich loam; at the back of which they found an equal extent of low shrubby trees, with much thick underwood, on a bottom of loose burnt stones. This led them to a second forest of spice-trees, and the same rich brown soil, which was again succeeded by a barren ridge of the same nature with the former. This alternate succession may, perhaps, afford matter of curious speculation to naturalists. The only additional circumstance I could learn relating to it, was that these ridges appeared, as far as they could be seen, to run in directions parallel to the sea-shore, and to have Mouna Roa for their centre.

In passing through the woods, they found many canoes half finished, and here and there a hut; but saw none of the inhabitants. Having penetrated near three miles into the second wood, they came to two huts, where they stopped, exceedingly fatigued with the day's journey, having walked not less than twenty miles, according to their own computation. As they had met with no springs from the time they left the plantation-ground, and began to suffer much from the violence of their thirst, they were obliged, before the night came on, to separate into parties, and go in search of water; and at last found some left by rain in the bottom of an unfinished canoe; which, though of the colour of red wine, was to them no unwelcome discovery. In the night, the cold was still more intense than they had found it before; and, though they had wrapped themselves up in mats and cloths of the country, and kept a large fire between the two huts, they could yet sleep but very little; and were obliged to walk about the greatest part of the night. Their elevation was now probably pretty considerable, as the ground on which they had travelled, had been generally on the ascent.

On the 29th, at daybreak, they set out, intending to make their last and utmost effort to reach the snowy mountain; but their spirits were much depressed, when they found they had expended the miserable pittance of water, they had found the night before. The path, which extended no farther than where canoes had been built, was now at an end; and they were therefore obliged to make their way as well as they could; every now and then climbing up into the highest trees to explore the country round. At eleven o'clock, they came to a ridge of burnt stones, from the top of which they saw the snowy mountain, appearing to be about twelve or fourteen miles from them It was here deliberated whether they should proceed any further, or rest satisfied with the view they now had of Mouna Roa. The road, ever since the path ceased, had become exceedingly fatiguing; and every moment they advanced, was growing still more so. The deep chinks, with which the ground was everywhere broken, being slightly covered with moss, made them stumble at almost every step; and the intermediate space was a surface of loose burnt stones, which broke under their feet like potsherds. They threw stones into several of these chinks; which, by the noise they made, seemed to fall to a considerable depth, and the ground sounded hollow under their feet. Besides these discouraging circumstances, they found their guides so averse to going on, that they believed, whatever their own determinations might have been, they could not have prevailed on them to remain out another night. They, therefore, at last agreed to return to the ships, after taking a view of the country from the highest trees which the place afforded. From this elevation they saw themselves surrounded on all sides with wood toward

the sea; they could not distinguish, in the horizon, the sky from the water; and between them and the snowy mountain, was a valley about seven or eight miles broad, above which the mountain appeared only as a hill of a moderate size.

They rested this night at a hut in the second wood, and on the 30th, before noon, they had got clear of the first, and found themselves about nine miles to the north-east of the ships, toward which they directed their march through the plantations. As they passed along, they did not observe a single spot of ground, that was capable of improvement, left unplanted; and, indeed, it appeared, from their account, hardly possible for the country to be cultivated to greater advantage for the purposes of the inhabitants, or made to yield them a larger supply of necessaries for their subsistence. They were surprised to meet with several fields of hay; and on inquiring to what uses it was applied, were told it was designed to cover the young tarrow grounds, in order to preserve them from being scorched by the sun. They saw a few scattered huts amongst the plantations, which served for occasional shelter to the labourers; but no villages at a greater distance than four or five miles from the sea. Near one of them, about four miles from the bay, they found a cave forty fathoms long, three broad, and of the same height. It was open at both ends; the sides were fluted, as if wrought with a chisel, and the surface glazed over, probably by the action of fire. Having given this account of the most material circumstances that occurred on the expedition to the snowy mountain, I shall now return to the other islands that remain to be described.

The island next in size, and nearest in situation, to Owhyhee, is Mowee; which lies at the distance of eight leagues north north-west from the former, and is 140 geographical miles in circumference. A low isthmus divides it into two circular peninsulas, of which that to the east is called Whamadooa, and is double the size of the western peninsula, called Owhyrookoo. The mountains in both rise to an exceeding great height, having been seen by us at the distance of upward of thirty leagues. The northern shores, like those of Owhyhee, afford no soundings; and the country presents the same appearance of verdure and fertility. To the south-east, between this and the adjacent isles, we had regular depths, with a hundred and fifty fathoms, with a sandy bottom. From the west point, which is low, runs a shoal, stretching out toward Ranai, to a considerable distance; and to the southward of this is a fine spacious bay, with a sandy beach, shaded with cocoa-nut trees. It is probable that good anchorage might be found here, with shelter from the prevailing winds, and that the beach affords a convenient place for landing. The country behind presents a most romantic appearance. The hills rise almost perpendicularly, in a great variety of peaked forms; and their steep sides, and the deep chasms between them, are covered with trees, amongst which those of the bread-fruit were observed particularly to abound. The tops of these hills are entirely bare, and of a reddish brown colour. We were informed by the natives, that there is a harbour to the southward of the east point, which they affirmed to be superior to that of Karakakooa; and we were also told, that, on the north-west side, there was another harbour, called Keepoo-keepoo.

Tahoorowa is a small island lying off the south-west part of Mowee, from which it is distant three leagues. This island is destitute of wood, and the soil seems to be sandy and barren. Between Tahowrowa and Mowee, lies the small uninhabited island Morrotinnee.

Morotoi is only two leagues and a half from Mowee to the west north-west. The south-western coast, which was the only part near which we approached, is very low; but the land rises backward to a considerable height; and, at the distance from which we saw it, appeared to be entirely without wood. Its produce, we were told, consists chiefly of yams. It may, probably, have fresh water; and, on the south and west sides, the coast forms several bays, that promise good shelter from the trade winds.

Ranai is about three leagues distant from Mowee and Morotoi, and lies to the south-west of the passage between these islands. The country to the south is high and craggy; but the other parts of the island had a better aspect, and appeared to be well inhabited. We were told that it produces very few plantains and bread-fruit trees; but that it abounds in roots, such as yams, sweet potatoes, and tarrow.

Woahoo lies to the north-west of Morotoi, at the distance of about seven leagues. As far as we could judge, from the appearance of the north-east and north-west parts (for we saw

nothing of the southern side), it is by far the finest island of the whole group. Nothing can exceed the verdure of the hills, the variety of wood and lawn, and rich cultivated valleys, which the whole face of the country displayed. Having already given a description of the bay, formed by the north and west extremities, in which we came to anchor, I have only to observe, that in the bight of the bay, to the south of the anchoring-place, we found rocky foul ground, two miles from the shore. Should the ground tackling of a ship be weak, and the wind blow strong from the north, to which quarter the road is entirely open, this circumstance might be attended with some danger; but with good cables there would be little risk, as the ground from the anchoring-place, which is opposite to the valley through which the river runs to the north point, is a fine sand.

Atooi lies to the north-west of Woahoo, and is distant from it about twenty-five leagues. The face of the country to the north-east and north-west is broken and ragged; but to the south it is more even; the hills rise with a gentle slope from the sea-side, and, at some distance back, are covered with wood. Its productions are the same with those of the other islands; but the inhabitants far surpass all the neighbouring islanders in the management of their plantations. In the low grounds, adjoining to the bay where we lay at anchor, these plantations were divided by deep and regular ditches; the fences were made with a neatness approaching to elegance, and the roads through them were thrown up and finished, in a manner that would have done credit to any European engineer.

Oneeheow lies five leagues to the westward of Atooi. The eastern coast is high, and rises abruptly from the sea, but the rest of the island consists of low ground; excepting a round bluff head on the south-east point. It produces abundance of yams, and of the sweet root called *Tee;* but we got from it no other sort of provisions.

Oreehoua and Tahoora are two small islands in the neighbourhood of Oneeheow. The former is a single high hummock, joined by a reef of coral rocks, to the northern extremity of Oneeheow. The latter lies to the south-east, and is uninhabited.

The climate of the Sandwich Islands differs very little from that of the West India Islands, which lie in the same latitude. Upon the whole, perhaps, it may be rather more temperate. The thermometer on shore in Karakakooa Bay never rose higher than 88°, and that but one day; its mean height, at noon, was 83°. In Wymoa Bay, its mean height at noon was 76°, and when out at sea, 75°. The mean height of the thermometer at noon, in Jamaica, is about 86°, at sea 80°.*

Whether they be subject to the same violent winds and hurricanes, we could not discover, as we were not there in any of the stormy months. However, as the natives gave us no positive testimony of the fact, and no traces of their effects were anywhere visible, it is probable that, in this respect, they resemble the Society and Friendly Islands, which are in a great measure free from these dreadful visitations. During the four winter months that we remained amongst these islands, there was more rain, especially in the interior parts, than usually falls during the dry season in the islands of the West Indies. We generally saw clouds collecting round the tops of the hills, and producing rain to leeward; but after they are separated from the land by the wind, they disperse, and are lost, and others succeed in their place. This happened daily at Owhyhee: the mountainous parts being generally enveloped in a cloud; successive showers falling in the inland country; with fine weather, and a clear sky, at the sea-shore.

The winds in general were, from east south-east to north-east; though this sometimes varied a few points each way to the north and south; but these were light, and of short duration. In the harbour of Karakakooa, we had a constant land and sea breeze every day and night.

The currents seemed very uncertain, sometimes setting to windward, and at other times to leeward, without any regularity. They did not appear to be governed by the winds, nor any other cause that I can assign: they frequently set to windward against a fresh breeze. The tides are very regular, flowing and ebbing six hours each. The flood comes from the

* The mean height of the thermometer in the Sandwich Islands is stated by Mr. Ellis at 75°, the extreme heat 88°, the least 61°; these being the result of one year's accurate observations.—Ed.

eastward; and it is high-water at the full and change of the moon, forty-five minutes past three, apparent time. Their greatest rise is two feet seven inches; and we always observed the water to be four inches higher when the moon was above the horizon than when it was below.

The quadrupeds in these, as in all the other islands that have been discovered in the South Sea, are confined to three sorts—dogs, hogs, and rats. The dogs are of the same species with those of Otaheite, having short crooked legs, long backs, and pricked ears. I did not observe any variety in them, except in their skins; some having long and rough hair, and others being quite smooth. They are about the size of a common turnspit exceedingly sluggish in their nature, though perhaps this may be more owing to the manner in which they are treated, than to any natural disposition in them. They are, in general, fed and left to herd with the hogs; and I do not recollect one instance in which a dog was made a companion, in the manner we do in Europe. Indeed, the custom of eating them is an insuperable bar to their admission into society; and, as there are neither beasts of prey in the island, nor objects of chace, it is probable that the social qualities of the dog, its fidelity, attachment, and sagacity, will remain unknown to the natives.

The number of dogs in these islands did not appear to be nearly equal in proportion to those in Otaheite. But, on the other hand, they abound much more in hogs; and the breed is of a larger and weightier kind. The supply of provisions of this kind, which we got from them, was really astonishing. We were near four months, either cruising off the coast, or in harbour at Owhyhee. During all this time, a large allowance of fresh pork was constantly served to both crews; so that our consumption was computed at about sixty puncheons of five hundred-weight each. Besides this, and the incredible waste which, in the midst of such plenty, was not to be guarded against, sixty puncheons more were salted for sea store. The greatest part of this supply was drawn from the island of Owhyhee alone, and yet we could not perceive that it was at all drained, or even that the abundance had any way decreased.

The birds of these islands are as beautiful as any we have seen during the voyage, and are numerous, though not various. There are four which seem to belong to the *Trochili*, or honeysuckers, of Linnæus; one of which is something larger than a bullfinch; its colour is a fine glossy black, the rump-vent and thighs a deep yellow. It is called by the natives *hoohoo*. Another is of an exceeding bright scarlet colour; the wings black, and edged with white, and the tail black; its native name is *eeeeve*. A third, which seems to be either a young bird, or a variety of the foregoing, is variegated with red, brown, and yellow. The fourth is entirely green, with a tinge of yellow, and is called *akaiearooa*. There is a species of thrush, with a grey breast; and a small bird of the flycatcher kind; a rail, with very short wings and no tail, which on that account we named *Rallus ecaudatus*. Ravens are found here, but they are very scarce; their colour is dark brown, inclining to black, and their note is different from the European. Here are two small birds, both of one genus, that are very common; one is red, and generally seen about the cocoa-nut trees, particularly when they are in flower, from whence it seems to derive great part of its subsistence; the other is green: the tongues of both are long and ciliated, or fringed at the tip. A bird with a yellow head, which, from the structure of its beak, we called a perroquet, is likewise very common. It, however, by no means belongs to that tribe, but greatly resembles the yellow cross-bill, *Loxia flavicans* of Linnæus. Here are also owls, plovers of two sorts, one very like the whistling plover of Europe; a large white pigeon; a bird with a long tail, whose colour is black, the vent and feathers under the wing (which is much longer than is usually seen in the generality of birds, except the birds of paradise) are yellow; and the common water or darker hen.

Their vegetable productions are nearly the same with the rest of the South Sea Islands. I have before mentioned, that the tarrow root is much superior to any we had before tasted, and that we attributed this excellence to the dry method of cultivating it. The bread-fruit trees thrive here, not in such abundance, but produce double the quantity of fruit they do on the rich plains of Otaheite. The trees are nearly of the same height, but the branches begin to strike out from the trunk much lower, and with greater luxuriance.

Their sugar-canes are also of a very unusual size. One of them was brought to us at Atooi, measuring eleven inches and a quarter in circumference, and having fourteen feet eatable.

At Oneeheow, they brought us several large roots of a brown colour, shaped like a yam, and from six to ten pounds in weight. The juice, which it yields in great abundance, is very sweet, and of a pleasant taste, and was found to be an excellent substitute for sugar. The natives are very fond of it, and use it as an article of their common diet; and our people also found it very palatable and wholesome. We could not learn to what species of plant it belonged, having never been able to procure the leaves; but it was supposed by our botanists to be the root of some kind of fern.

TARO, OR SWEET POTATOE.

Agreeably to the practice of Captain Cook, I shall subjoin an abstract of the astronomical observations which were made at the observatory in Karakakooa Bay, for determining its latitude and longitude, and for finding the rate and error of the timekeeper. To these are subjoined the mean variation of the compass, the dip of the magnetic needle, and a table of the latitude and longitude of the Sandwich Islands.

The latitude of the observatory deduced from meridian zenith distances of the sun, eleven stars to the south, and four stars to the north of the zenith		19°	28′	0″ north
The longitude of the observatory, deduced from 253 sets of lunar observations; each set consisting of six observed distances of the sun from the moon, or stars; fourteen of the above sets were only taken at the observatory, 105 sets being taken whilst cruising off Owhyhee; and 134 sets, when at Atooi and Oneeheow; all these being reduced to the observatory, by means of the timekeeper		204	0	0 east.
The longitude of the observatory, by the timekeeper, on the 19th January, 1779, according to its rate, as found at Greenwich		214	7	15 east.
The longitude of the observatory, by the timekeeper, on the 19th January, 1779, according to its rate, corrected at different places, and last at Samganoodha Harbour, in Oonalaschka		203	37	22 east.
The daily rate of the timekeeper losing on mean time, was 9″.6; and on the 2d February, 1779, it was 14h 41′ 1″ slow for mean time.				
The variation of the compass by azimuths, observed on shore with four different compasses		8	6	0 east.
The variation of the compass, by azimuths, observed on board the Resolution with four different compasses		7	32	0 east.
Dip of the north pole of the magnetic needle on shore, with	Balanced needle	40	22	30
	Unbalanced, or plain needle	40	41	15
Dip of the north pole of the magnetic needle on board, with	Balanced needle	41	50	0
	Unbalanced needle	40	30	45

A TABLE OF THE LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

		Latitude.		Longitude.			Latitude.		Longitude.	
Owhyhee	The north point	20°	17′	204°	2′	Tahoorowa	20°	38′	203°	27
	South point	18	54	204	15	Ranai. South point	20	46	203	8
	East point	19	34	205	6	Morotoi. West point	21	10	202	46
	Karakakooa Bay	19	28	204	0	Woahoo. Anchoring-place	21	43	202	9
Mowee	East point	20	50	204	4	Atooi. Wymoa Bay	21	57	200	20
	South point	20	34	203	48	Oneeheow. Anchoring-place	21	50	199	45
	West point	20	54	203	24	Oreehoua	22	2	199	52
Morokinnee		20	39	203	33	Tahoora	21	43	199	36

CHAPTER VII.—GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS CONTINUED.—OF THE INHABITANTS.—THEIR ORIGIN.—PERSONS.—PERNICIOUS EFFECTS OF THE AVA.—NUMBERS.—DISPOSITION AND MANNERS.—REASONS FOR SUPPOSING THEM NOT CANNIBALS.—DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.—VILLAGES AND HOUSES.—FOOD.—OCCUPATIONS AND AMUSEMENTS.—ADDICTED TO GAMING.—THEIR EXTRAORDINARY DEXTERITY IN SWIMMING.—ARTS AND MANUFACTURES.—CURIOUS SPECIMENS OF THEIR SCULPTURE.—KIPPAREE, OR METHOD OF PAINTING CLOTH.—MATS.—FISHING-HOOKS.—CORDAGE.—SALT-PANS.—WARLIKE INSTRUMENTS.

The inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands are undoubtedly of the same race with those of New Zealand, the Society and Friendly Islands, Easter Island, and the Marquesas; a race that possesses, without any intermixture, all the known lands between the latitudes of 47° south and 20° north, and between the longitudes of 184° and 260° east. This fact, which, extraordinary as it is, might be thought sufficiently proved by the striking similarity of their manners and customs, and the general resemblance of their persons, is established, beyond all controversy, by the absolute identity of their language. From what continent they originally emigrated, and by what steps they have spread through so vast a space, those who are curious in disquisitions of this nature may perhaps not find it very difficult to conjecture. It has been already observed that they bear strong marks of affinity to some of the Indian tribes that inhabit the Ladrones and Caroline Islands; and the same affinity may again be traced amongst the Battas and the Malays. When these events happened, is not so easy to ascertain; it was probably not very lately, as they are extremely populous, and have no tradition of their own origin but what is perfectly fabulous; whilst, on the other hand, the unadulterated state of their general language, and the simplicity which still prevails in their customs and manners, seem to indicate that it could not have been at any very distant period.

The natives of these islands are, in general, above the middle size, and well made; they walk very gracefully, run nimbly, and are capable of bearing great fatigue; though, upon the whole, the men are somewhat inferior, in point of strength and activity, to the Friendly Islanders, and the women less delicately limbed than those of Otaheite. Their complexion is rather darker than that of the Otaheiteans, and they are not altogether so handsome a people. However, many of both sexes had fine open countenances; and the women, in particular, had good eyes and teeth, and a sweetness and sensibility of look, which rendered them very engaging. Their hair is of a brownish black, and neither uniformly straight, like that of the Indians of America, nor uniformly curling, as amongst the African negroes, but varying, in this respect, like the hair of Europeans. One striking peculiarity in the features of every part of this great nation, I do not remember to have seen anywhere mentioned; which is, that even in the handsomest faces, there is always a fulness of the nostril, without any flatness or spreading of the nose, that distinguishes them from Europeans. It is not improbable that this may be the effect of their usual mode of salutation, which is performing by pressing the ends of their noses together.

The same superiority that is observable in the persons of the Erees, through all the other islands, is found also here. These whom we saw were, without exception, perfectly well formed; whereas the lower sort, besides their general inferiority, are subject to all the variety of make and figure that is seen in the populace of other countries. Instances of deformity are more frequent here than in any of the other islands. Whilst we were cruising off Owhyhee, two dwarfs came on board, one an old man, four feet two inches high, but exactly proportioned, and the other a woman, nearly of the same height. We afterward saw three natives who were hump-backed, and a young man, born without hands or feet. Squinting is also very common amongst them; and a man who, they said, had been born blind, was brought to us to be cured. Besides these particular imperfections, they are, in general, very subject to boils and ulcers, which we attributed to the great quantity of salt they eat with their flesh and fish. The Erees are very free from these complaints; but many of them suffer still more dreadful effects from the immoderate use of the *ava*. Those who were

the most affected by it had their bodies covered with a white scurf, their eyes red and inflamed, their limbs emaciated, the whole frame trembling and paralytic, accompanied with a disability to raise the head. Though this drug does not appear universally to shorten life, as was evident from the cases of Terreeoboo, Kaoo, and some other chiefs, who were very old men; yet it invariably brings on an early and decrepit old age. It is fortunate that the use of it is made one of the peculiar privileges of the chiefs. The young son of Terreeoboo, who was about twelve years old, used to boast of his being admitted to drink *ava*, and showed us, with great triumph, a small spot in his side that was growing scaly.

There is something very singular in the history of this pernicious drug. When Captain Cook first visited the Society Islands, it was very little known among them. On his second voyage, he found the use of it very prevalent at Ulietea; but it had still gained very little ground at Otaheite. When we were last there, the dreadful havoc it had made was beyond belief, insomuch that the Captain scarce knew many of his old acquaintances. At the Friendly Islands, it is also constantly drunk by the chiefs, but so much diluted with water, that it does not appear to produce any bad effects. At Atooi, also, it is used with great moderation, and the chiefs are, in consequence, a much finer set of men there than in any of the neighbouring islands. We remarked, that by discontinuing the use of this root, the noxious effects of it soon wore off. Our good friends Kaireekeea and old Kaoo, were persuaded by us to refrain from it; and they recovered amazingly during the short time we afterwards remained in the island.

It may be thought extremely difficult to form any probable conjectures respecting the population of islands, with many parts of which we are but imperfectly acquainted. There are, however, two circumstances, that take away much of this objection: the first is, that the interior parts of the country are entirely uninhabited; so that, if the number of the inhabitants along the coast be known, the whole will be pretty accurately determined. The other is, that there are no towns of any considerable size, the habitations of the natives being pretty equally dispersed in small villages, round all their coasts. It is on this ground, that I shall venture at a rough calculation of the number of persons in this group of islands.

The bay of Karakakooa, in Owhyhee, is three miles in extent, and contains four villages of about eighty houses each; upon an average, in all three hundred and twenty; besides a number of straggling houses; which may make the whole amount to three hundred and fifty. From the frequent opportunities I had of informing myself on this head, I am convinced, that six persons to a house is a very moderate allowance; so that, on this calculation, the country about the bay contains two thousand one hundred souls. To these may be added fifty families, or three hundred persons, which I conceive to be nearly the number employed in the interior parts of the country, amongst their plantations; making in all two thousand four hundred. If, therefore, this number be applied to the whole extent of coast round the island, deducting a quarter for the uninhabited parts, it will be found to contain one hundred and fifty thousand. By the same mode of calculation, the rest of the islands will be found to contain the following numbers:—

Owhyhee	150,000
Mowee	65,400
Woahoo	60,200
Atooi	54,000
Morotoi	36,000
Oneeheow	10,000
Ranai	20,400
Oreehoua	4,000
Total of inhabitants	400,000

I am pretty confident that, in this calculation, I have not exceeded the truth in the total amount. If we compare the numbers supposed to be in Owhyhee, with the population of Otaheite, as settled by Dr. Foster, this computation will be found very low. The proportion of coast in the latter island is, to that of Owhyhee, only as one to three: the

number of inhabitants in Otaheite, he states to be one hundred and twenty-one thousand five hundred; though, according to his own principles, it should be double that amount. Again, if we compare it with the medium population of the countries in Europe, the proportion will be in favour of the latter nearly as two to one.

Notwithstanding the irreparable loss we suffered from the sudden resentment and violence of these people, yet, in justice to their general conduct, it must be acknowledged, that they are of the most mild and affectionate disposition; equally remote from the extreme levity and fickleness of the Otaheiteans, and the distant gravity and reserve of the inhabitants of the Friendly Islands. They appear to live in the utmost harmony and friendship with one another. The women, who had children, were remarkable for their tender and constant attention to them; and the men would often lend their assistance in those domestic offices, with a willingness that does credit to their feelings. It must, however, be observed, that they fall very short of the other islanders, in that best test of civilisation, the respect paid to the women. Here they are not only deprived of the privilege of eating with the men, but the best sorts of food are *tabooed*, or forbidden them. They are not allowed to eat pork, turtle, several kinds of fish, and some species of the plantains; and we were told that a poor girl got a terrible beating for having eaten on board our ship one of these interdicted articles. In their domestic life, they appear to live almost entirely by themselves, and though we did not observe any instances of personal ill-treatment, yet it was evident they had little regard or attention paid them.

The great hospitality and kindness with which we were received by them, have been already frequently remarked; and, indeed, they make the principal part of our transactions with them. Whenever we came on shore, there was a constant struggle who should be most forward in making us little presents, bringing refreshments, or showing some other mark of their respect. The whole people never failed of receiving us with tears of joy; seemed highly gratified with being allowed to touch us, and were constantly making comparisons between themselves and us, with the strongest marks of humility. The young women were not less kind and engaging, and, till they found, notwithstanding our utmost endeavours to prevent it, that they had reason to repent of our acquaintance, attached themselves to us without the least reserve. In justice, however, to the sex, it must be observed, that these ladies were probably all of the lower class of the people; for I am strongly inclined to believe, that, excepting the few whose names are mentioned in the course of our narrative, we did not see any woman of rank during our stay amongst them.

Their natural capacity seems, in no respect, below the common standard of mankind. Their improvements in agriculture, and the perfection of their manufactures, are certainly adequate to the circumstances of their situation, and the natural advantages they enjoy. The eager curiosity with which they attended the armourer's forge, and the many expedients they had invented, even before we left the islands, for working the iron they had procured from us, into such forms as were best adapted to their purposes, were strong proofs of docility and ingenuity. Our unfortunate friend, Kaneena, possessed a degree of judicious curiosity, and a quickness of conception, which was rarely met with amongst these people. He was very inquisitive after our customs and manners; asked after our king; the nature of our government; our numbers; the method of building our ships; our houses; the produce of our country; whether we had wars; with whom, and on what occasions, and in what manner they were carried on; who was our God; and many other questions of the same nature, which indicated an understanding of great comprehension.

We met with two instances of persons disordered in their minds, the one a man at Owhyhee, the other a woman at Oneeheow. It appeared, from the particular attention and respect paid to them, that the opinion of their being inspired by the Divinity, which obtains among most of the nations of the East, is also received here.

Though the custom of eating the bodies of their enemies be not known, by positive evidence, to exist in any of the South Sea Islands, except New Zealand, yet it is extremely probable, that it was originally prevalent in them all. The sacrificing human victims, which seems evidently to be a relic of this horrid practice, still obtains universally amongst these islanders; and it is easy to conceive, why the New Zealanders should retain the repast, which was

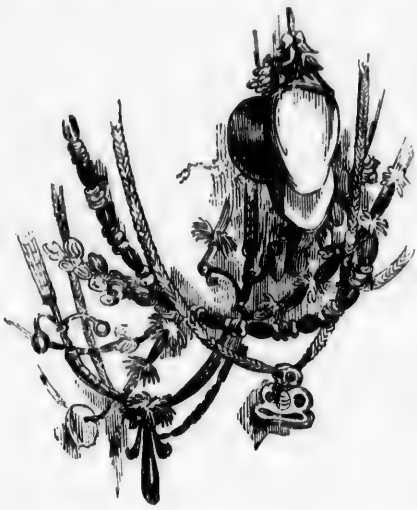
probably the last act of these shocking rites, longer than the rest of their tribe, who were situated in more mild and fruitful climates. As the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands certainly bear a nearer resemblance to those of New Zealand, both in their persons and dispositions, than to any other people of this family, so it was strongly suspected, by Mr. Anderson, that, like them, they still continue to feast on human flesh. The evidence on which he founds this opinion has been stated very fully in the eleventh chapter of the third book *; but, as I always entertained great doubts of the justice of his conclusions, it may not be improper to take this occasion of mentioning the grounds on which I venture to differ from him. With respect to the information derived from the natives themselves, I shall only observe, that great pains were taken, by almost every officer on board, to come at the knowledge of so curious a circumstance; and that, except in the two instances mentioned by Mr. Anderson, we found them invariably denying the existence of any such custom amongst them. It must be allowed, that Mr. Anderson's knowledge of their language, which was superior to that of any other person in either ship, ought certainly to give his opinion great weight; at the same time, I must beg leave to remark, that, being present when he examined the man who had the small piece of salted flesh wrapped in cloth, it struck me very forcibly, that the signs he made use of meant nothing more, than that it was intended to be ate, and that it was very pleasant or wholesome to the stomach. In this opinion I was confirmed by a circumstance which came to our knowledge, after the death of my worthy and ingenious friend, viz. that almost every native of these islands carried about with him, either in his calabash, or wrapped up in a piece of cloth, and tied about his waist, a small piece of raw pork, highly salted, which they considered as a great delicacy, and used now and then to taste of. With respect to the confusion the young lad was in (for he was not more than sixteen or eighteen years of age,) no one could have been surprised at it who had seen the eager and earnest manner in which Mr. Anderson questioned him.

The argument drawn from the instrument made with shark's teeth, and which is nearly of the same form with those used at New Zealand for cutting up the bodies of their enemies, is much more difficult to controvert. I believe it to be an undoubted fact, that this knife, if it may be so called, is never used by them in cutting the flesh of other animals. However, as the custom of offering human sacrifices, and of burning the bodies of the slain, is still prevalent here, it is not improbable that the use of this instrument is retained in those ceremonies. Upon the whole, I am strongly inclined to think, and particularly from this last circumstance, that the horrid practice in question has but lately ceased amongst these and other islands of the South Sea. Omai, when pressed on this subject, confessed, that, in the rage and fury of revenge, they would sometimes tear the flesh of their enemies, that were slain, with their teeth; but positively denied that they ever eat it. This was certainly approaching as nearly to the fact as could be; but, on the other hand, the denial is a strong proof that the practice is actually ceased; since in New Zealand, where it still exists, the inhabitants never made the smallest scruple of confessing it.

The inhabitants of these islands differ from those of the Friendly Isles, in suffering, almost universally, their beards to grow. There were, indeed, a few, amongst whom was the old king, that cut it off entirely; and others that wore it only upon the upper lip. The same variety in the manner of wearing the hair is also observable here, as among the other islanders of the South Sea; besides which, they have a fashion, as far as we know, peculiar to themselves. They cut it close on each side the head, down to the ears, leaving a ridge, of about a small hand's breadth, running from the forehead to the neck; which, when the hair is thick and curling, has the form of the crest of the ancient helmet. Others wear large quantities of false hair, flowing down their backs in long ringlets, like the figure of the inhabitants of Horn Island, as seen in Dalrymple's Voyages; and others, again, tie it into a single round bunch on the top of the head, almost as large as the head itself; and some into five or six distinct bunches. They daub their hair with a grey clay, mixed with powdered shells, which they keep in balls, and chew into a kind of soft paste, when they have occasion to make use of it. This keeps the hair smooth; and, in time, changes it to a pale yellow colour.

* See Vol. II. pp. 224. 239—240.

Both sexes wear necklaces, made of strings of small variegated shells; and an ornament, in the form of the handle of a cup, about two inches long, and half an inch broad, made of wood, stone, or ivory, finely polished, which is hung about the neck, by fine threads, of twisted hair, doubled sometimes an hundred fold. Instead of this ornament, some of them wear, on their breast, a small human figure, made of bone, suspended in the same manner. The fan, or fly-flap, is also an ornament used by both sexes. The most ordinary kind are made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut, tied loose, in bunches, to the top of a smooth polished handle. The tail-feathers of the cock, and of the tropic-bird, are also used in the same manner; but the most valuable are those which have the handle made of the arm or leg bones of an enemy slain in battle, and which are preserved with great care, and handed down, from father to son, as trophies of inestimable value.



NECKLACE AND PENDANT.

The custom of tattowing the body, they have in common with the rest of the natives of the South Sea Islands; but it is only at New Zealand and the Sandwich Islands that they tattow the face. There is also this difference between the two last, that, in the former, it is done in elegant spiral volutes, and in the latter, in straight lines, crossing each other at right angles. The hands and arms of the women are also very neatly marked, and they have a singular custom amongst them, the meaning of which we could never learn, that of tattowing the tip of the tongues of the females. From some information we received, relative to the custom of tattowing, we were inclined to think that it is frequently intended as a sign of mourning on the death of a chief, or any other calamitous event. For we were often told, that such a particular mark was in memory of such a chief; and so of the rest. It may be here, too, observed, that the lowest class are often tattowed with a mark that distinguishes them as the property of the several chiefs to whom they belong*.

FLY-FLAP.

The dress of the men generally consists only of a piece of thick cloth, called the *maro*, about ten or twelve inches broad, which they pass between the legs, and tie round the waist. This is the common dress of all ranks of people. Their mats, some of which are beautifully manufactured, are of various sizes, but mostly about five feet long and four broad. These they throw over their shoulders, and bring forward before; but they are seldom used, except in time of war, for which purpose they seem better adapted than for ordinary use, being of a thick and cumbersome texture, and capable of breaking the blow of a stone, or any blunt

* This is a singular circumstance, worthy of notice. We know that the New Zealanders affix an accurate copy of their *Amoco*, the tattooing of the face, to formal deeds, grants of lands, as their most binding signature, or evidence of the act; and this practice of tattooing the slaves with the master's mark may lead us to the true origin of heraldic signs, which not improbably originated in the sheep-folds.—Ed.

weapon. Their feet are generally bare, except when they have occasion to travel over the burnt stones, when they secure them with a sort of sandal, made of cords, twisted from the fibres of the cocoa-nut. Such is [illegible] ary dress of these islanders; but they have another, appropriated to their chiefs, and use[illegible] ceremonious occasions, consisting of a feathered cloak and helmet, which, in point of beauty and magnificence, is perhaps nearly equal to that of any nation in the world. As this dress has been already described with great accuracy and minuteness, I have only to add, that these cloaks are made of different lengths, in proportion to the rank of the wearer, some of them reaching no lower than the middle, others trailing on the ground. The inferior chiefs have also a short cloak, resembling the former, made of the long tail-feathers of the cock, the tropic and man-of-war birds, with a broad border of the small red and yellow feathers, and a collar of the same. Others again are made of feathers entirely white, with variegated borders. The helmet has a strong lining of wicker-work, capable of breaking the blow of any warlike instrument, and seems evidently designed for that purpose. These feathered dresses seemed to be exceedingly scarce, appropriated to persons of the highest rank, and worn by the men only. During the whole time we lay in Karakakooa Bay, we never saw them used but on three occasions: in the curious ceremony of Terreeoboo's first visit to the ships; by some chiefs who were seen among the crowd on shore when Captain Cook was killed; and afterward when Eappo brought his bones to us.

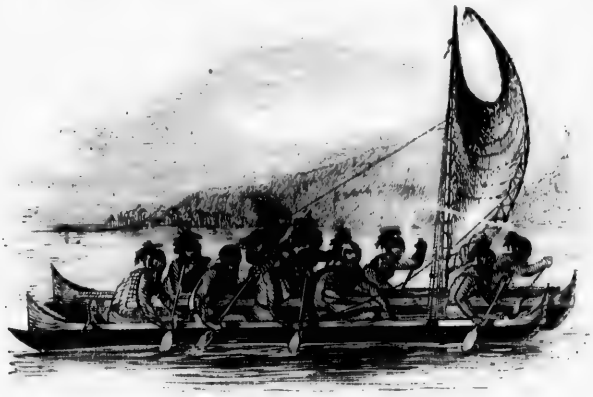
The exact resemblance between this habit, and the cloak and helmet formerly worn by the Spaniards, was too striking not to excite our curiosity to inquire whether there were any probable grounds for supposing it to have been borrowed from them. After exerting every means in our power of obtaining information on this subject, we found that they had no immediate knowledge of any other nation whatever; nor any tradition remaining among them of these islands having been ever visited before by such ships as ours. But notwithstanding the result of these inquiries, the uncommon form of this habit appears to me a sufficient proof of its European origin; especially when added to another circumstance, that it is a singular deviation from the general resemblance in dress which prevails amongst all the branches of this tribe dispersed through the South Sea. We were driven indeed, by this conclusion, to a supposition of the shipwreck of some Buccaneer or Spanish ship in the neighbourhood of these islands. But when it is recollected, that the course of the Spanish trade from Acapulco to the Manillas is but a few degrees to the southward of the Sandwich Islands, in their passage out, and to the northward, on their return, this supposition will not appear in the least improbable.

The common dress of the women bears a close resemblance to that of the men. They wrap round the waist a piece of cloth, that reaches half-way down the thighs; and sometimes, in the cool of the evening, they appeared with loose pieces of fine cloth thrown over their shoulders, like the women of Otaheite. The *pau* is another dress very frequently worn by the younger part of the sex. It is made of the thinnest and finest sort of cloth, wrapt several times round the waist, and descending to the leg; so as to have exactly the appearance of a full short petticoat. Their hair is cut short behind, and turned up before, as is the fashion among the Otaheiteans and New Zealanders; all of whom differ, in this respect, from the women of the Friendly Islands, who wear their hair long. We saw, indeed, one woman in Karakakooa Bay, whose hair was arranged in a very singular manner; it was turned up behind, and brought over the forehead, and then doubled back, so as to form a sort of shade to the face, like a small bonnet.

Their necklaces are made of shells, or of a hard, shining red berry. Besides which, they wear wreaths of dried flowers of the Indian mallow; and another beautiful ornament called *craie*, which is generally put about the neck, but is sometimes tied like a garland round the hair, and sometimes worn in both these ways at once. It is a ruff of the thickness of a finger, made, in a curious manner, of exceedingly small feathers, woven so close together as to form a surface as smooth as that of the richest velvet. The ground was generally of a red colour, with alternate circles of green, yellow, and black. Their bracelets, which were also of great variety, and very peculiar kinds, have been already described. At Atooi, some of the women wore little figures of the turtle, neatly formed of wood or ivory, tied on their fingers

in the manner we wear rings. Why this animal is thus particularly distinguished, I leave to the conjectures of the curious. There is also an ornament made of shells, fastened in rows on a ground of strong netting, so as to strike each other when in motion; which both men and women, when they dance, tie either round the arm or the ankle, or below the knee. Instead of shells, they sometimes make use of dogs' teeth, and a hard red berry resembling that of the holly.

There remains to be mentioned another ornament, if such it may be called. It is a kind of mask, made of a large gourd, with holes cut in it for the eyes and nose. The top was stuck full of small green twigs, which, at a distance, had the appearance of an elegant waving plume: and from the lower part hung narrow strips of cloth, resembling a beard. We never saw these masks worn but twice, and both times by a number of people together in



MASKS IN A BOAT.

a canoe, who came to the side of the ship laughing and drolling, with an air of masquerading. Whether they may not likewise be used as a defence for the head against stones, for which they seem best designed, or in some of their public games, or be merely intended for the purposes of mummery, we could never inform ourselves.

It has already been remarked, in a few instances, that the natives of the Sandwich Islands approach nearer to the New Zealanders, in their manners and customs, than to either of their less distant neighbours of the Society or Friendly Islands. This is in nothing more observable, than in their method of living together in small towns or villages, containing from about one hundred to two hundred houses, built pretty close together, without any order, and having a winding path leading through them. They are generally flanked toward the sea, with loose detached walls, which probably are meant both for the purposes of shelter and defence. The figure of their houses has been already described. They are of different sizes, from eighteen feet by twelve, to forty-five by twenty-four. There are some of a larger kind; being fifty feet long and thirty broad, and quite open at one end. These, they told us, were designed for travellers or strangers, who were only making a short stay.

In addition to the furniture of their houses, which has been accurately described by Captain Cook, I have only to add, that at one end are mats on which they sleep, with wooden pillows, or sleeping stools, exactly like those of the Chinese. Some of the better sort of houses have a court-yard before them, neatly railed in, with smaller houses built round it, for their servants. In this area they generally eat, and sit during the day-time. In the sides of the hills, and among the steep rocks, we also observed several holes or caves, which appeared to be inhabited; but as the entrance was defended with wicker-work, and we also found, in the only one that was visited, a stone fence running across it within,

we imagine they are principally designed for places of retreat, in case of an attack from an enemy.

The food of the lower class of people consists principally of fish and vegetables; such as yams, sweet potatoes, tarrow, plantains, sugar-canes, and bread-fruit. To these, the people of a higher rank add the flesh of hogs and dogs, dressed in the same manner as at the Society Islands. They also eat fowls of the same domestic kind with ours; but they are neither plentiful nor much esteemed by them. It is remarked by Captain Cook, that the bread-fruit and yams appeared scarce amongst them, and were reckoned great rarities. We found this not to be the case on our second visit; and it is therefore most probable, that, as these vegetables were generally planted in the interior parts of the country, the natives had not had time to bring them down to us, during the short stay we made in Wymoa Bay. Their fish they salt, and preserve in gourd-shells; not, as we at first imagined, for the purpose of providing against any temporary scarcity, but from the preference they give to salted meats. For we also found that the *Erees* used to pickle pieces of pork in the same manner, and esteemed it a great delicacy.

Their cookery is exactly of the same sort with that already described in the accounts that have been published of the other South Sea Islands: and though Captain Cook complains of the sourness of their tarrow puddings, yet, in justice to the many excellent meals they afforded us in Karakakooa Bay, I must be permitted to rescue them from this general censure, and to declare, that I never ate better, even in the Friendly Islands. It is, however, remarkable, that they had not got the art of preserving the bread-fruit, and making the sour paste of it called *Maihee*, as at the Society Islands; and it was some satisfaction to us, in return for their great kindness and hospitality, to have it in our power to teach them this useful secret. They are exceedingly cleanly at their meals; and their mode of dressing both their animal and vegetable food was universally allowed to be greatly superior to ours. The chiefs constantly begin their meal with a dose of the extract of pepper-root, brewed after the usual manner. The women eat apart from the men, and are *tabooed*, or forbidden, as has been already mentioned, the use of pork, turtle, and particular kinds of plantains. However, they would eat pork with us in private; but we could never prevail upon them to touch the two last articles.

The way of spending their time appears to be very simple, and to admit of little variety. They rise with the sun; and, after enjoying the cool of the evening, retire to rest a few hours after sunset. The making of canoes and mats forms the occupations of the *Erees;* the women are employed in manufacturing cloth; and the *Towtows* are principally engaged in the plantations and fishing. Their idle hours are filled up with various amusements. Their young men and women are fond of dancing; and, on more solemn occasions, they have boxing and wrestling matches, after the manner of the Friendly Islands; though, in all these respects, they are much inferior to the latter.

Their dances have a much nearer resemblance to those of the New Zealanders, than of the Otaheiteans or Friendly Islanders. They are prefaced with a slow, solemn song, in which all the party join, moving their legs, and gently striking their breasts, in a manner and with attitudes that are perfectly easy and graceful; and so far they are the same with the dances of the Society Islands. When this has lasted about ten minutes, both the tune and the motions gradually quicken, and end only by their inability to support their fatigue; which part of the performance is the exact counterpart of that of the New Zealanders; and (as it is among them) the person who uses the most violent action, and holds out the longest, is applauded as the best dancer. It is to be observed, that, in this dance, the women only take a part, and that the dancing of the men is nearly of the same kind with what we saw of the small parties at the Friendly Islands; and which may, perhaps, with more propriety, be called the accompaniment of songs, with corresponding and graceful motions of the whole body. Yet, as we were spectators of boxing exhibitions of the same kind with those we were entertained with at the Friendly Islands, it is probable that they had likewise their grand ceremonious dances, in which numbers of both sexes assisted. Their music is also of a ruder kind, having neither flutes nor reeds, nor instruments of any other sort, that we saw, except drums of various sizes. But their songs, which they sung

in parts*, and accompany with a gentle motion of the arms, in the same manner as the Friendly Islanders, had a very pleasing effect.

It is very remarkable, that the people of these islands are great gamblers. They have a game very much like our draughts; but, if one may judge from the number of squares, it is much more intricate. The board is about two feet long, and is divided into two hundred and thirty-eight squares, of which there are fourteen in a row, and they make use of black and white pebbles, which they move from square to square. There is another game, which consists in hiding a stone under a piece of cloth, which one of the party spreads out, and rumples in such a manner, that the place where the stone lies is difficult to be distinguished. The antagonist, with a stick, then strikes the part of the cloth where he imagines the stone to be; and as the chances are, upon the whole, considerably against his hitting it, odds of all degrees, varying with the opinion of the skill of the parties, are laid on the side of him who hides.

Besides these games, they frequently amuse themselves with racing-matches between the boys and girls: and here again they wager with great spirit. I saw a man in a most violent rage, tearing his hair, and beating his breast, after losing three hatchets at one of these races which he had just before purchased from us with half his substance.

Swimming is not only a necessary art, in which both their men and women are more expert than any people we had hitherto seen, but a favourite diversion amongst them. One particular mode, in which they sometimes amused themselves with this exercise in Karakakooa Bay, appeared to us most perilous and extraordinary, and well deserving a distinct relation. The surf, which breaks on the coast round the bay, extends to the distance of about one hundred and fifty yards from the shore, within which space the surges of the sea, accumulating from the shallowness of the water, are dashed against the beach with prodigious violence. Whenever, from stormy weather, or any extraordinary swell at

* As this circumstance, of their singing in parts, has been much doubted by persons eminently skilled in music, and would be exceedingly curious if it was clearly ascertained, it is to be lamented that it cannot be more positively authenticated. Captain Burney and Captain Phillips of the Marines, who both have a tolerable knowledge of music, have given it as their opinion that they did sing in parts; that is to say, that they sung together in different notes, which formed a pleasing harmony. These gentlemen have fully testified, that the Friendly Islanders undoubtedly studied their performances before they were exhibited in public; that they had an idea of different notes being useful in harmony; and also, that they rehearsed their compositions in private, and threw out the inferior voices before they ventured to appear before those who were supposed to be judges of their skill in music.

In their regular concerts each man had a bamboo, which was of a different length, and gave a different tone: these they beat against the ground, and each performer, assisted by the note given by this instrument, repeated the same note, accompanying it by words, by which means it was rendered sometimes short and sometimes long. In this manner they sung in chorus, and not only produced octaves to each other, according to their different species of voice, but fell on concords, such as were not disagreeable to the ear.

Now, to overturn this fact by the reasoning of persons who did not hear those performances, is rather an arduous task. And yet there is great improbability that any uncivilised people should, by accident, arrive at this degree of perfection in the art of music, which we imagine can only be attained by dint of study, and knowledge of the system and theory upon which musical composition is founded. Such miserable jargon as our country psalm-singers practise, which may be justly deemed the lowest class of counterpoint, or singing in several parts, cannot be acquired in the coarse manner in which it is performed in the churches, without considerable time and practice. It is, therefore, scarcely credible, that a people semi-barbarous should naturally arrive at any perfection in that art which it is much doubted whether the Greeks and Romans, with all their refinements in music, ever attained, and which the Chinese, who have been longer civilised than any people on the globe, have not yet found out.

If Captain Burney (who, by the testimony of his father, perhaps the greatest musical theorist of this or any other age, was able to have done it) had written down, in European notes, the concords that these people sung, and if these concords had been such as European ears could tolerate, there would have been no longer doubt of the fact; but, as it is, it would, in my opinion, be a rash judgment to venture to affirm that they did or did not understand counterpoint; and therefore I fear that this curious matter must be considered as still remaining undecided.

[That the natives did sing in parts, and that although their knowledge was far from scientific, and depended wholly on the delicacy of ear which they possess, their songs were both pleasing and eloquent, is confirmed by the testimony of subsequent voyagers and resident missionaries. That their taste or their knowledge has been much improved by the introduction of English or American psalmody, is, and we are sorry to be obliged to say so, very doubtful. The sarcasm of Dr. Douglas, in the above note, when he refers to the church music of his day, is not wholly inapplicable to present times, but a better taste fortunately begins to prevail, and England may at length free herself from the stigma which, since the days of the Commonwealth, has too deservedly attached itself to her, that of being the most unmusical nation of Europe, and, instead of marring the native melodies of the natives of the South Seas, may help them to improve the harmonies of which they possessed some knowledge, however imperfect, when first we became acquainted with them.]—Ed.

sea, the impetuosity of the surf is increased to its utmost height, they choose that time for this amusement, which is performed in the following manner:—Twenty or thirty of the natives, taking each a long narrow board, rounded at the ends, set out together from the shore. The first wave they meet they plunge under, and suffering it to roll over them, rise again beyond it, and make the best of their way, by swimming, out into the sea. The second wave is encountered in the same manner with the first; the great difficulty consisting in seizing the proper moment of diving under it, which, if missed, the person is caught by the surf, and driven back again with great violence; and all his dexterity is then required to prevent himself from being dashed against the rocks. As soon as they have gained, by these repeated efforts, the smooth water beyond the surf, they lay themselves at length on their board, and prepare for their return. As the surf consists of a number of waves, of which every third is remarked to be always much larger than the others, and to flow higher on the shore, the rest breaking in the intermediate space, their first object is to place themselves on the summit of the largest surge, by which they are driven along with amazing rapidity toward the shore. If by mistake they should place themselves on one of the smaller waves, which breaks before they reach the land, or should not be able to keep their plank in a proper direction on the top of the swell, they are left exposed to the fury of the next, and, to avoid it, are obliged again to dive and regain the place from which they set out. Those who succeed in their object of reaching the shore, have still the greatest danger to encounter. The coast being guarded by a chain of rocks, with here and there a small opening between them, they are obliged to steer their board through one of these, or, in case of failure, to quit it before they reach the rocks, and, plunging under the wave, make the best of their way back again. This is reckoned very disgraceful, and is also attended with the loss of the board, which I have often seen, with great terror, dashed to pieces at the very moment the islander quitted it. The boldness and address with which we saw them perform these difficult and dangerous manœuvres was altogether astonishing, and is scarcely to be credited*. An accident, of which I was a near spectator, shows at how early a period they are so far familiarised to the water, as both to lose all fears of it, and to set its dangers at defiance. A canoe being overset, in which was a woman with her children, one of them an infant, who, I am convinced was not more than four years old, seemed highly delighted with what had happened, swimming about at its ease, and playing a hundred tricks, till the canoe was put to rights again.

Besides the amusements I have already mentioned, the young children have one which was much played at, and showed no small degree of dexterity. They take a short stick, with a peg sharpened at both ends, running through one extremity of it, and extending about an inch on each side; and throwing up a ball made of green leaves moulded together, and secured with twine, they catch it on the point of the peg; and immediately throwing it up again from the peg, they turn the stick round, and thus keep catching it on each peg alternately, without missing it, for a considerable time. They are not less expert at another game of the same nature, tossing up in the air and catching in their turns a number of these balls; so that we frequently saw little children thus keep in motion five at a time. With this latter play the young people likewise divert themselves at the Friendly Islands.

The great resemblance which prevails in the mode of agriculture and navigation amongst all the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, leaves me very little to add on those heads. Captain Cook has already described the figure of the canoes we saw at Atooi. Those of the other islands were precisely the same; and the largest we saw was a double canoe belonging to Terreeoboo, which measured seventy feet in length, three and a half in depth, and twelve in breadth; and each was hollowed out of one tree.

The progress they have made in sculpture, their skill in painting cloth and the manufacturing of mats, have been all particularly described. The most curious specimens of the former which we saw during our second visit, are the bowls in which the chiefs drink *ava*. These are usually about eight or ten inches in diameter, perfectly round, and beautifully polished. They are supported by three, and sometimes four small human figures, in various

* An amusement somewhat similar to this at Otaheite has been described, Vol. II. p. 217.

attitudes. Some of them rest on the hands of their supporters, extended over the head; others on the head and hands, and some on the shoulders. The figures, I am told, are accurately proportioned and neatly finished, and even the anatomy of the muscles in supporting the weight well expressed.

Their cloth is made of the same materials and in the same manner as at the Friendly and Society Islands. That which is designed to be painted is of a thick and strong texture, several folds being beat and incorporated together; after which it is cut in breadths about two or three feet wide, and is painted in a variety of patterns, with a comprehensiveness and regularity of design that bespeaks infinite taste and fancy. The exactness with which the most intricate patterns are continued is the more surprising, when we consider that they have no stamps, and that the whole is done by the eye with pieces of bamboo cane dipped in paint, the hand being supported by another piece of the cane, in the manner practised by our painters. Their colours are extracted from the same berries and other vegetable substances as at Otaheite, which have been already described by former voyagers. The business of painting belongs entirely to the women, and is called *kipparee;* and it is remarkable, that they always gave the same name to our writing. The young women would often take the pen out of our hands, and show us that they knew the use of it as well as we did; at the same time telling us that our pens were not so good as theirs. They looked upon a sheet of written paper, as a piece of cloth striped after the fashion of our country; and it was not without the utmost difficulty, that we could make them understand, that our figures had a meaning in them which theirs had not.

Their mats are made of the leaves of the *pandanus*, and, as well as their cloths, are beautifully worked in a variety of patterns, and stained of different colours. Some have a ground of pale green, spotted with squares, or rhomboids of red; others are of a straw colour, spotted with green; and others are worked with beautiful stripes, either in straight or waving lines of red and brown. In this article of manufacture, whether we regard the strength, fineness, or beauty, they certainly excel the whole world.

Their fishing-hooks are made of mother-of-pearl, bone, or wood, pointed and barbed with small bones, or tortoise-shell. They are of various sizes and forms; but the most common are about two or three inches long, and made in the shape of a small fish, which serves as a bait, having a bunch of feathers tied to the head or tail. Those with which they fish for sharks are of a very large size, being generally six or eight inches long. Considering the materials of which these hooks are made, their strength and neatness are really astonishing; and in fact we found them upon trial much superior to our own. The line which they use for fishing, for making nets, and for other domestic purposes, is of different degrees of fineness, and is made of the bark of the *touta*, or cloth tree, neatly and evenly twisted, in the same manner as our common twine; and may be continued to any length. They have a finer sort, made of the bark of a small shrub called *areemah;* and the finest is made of human hair; but this last is chiefly used for things of ornament. They also make cordage of a stronger kind, for the rigging of their canoes, from the fibrous coatings of the cocoa-nuts. Some of this we purchased for our own use, and found it well adapted to the smaller kinds of running-rigging. They likewise make another sort of cordage, which is flat, and exceedingly strong, and used principally in lashing the roofing of their houses, or whatever they wish to fasten tight together. This last is not twisted like the former sorts, but is made of the fibrous strings of the cocoa-nut's coat, plaited with the fingers, in the manner our sailors make their points for the reefing of sails.

The gourds, which grow to so enormous a size, that some of them are capable of containing from ten to twelve gallons, are applied to all manner of domestic purposes; and in order to fit them the better to their respective uses, they have the ingenuity to give them different forms, by tying bandages round them during their growth. Thus, some of them are of a long cylindrical form, as best adapted to contain their fishing tackle; others are of a dish form, and these serve to hold their salt and salted provisions, their puddings, vegetables, &c.; which two sorts have neat close covers, made likewise of the gourd; others again are exactly the shape of a bottle with a long neck, and in these they keep their water. They have likewise a method of scoring them with a heated instrument, so as to give them the appearance of being painted, in a variety of neat and elegant designs.

Amongst their arts, we must not forget that of making salt, with which we were amply supplied, during our stay at these islands, and which was perfectly good of its kind. Their salt-pans are made of earth, lined with clay; being generally six or eight feet square, and about eight inches deep. They are raised upon a bank of stones near the high-water mark, from whence the salt water is conducted to the foot of them, in small trenches, out of which they are filled, and the sun quickly performs the necessary process of evaporation. The salt we procured at Atooi and Oneeheow, on our first visit, was of a brown and dirty sort; but that which we afterward got in Karakakooa Bay was white, and of a most excellent quality, and in great abundance. Besides the quantity we used in salting pork, we filled all our empty casks, amounting to sixteen puncheons, in the Resolution only.

Their instruments of war are spears; daggers, called pahooas; clubs, and slings. The spears are of two sorts, and made of a hard solid wood, which has much the appearance of mahogany. One sort is from six to eight feet in length, finely polished, and gradually increasing in thickness from the extremity till within about half a foot of the point, which tapers suddenly, and is furnished with four or six rows of barbs. It is not improbable, that these might be used in the way of darts. The other sort, with which we saw the warriors at Owhyhee and Atooi mostly armed, are twelve or fifteen feet long, and instead of being barbed, terminate toward the point, like their daggers. The dagger, or pahooa, is made of heavy black wood, resembling ebony. Its length is from one to two feet, with a string passing through the handle, for the purpose of suspending it to the arm. The clubs are made indifferently of several sorts of wood. They are of rude workmanship, and of a variety of shapes and sizes. The slings have nothing singular about them; and in no respect differ from our common slings, except that the stone is lodged on a piece of matting instead of leather.

CHAPTER VIII.—GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS CONTINUED.—GOVERNMENT.—PEOPLE DIVIDED INTO THREE CLASSES.—POWER OF EREE-TABOO.—GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF OWHYHEE AND MOWEE.—POWER OF THE CHIEFS.—STATE OF THE INFERIOR CLASS. PUNISHMENT OF CRIMES.—RELIGION.—SOCIETY OF PRIESTS.—THE OPONO.—THEIR IDOLS. SONGS CHANTED BY THE CHIEFS, BEFORE THEY DRINK AVA.—HUMAN SACRIFICES.—CUSTOM OF KNOCKING OUT THE FORE-TEETH.—NOTIONS WITH REGARD TO A FUTURE STATE.—MARRIAGES.—REMARKABLE INSTANCE OF JEALOUSY.—FUNERAL RITES.

The people of these islands are manifestly divided into three classes. The first are the *Erees*, or chiefs, of each district; one of whom is superior to the rest, and is called at Owhyhee *Eree-taboo*, and *Eree Moee*. By the first of these words they express his absolute authority; and by the latter, that all are obliged to prostrate themselves (or put themselves to sleep, as the word signifies) in his presence. The second class are those who appear to enjoy a right of property, without authority. The third are the *towtows*, or servants, who have neither rank nor property. It is not possible to give anything like a systematical account of the subordination of these classes to each other, without departing from that strict veracity, which, in works of this nature, is more satisfactory than conjectures, however ingenious. I will therefore content myself with relating such facts as we were witnesses to ourselves, and such accounts as we thought could be depended upon; and shall leave the reader to form, from them, his own ideas of the nature of their government.

The great power and high rank of Terreeoboo, the *Eree-taboo* of Owhyhee, was very evident, from the manner in which he was received at Karakakooa on his first arrival. All the natives were seen prostrated at the entrance of their houses, and the canoes, for two days before, were *tabooed*, or forbidden to go out till he took off the restraint. He was, at this time, just returned from Mowee, for the possession of which he was contending in favour of his son Teowarro, who had married the daughter and only child of the late king of that island, against Taheeterree, his surviving brother. He was attended in this expedition by many of his warriors; but whether their service was voluntary, or the condition on which they hold their rank and property, we could not learn. That he collects tribute from the

subordinate chiefs, we had a very striking proof in the instance of Kaoo, which has been already related in our transactions of the 2d and 3d of February.

I have before mentioned, that the two most powerful chiefs of these islands are Terreeoboo of Owhyhee, and Perreeorannee of Woahoo; the rest of the smaller isles being subject to one or other of these; Mowee, and its dependencies, being, at this time, claimed, as we have just observed, by Terreeoboo for Teewarro his son and intended successor; Atooi and Oneeheow being governed by the grandsons of Perreeorannee.

The following genealogy of the Owhyhee and Mowee kings, which I collected from the priests, during our residence at the Morai in Karakakooa Bay, contains all the information I could procure relative to the political history of these islands. This account reaches to four chiefs, predecessors of the present; all of whom they represent to have lived to an old age. Their names and successions are as follow:

First, Poorahoo Awhykaia was king of Owhyhee, and had an only son, called Neerooagooa. At this time Mowee was governed by Mokoakea; who also an only son, named Papikaneeou. Secondly, Neerooagooa had three sons, the eldest named Kahavee; and Papikaneeou, of the Mowee race, had an only son, named Kaowreeka. Thirdly, Kahavee had an only son, Kayenewee a mummow; and Kaowreeka, the Mowee king, had two sons, Maiha-maiha, and Taheeterree; the latter of whom is now, by one party, acknowledged chief of Mowee. Fourthly, Kayenewee a mummow had two sons, Terreeoboo and Kaihooa; and Maiha-maiha, king of Mowee, had no son, but left a daughter, called Roaho. Fifthly, Terreeoboo, the present king of Owhyhee, had a son named Teewarro, by Rora-rora, the widow of Maiha-maiha, late king of Mowee; and this son has married Roaho, his half sister, in whose right he claims Mowee and its appendages.

Taheeterree, the brother of the late king, supported by a considerable party, who were not willing that the possessions should go into another family, took up arms, and opposed the rights of his niece. When we were first off Mowee, Terreeoboo was there with his warriors to support the claims of his wife, his son, and daughter-in-law, and had fought a battle with the opposite party, in which Taheeterree was worsted. We afterward understood, that matters had been compromised, and that Taheeterree is to have the possession of the three neighbouring islands during his life; that Teewarro is acknowledged the chief of Mowee, and will also succeed to the kingdom of Owhyhee on the death of Terreeoboo; and also to the sovereignty of the three islands, contiguous to Mowee, on the death of Taheeterree. Teewarro has been lately married to his half sister; and should he die without issue, the government of these islands descends to Maiha-maiha, whom we have often had occasion to mention, he being the son of Kaihooa, the deceased brother of Terreeoboo. Should he also die without issue, they could not tell who would succeed; for the two youngest sons of Terreeoboo, one of whom he appears to be exceedingly fond of, being born of a woman of no rank, would, from this circumstance, be debarred all right of succession. We had not an opportunity of seeing queen Rora-rora, whom Terreeoboo had left behind at Mowee; but we have already had occasion to take notice, that he was accompanied by Kanee Kaberaia, the mother of the two youths, to whom he was very much attached. From this account of the genealogy of the Owhyhee and Mowee monarchs, it is pretty clear that the government is hereditary: which also makes it very probable, that the inferior titles, and property itself, descend in the same course. With regard to Perreeorannee, we could only learn, that he is an *Eree-taboo*; that he was invading the possession of Taheeterree, but on what pretence we were not informed; and that his grandsons governed the islands to leeward.

The power of the *Erees* over the inferior classes of people appears to be very absolute. Many instances of this occurred daily during our stay amongst them, and have been already related. The people, on the other hand, pay them the most implicit obedience; and this state of servility has manifestly had a great effect in debasing both their minds and bodies. It is, however, remarkable, that the chiefs were never guilty, as far at least as came within my knowledge, of any acts of cruelty or injustice, or even of insolent behaviour toward them; though, at the same time, they exercised their power over one another in the most haughty and oppressive manner. Of this I shall give two instances. A chief of the lower order had

behaved with great civility to the master of the ship, when he went to examine Karakakooa bay, the day before the ship first arrived there; and, in return, I afterward carried him on board, and introduced him to Captain Cook, who invited him to dine with us. While we were at table, Pareea entered, whose face but too plainly manifested his indignation, at seeing our guest in so honourable a situation. He immediately seized him by the hair of the head, and was proceeding to drag him out of the cabin, when the captain interfered; and, after a great deal of altercation, all the indulgence we could obtain, without coming to a quarrel with Pareea, was, that our guest should be suffered to remain, being seated upon the floor, whilst Pareea filled his place at the table. At another time, when Terreeoboo first came on board the Resolution, Maiha-maiha, who attended him, finding Pareea on deck, turned him out of the ship in the most ignominious manner; and yet Pareea, we certainly knew, to be a man of the first consequence.

How far the property of the lower class is secured against the rapacity and despotism of the great chiefs, I cannot say; but it should seem, that it is sufficiently protected against private theft, or mutual depredation. For not only their plantations, which are spread over the whole country, but also their houses, their hogs, and their cloth, were left unguarded, without the smallest apprehensions. I have already remarked, that they not only separate their possessions by walls in the plain country, but that, in the woods likewise, wherever the horse-plantains grow, they make use of small white flags, in the same manner, and for the same purpose of discriminating property, as they do bunches of leaves at Otaheite. All which circumstances, if they do not amount to proofs, are strong indications that the power of the chiefs, where property is concerned, is not arbitrary; but, at least, so far circumscribed and ascertained, as to make it worth the while for the inferior orders to cultivate the soil, and to occupy their possessions distinct from each other. With respect to the administration of justice, all the information we could collect was very imperfect and confined. Whenever any of the lowest class of people had a quarrel amongst themselves, the matter in dispute was referred to the decision of some chief, probably the chief of the district, or the person to whom they appertained. If an inferior chief had given cause of offence to one of a higher rank, the feelings of the latter at the moment seemed the only measure of his punishment. If he had the good fortune to escape the first transports of his superior's rage, he generally found means, through the mediation of some third person, to compound for his crime by a part or the whole of his property and effects. These were the only facts that came to our knowledge on this head.

The religion of these people resembles, in most of its principal features, that of the Society and Friendly Islands. Their Morais, their Whattas, their idols, their sacrifices, and their sacred songs, all of which they have in common with each other, are convincing proofs, that their religious notions are derived from the same source. In the length and number of their ceremonies, this branch indeed far exceeds the rest; and though in all these countries, there is a certain class of men, to whose care the performance of their religious rites is committed; yet we had never met with a regular society of priests, till we discovered the cloisters of Kakooa in Karakakooa Bay. The head of this order was called Orono *; a title which we imagined to imply something highly sacred, and which, in the person of Omeeah, was honoured almost to adoration. It is probable, that the privilege of entering into this order (at least as to the principal offices in it,) is limited to certain families. Omeeah, the Orono, was the son of Kaoo, and the uncle of Kaireekeea; which last presided, during the absence of his grandfather, in all religious ceremonies at the Morai. It was also remarked, that the child of Omeeah, an only son, about five years old, was never suffered to appear without a number of attendants, and such other marks of care and solicitude, as we saw no other like instance of. This seemed to indicate, that his life was an object of the greatest moment, and that he was destined to succeed to the high rank of his father. It has been mentioned, that the title of Orono, with all its honours, was given to Captain Cook; and it is also certain, that they regarded us, generally, as a race of people superior to themselves; and used often

* The meaning of this word has been before explained, in note, page 372. These priests were attached to the service of Orono, and hence the title of their chief.—Ed.

to say, that great Eatooa dwelled in our country. The little image, which we have before described, as the favourite idol on the Morai in Karakakooa Bay, they call *Koonooraekaiee*, and said it was Terreeoboo's god; and that he also resided amongst us.

There are found an infinite variety of these images, both on the Morais, and within and without their houses, to which they gave different names; but it soon became obvious to us in how little estimation they were held, from their frequent expressions of contempt of them, and from their even offering them to sale for trifles. At the same time, there seldom failed to be some one particular figure in favour, to which, whilst this performance lasted, all their adoration was addressed. This consisted in arraying it in red cloth; beating their drums, and singing hymns before it; laying bunches of red feathers, and different sorts of vegetables, at its feet; and exposing a pig, or a dog, to rot on the whatta that stood near it. In a bay to the southward of Karakakooa, a party of our gentlemen were conducted to a large house, in which they found the black figure of a man, resting on his fingers and toes, with his head inclined backward; the limbs well formed and exactly proportioned, and the whole beautifully polished. This figure the natives called *Mave;* and round it were placed thirteen others of rude and distorted shapes, which they said were the Eatooas of several deceased chiefs, whose names they recounted. The place was full of whattas, on which lay the remains of their offerings. They likewise give a place in their houses to many ludicrous and some obscene idols, like the Priapus of the ancients.

It hath been remarked, by former voyagers, that both among the Society and Friendly Islanders, an adoration is paid to particular birds; and I am led to believe, that the same custom prevails here; and that, probably, the raven is the object of it, from seeing two of these birds tame at the village of Kakooa, which they told me were Eatooas; and, refusing everything I offered for them, cautioned me, at the same time, not to hurt or offend them. Amongst their religious ceremonies may be reckoned the prayers and offerings made by the priests before their meals. Whilst the ava is chewing, of which they always drink before they begin their repast, the person of the highest rank takes the lead, in a sort of hymn, in which he is presently joined by one, two, or more of the company; the rest moving their bodies, and striking their hands gently together, in concert with the singers. When the ava is ready, cups of it are handed about, to those who do not join in the song, which they keep in their hands till it is ended; when, uniting in one loud response, they drink off their cup. The performers of the hymn are then served with ava, who drink it after a repetition of the same ceremony; and, if there be present one of a very superior rank, a cup is, last of all presented to him, which, after chanting some time alone, and being answered by the rest, and pouring a little out on the ground, he drinks off. A piece of the flesh that is dressed is next cut off, without any selection of the part of the animal; which, together with some of the vegetables, being deposited at the foot of the image of the Eatooa, and a hymn chanted, their meal commences. A ceremony of much the same kind is also performed by the chiefs, whenever they drink ava, between their meals.

Human sacrifices are more frequent here, according to the account of the natives themselves, than in any other islands we visited. These horrid rites are not only had recourse to upon the commencement of war and preceding great battles, and other signal enterprises; but the death of any considerable chief calls for a sacrifice of one or more *Towtows*, according to his rank; and we were told, that ten men were destined to suffer on the death of Terreeoboo. What may (if anything possibly can) lessen, in some small degree, the horror of this practice, is, that the unhappy victims have not the most distant intimation of their fate. Those who are fixed upon to fall, are set upon with clubs wherever they happen to be; and, after being despatched, are brought dead to the place where the remainder of the rites are completed. The reader will here call to his remembrance the skulls of the captives that had been sacrificed at the death of some great chief, and which were fixed on the rails round the top of the Morai at Kakooa. We got a farther piece of intelligence upon this subject at the village of Kowrowa; where, on our inquiring into the use of a small piece of ground, inclosed with a stone fence, we were told that it was an *Here-eere*, or burying-ground of a chief; and there, added our informer, pointing to one of the corners, lie the *tangata* and *waheene taboo*, or the man and woman who were sacrificed at his funeral.

To this class of their customs may also be referred that of knocking out their fore-teeth. Scarce any of the lower people, and very few of the chiefs, were seen, who had not lost one or more of them; and we always understood, that this voluntary punishment, like the cutting off the joints of the finger at the Friendly Islands, was not inflicted on themselves from the violence of grief on the death of their friends, but was designed as a propitiatory sacrifice to the *Eatooa*, to avert any danger or mischief to which they might be exposed.

We were able to learn but little of their notions with regard to a future state. Whenever we asked them, whither the dead were gone? we were always answered, that the breath, which they appeared to consider as the soul, or immortal part, was gone to the *Eatooa;* and, on pushing our inquiries farther, they seemed to describe some particular place, where they imagined the abode of the deceased to be; but we could not perceive, that they thought, in this state, either rewards or punishments awaited them.

Having promised the reader, in the first chapter, an explanation of what was meant by the word *taboo*, I shall, in this place, lay before him the particular instances that fell under our observation, of its application and effects. On our inquiring into the reasons of the interdiction of all intercourse between us and the natives, the day preceding the arrival of Terreeoboo, we were told, that the bay was *tabooed*. The same restriction took place at our request, the day we interred the bones of Captain Cook. In these two instances the natives paid the most implicit and scrupulous obedience; but whether on any religious principle, or merely in deference to the civil authority of their chiefs, I cannot determine. When the ground near our observatories, and the place where our masts lay, were *tabooed*, by sticking small wands round them, this operated in a manner not less efficacious. But though this mode of consecration was performed by the priests only, yet still, as the men ventured to come within the space, when invited by us, it should seem, that they were under no religious apprehensions; and that their obedience was limited to our refusal only. The women could, by no means, be induced to come near us; but this was probably on account of the Morai adjoining; which they are prohibited, at all times, and in all the islands of those seas, from approaching. Mention hath been already made, that women are always *tabooed*, or forbidden to eat certain kind of meats. We also frequently saw several at their meals, who had the meat put into their mouths by others; and, on our asking the reason of this singularity, were told that they were *tabooed*, or forbidden to feed themselves. This prohibition, we understood, was always laid on them, after they had assisted at any funeral, or touched a dead body, and also on other occasions. It is necessary to observe, that, on these occasions, they apply the word *taboo* indifferently both to persons and things. Thus they say, the natives were *tabooed*, or the bay was *tabooed*, and so of the rest. This word is also used to express anything sacred, or eminent, or devoted Thus the king of Owhyhee was called *Eree-taboo;* a human victim *tangata-taboo;* and, in the same manner, among the Friendly Islanders, Tonga, the island where the king resides, is named *Tonga-taboo*.

Concerning their marriages, I can afford the reader little farther satisfaction than informing him that such a relation or compact exists amongst them. I have already had occasion to mention, that at the time Terreeoboo had left his queen Rora-rora at Mowee, he was attended by another woman, by whom he had children, and to whom he was very much attached; but how far polygamy, properly speaking, is allowed, or how far it is mixed with concubinage, either with respect to the king, the chiefs, or among the inferior orders, too few facts came to our knowledge to justify any conclusions. It hath also been observed, that, except Kainee Kabareea, and the wife of the Orono, with three women whom I shall have occasion hereafter to mention, we never saw any female of high rank. From what I had an opportunity of observing of the domestic concerns of the lowest class, the house seemed to be under the direction of one man and woman, and the children in the like state of subordination as in civilised countries.

It will not be improper in this place to take notice, that we were eye-witnesses of a fact, which, as it was the only instance we saw of anything like jealousy among them, shows at the same time that not only fidelity but a degree of reserve is required from the married women of consequence. At one of the entertainments of boxing, Omeeah was observed to

rise from his place two or three times, and to go up to his wife with strong marks of displeasure, ordering her, as it appeared to us from his manner, to withdraw. Whether it was, that being very handsome he thought she drew too much of our attention; or without being able to determine what other reason he might have for his conduct, it is but justice to say that there existed no real cause of jealousy. However, she kept her place; and when the entertainment was over joined our party, and soliciting some trifling presents, was given to understand that we had none about us, but that if she would accompany us toward our tent she should return with such as she liked best. She was accordingly walking along with us, which Omeeah observing, followed in a violent rage, and seizing her by the hair began to inflict with his fists a severe corporal punishment. This sight, especially as we had innocently been the cause of it, gave us much concern, and yet we were told that it would be highly improper to interfere between man and wife of such high rank. We were, however, not left without the consolation of seeing the natives at last interpose; and had the farther satisfaction of meeting them together the next day, in perfect good humour with each other; and what is still more singular, the lady would not suffer us to remonstrate with her husband on his treatment of her, which we were much inclined to do, and plainly told us that he had done no more than he ought.

Whilst I was ashore at the observatory at Karakakooa Bay, I had twice an opportunity of seeing a considerable part of their funeral rites. Intelligence was brought me of the death of an old chief in a house near our observatories, soon after the event happened. On going to the place, I found a number of people assembled and seated round a square area, fronting the house in which the deceased lay, whilst a man in a red-feathered cap advanced from an interior part of the house to the door, and putting out his head, at almost every moment uttered a most lamentable howl, accompanied with the most singular grimaces and violent distortions of his face that can be conceived. After this had passed a short time, a large mat was spread upon the area, and two men and thirteen women came out of the house and seated themselves down upon it, in three equal rows, the two men and three of the women being in front. The necks and hands of the women were decorated with feathered ruffs, and broad green leaves, curiously scolloped, were spread over their shoulders. At one corner of this area, near a small hut, were half a dozen boys waving small white banners, and the tufted wands or *taboo* sticks which have been often mentioned in the former chapters, who would not permit us to approach them. This led me to imagine that the dead body might be deposited in this little hut; but I afterward understood that it was in the house where the man in the red cap opened the rites, by playing his tricks at the door. The company just mentioned being seated on the mat, began to sing a melancholy tune, accompanied with a slow and gentle motion of the body and arms. When this had continued some time, they raised themselves on their knees, and in a posture between kneeling and sitting, began by degrees to move their arms and their bodies with great rapidity, the tune always keeping pace with their motions. As these last exertions were too violent to continue long, they resumed at intervals their slower movements; and after this performance had lasted an hour, more mats were brought and spread upon the area, and four or five elderly women, amongst whom I was told was the dead chief's wife, advanced slowly out of the house, and seating themselves in the front of the first company, began to cry and wail most bitterly, the women in the three rows behind joining them, whilst the two men inclined their heads over them in a very melancholy and pensive attitude. At this period of the rites, I was obliged to leave them to attend at the observatory, but returning within half an hour found them in the same situation. I continued with them till late in the evening, and left them proceeding with little variation, as just described, resolving, however, to attend early in the morning to see the remainder of the ceremony. On my arrival at the house, as soon as it was day, I found to my mortification the crowd dispersed and everything quiet, and was given to understand that the corpse was removed, nor could I learn in what manner it was disposed of. I was interrupted in making farther inquiries for this purpose by the approach of three women of rank, who, whilst their attendants stood near them with their fly-flaps, sat down by us, and entering into conversation, soon made me comprehend that our presence was a hindrance to the performance of some necessary rites. I had hardly

got out of sight before I heard their cries and lamentations; and meeting them a few hours afterward, I found they had painted the lower part of their faces perfect black.

The other opportunity I had of observing these ceremonies was in the case of an ordinary person, when, on hearing some mournful female cries issue from a miserable-looking hut, I ventured into it, and found an old woman with her daughter weeping over the body of an elderly man who had but just expired, being still warm. The first step they took was to cover the body with cloth, after which, lying down by it, they drew the cloth over themselves, and then began a mournful kind of song, frequently repeating, *Aweh medoaah! Aweh tamee!* Oh my father! Oh my husband! A younger daughter was also at the same time lying prostrate in a corner of the house, covered over with black cloth, repeating the same words. On leaving this melancholy scene, I found at the door a number of their neighbours collected together, and listening to their cries with profound silence. I was resolved not to miss this opportunity of seeing in what manner they dispose of the body; and therefore, after satisfying myself before I went to bed that it was not then removed, I gave orders that the sentries should walk backward and forward before the house, and in case they suspected any measures were taking for the removal of the body, to give me immediate notice. However, the sentries had not kept a good look-out, for in the morning I found the body was gone. On inquiring what they had done with it? they pointed toward the sea, indicating most probably thereby that it had been committed to the deep, or perhaps that it had been carried beyond the bay, to some burying-ground in another part of the country. The chiefs are interred in the Morais, or *Heree-erees*, with the men sacrificed on the occasion by the side of them; and we observed that the Morai where the chief had been buried, who, as I have already mentioned, was killed in the cave after so stout a resistance, was hung round with red cloth.

BOOK VI.

TRANSACTIONS DURING THE SECOND EXPEDITION TO THE NORTH, BY THE WAY OF KAMTSCHATKA; AND ON THE RETURN HOME, BY THE WAY OF CANTON AND THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

CHAPTER I.—DEPARTURE FROM ONEEHEOW.—FRUITLESS ATTEMPT TO DISCOVER MODOOPAPAPPA.—COURSE STEERED FOR AWATSKA BAY.—OCCURRENCES DURING THAT PASSAGE.—SUDDEN CHANGE FROM HEAT TO COLD.—DISTRESS OCCASIONED BY THE LEAKING OF THE RESOLUTION.—VIEW OF THE COAST OF KAMTSCHATKA.—EXTREME RIGOUR OF THE CLIMATE.—LOSE SIGHT OF THE DISCOVERY.—THE RESOLUTION ENTERS THE BAY OF AWATSK.—PROSPECT OF THE TOWN OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—PARTY SENT ASHORE.—THEIR RECEPTION BY THE COMMANDING OFFICER OF THE PORT.—MESSAGE DESPATCHED TO THE COMMANDER AT BOLCHERETSK.—ARRIVAL OF THE DISCOVERY.—RETURN OF THE MESSENGERS FROM THE COMMANDER.—EXTRAORDINARY MODE OF TRAVELLING.—VISIT FROM A MERCHANT, AND A GERMAN SERVANT BELONGING TO THE COMMANDER.

On the 10th of March, at seven in the morning, we weighed anchor, and passing to the north of Tahoora, stood on to the south-west, in hopes of falling in with the island of Modoopapappa, which, we were told by the natives, lay in that direction, about five hours' sail from Tahoora. At four in the afternoon, we were overtaken by a stout canoe, with ten men, who were going from Oneeheow to Tahoora, to kill tropic and man-of-war birds, with which that place was said to abound. It has been mentioned before, that the feathers of these birds are in great request, being much used in making their cloaks, and other ornamental parts of their dress. At eight, having seen nothing of the island, we hauled the wind to the northward, till midnight, and then tacked, and stood on a wind to the south-east, till daylight next morning,

at which time Tahoora bore east north-east, five or six leagues distant. We afterwards steered west south-west, and made the Discovery's signal to spread four miles upon our starboard beam. At noon, our latitude was 21° 27′, and our longitude 198° 42′; and having stood on till five in the same direction, we made the Discovery's signal to come under our stern, and gave over all hopes of seeing Modoopapappa. We conceived that it might probably lie in a more southerly direction from Tahoora than that in which we had steered; though, after all, it is possible, that we might have passed it in the night, as the islanders described it to be very small, and almost even with the surface of the sea.

The next day we steered west; it being Captain Clerke's intention to keep as near as possible in the same parallel of latitude, till we should make the longitude of Awatska Bay, and afterwards to steer due north for the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul in that bay; which was also appointed for our rendezvous, in case of separation. This track was chosen on account of its being, as far as we knew, unexplored; and we were not without hopes of falling in with some new islands on our passage. We had scarcely seen a bird since our losing sight of Tahoora, till the 18th in the afternoon, when being in the latitude of 21° 12′, and the longitude of 194° 45′, the appearance of a great many boobies, and some man-of-war birds, made us keep a sharp look-out for land. Toward evening the wind lessened, and the north-east swell, which, on the 16th and 17th, had been so heavy, as to make the ships labour exceedingly, was much abated. The next day, we saw no appearance of land; and at noon, we steered a point more to the southward, viz. west by south, in the hopes of finding the trade-winds (which blew almost invariably from the east by north) fresher as we advanced within the tropic. It is somewhat singular, that though we saw no birds in the forenoon, yet toward evening we had again a number of boobies and man-of-war birds about us. This seemed to indicate, that we had passed the land from whence the former flights had come, and that we were approaching some other low island.

The wind continued very moderate, with fine weather, till the 23d, when it freshened from the north-east by east, and increased to a strong gale, which split some of our old sails, and made the running rigging very frequently give way. This gale lasted twelve hours; it then became more moderate, and continued so, till the 25th at noon, when we entirely lost it, and had only a very light air. On the 26th in the morning, we thought we saw land to the west south-west, but, after running about sixteen leagues in that direction we found our mistake; and night coming on, we again steered west. Our latitude, at this time, was 19° 45′, which was the greatest southing we made in this run; our longitude was 183°, and variation 12° 45′ E. We continued in this course, with little alteration in the wind, till the 29th, when it shifted to the south-east and south south-east, and, for a few hours in the night, it was in the west; the weather being dark and cloudy, with much rain. We had met, for some days past, several turtles, one of which was the smallest I ever saw, not exceeding three inches in length. We were also accompanied by man-of-war birds, and boobies of an unusual kind, being quite white, (except the tip of the wing, which was black), and easily mistaken, at first sight, for gannets.

The light winds which we had met with for some time past, with the present unsettled state of the weather, and the little appearance of any change for the better, induced Captain Clerke to alter his plan of keeping within the tropical latitudes; and accordingly, at six this evening, we began to steer north-west by north, at which time our latitude was 20° 23′, and our longitude 180° 40′. During the continuance of the light winds, which prevailed almost constantly ever since our departure from the Sandwich Islands, the weather was very close, and the air hot and sultry; the thermometer being generally at 80°, and sometimes at 83°. All this time, we had a considerable swell from the north-east; and in no period of the voyage did the ships roll and strain so violently. In the morning of the 1st of April, the wind changed from the south-east to the north-east by east, and blew a fresh breeze, till the morning of the 4th, when it altered two points more to the east, and by noon increased to a strong gale, which lasted till the afternoon of the 5th, attended with hazy weather. It then again altered its direction to the south-east, became more moderate, and was accompanied by heavy showers of rain. During all this time we kept steering to the north-west against a slow, but regular current from that quarter, which caused a constant variation

from our reckoning by the log, of fifteen miles a day. On the 4th, being then in the latitude 29° 17′, and longitude 173° 30′, we passed prodigious quantities of what sailors call Portuguese men-of-war (*holothuria physalis*), and were also accompanied by a great number of sea-birds, amongst which we observed, for the first time, the albatross and sheerwater.

On the 6th, at noon, we lost the trade-wind, and were suddenly taken aback, with the wind from the north north-west. At this time, our latitude was 29° 50′, and our longitude 170° 1′. As the old running-ropes were constantly breaking in the late gales, we reeved what new ones we had left, and made such other preparations, as were necessary for the very different climate which we were now shortly to encounter. The fine weather we met with between the tropics, had not been idly spent. The carpenters found sufficient employment in repairing the boats. The best bower-cable had been so much damaged by the foul ground in Karakakooa Bay, and whilst we were at anchor off Onecheow, that we were obliged to cut forty fathoms from it; in converting of which, with other old cordage, into spun-yarn, and applying it to different uses, a considerable part of the people were kept constantly employed by the boatswain. The airing of sails and other stores, which from the wakiness of the decks and sides of the ships, were perpetually subject to be wet, had now become a frequent as well as a laborious and troublesome part of our duty.

Besides these cares, which had regard only to the ships themselves, there were others, which had for their object the preservation of the health of the crews, that furnished a constant occupation to a great number of our hands. The standing orders established by Captain Cook, of airing the bedding, placing fires between decks, washing them with vinegar, and smoking them with gunpowder, were observed without any intermission. For some time past, even the operation of mending the sailors' old jackets had risen into a duty both of difficulty and importance. It may be necessary to inform those who are unacquainted with the disposition and habits of seamen, that they are so accustomed in ships of war to be directed in the care of themselves by their officers, that they lose the very idea of foresight, and contract the thoughtlessness of infants. I am sure, that if our people had been left to their own discretion alone, we should have had the whole crew naked, before the voyage had been half finished. It was natural to expect that their experience, during our voyage to the north last year, would have made them sensible of the necessity of paying some attention to these matters; but if such reflections ever occurred to them, their impression was so transitory, that upon our return to the tropical climates, their fur jackets, and the rest of their cold country clothes, were kicked about the decks as things of no value; though it was generally known, in both ships, that we were to make another voyage toward the pole. They were, of course, picked up by the officers; and, being put into casks, restored about this time to their owners.

In the afternoon, we observed some of the sheathing floating by the ship; and, on examination, found that twelve or fourteen feet had been washed off from under the larboard bow, where we supposed the leak to have been, which, ever since our leaving Sandwich Islands, had kept the people almost constantly at the pumps, making twelve inches water an hour. This day we saw a number of small crabs, of a pale blue colour; and had again in company a few albatrosses and sheerwaters. The thermometer, in the night-time, sank seven degrees; and although it still remained [illegible] as 59°, yet we suffered much from the cold; our feelings being, as yet, by no means reconciled to that degree of temperature. The wind continued blowing fresh from the north, till the eighth, in the morning, when it became more moderate, with fair weather, and gradually changed its direction to the east, and afterward to the south.

On the ninth, at noon, our latitude was 32° 16′, our longitude 166° 40′, and the variation 8° 30′ E. And on the tenth, having crossed the track of the Spanish galleons from the Manillas to Acapulco, we expected to have fallen in with the island of Rica de Plata, which, according to De Lisle's chart, in which the route of those ships is laid down, ought to have been in sight; its latitude, as there given, being 33° 30′ N., and its longitude 166° E. Notwithstanding we were so far advanced to the northward, we saw this day a tropic bird, and also several other kinds of sea-birds; such as puffins, sea-parrots, sheerwaters, and albatrosses. On the eleventh, at noon, we were in latitude 35° 30′, longitude 165° 45′,

and during the course of the day had sea-birds, as before, and passed several bunches of sea-weed. About the same time, the Discovery passed a log of wood; but no other signs of land were seen.

The next day the wind came gradually round to the east, and increased to so strong a gale as obliged us to strike our top-gallant yards, and brought us under the lower sails, and the main top-sail close reefed. Unfortunately we were upon that tack which was the most disadvantageous for our leak. But, as we had always been able to keep it under with the hand-pumps, it gave us no great uneasiness till the 13th, about six in the afternoon, when we were greatly alarmed by a sudden inundation, that deluged the whole space between decks. The water, which had lodged in the coal-hole, not finding a sufficient vent into the well, had forced up the platforms over it, and in a moment set everything afloat. Our situation was indeed exceedingly distressing; nor did we immediately see any means of relieving ourselves. A pump through the upper decks into the coal-hole could answer no end, as it would very soon have been choked up by the small coals; and, to bale the water out with buckets was become impracticable, from the number of bulky materials that were washed out of the gunner's store-room into it, and which, by the ship's motion, were tossed violently from side to side. No other method was therefore left, but to cut a hole through the bulk-head (or partition) that separated the coal-hole from the fore-hold, and by that means to make a passage for the body of water into the well. However, before that could be done, it was necessary to get the casks of dry provisions out of the fore-hold, which kept us employed the greatest part of the night; so that the carpenters could not get at the partition till the next morning. As soon as a passage was made, the greatest part of the water emptied itself into the well, and enabled us to get out the rest with buckets. But the leak was now so much increased, that we were obliged to keep one half of the people constantly pumping and baleing till the noon of the 15th. Our men bore with great cheerfulness this excessive fatigue, which was much increased by their having no dry place to sleep in; and on this account we began to serve their full allowance of grog.

The weather now becoming more moderate, and the swell less heavy, we were enabled to clear away the rest of the casks from the fore-hold, and to open a sufficient passage for the water to the pumps. This day we saw a greenish piece of drift-wood, and fancying the water coloured, we sounded, but got no bottom with a hundred and sixty fathoms of line. Our latitude, at noon this day, was 41° 52′, longitude 161° 15′; variation 6° 30′ east; and the wind soon after veering to the northward, we altered our course three points to the west. On the 16th, at noon, we were in the latitude of 42° 12′, and in the longitude of 160° 5′; and as we were now approaching the place where a great extent of land is said to have been seen by De Gama, we were glad of the opportunity which the course we were steering gave of contributing to remove the doubts, if any should be still entertained respecting the falsehood of this pretended discovery. For it is to be observed, that no one has ever yet been able to find who John de Gama was, when he lived, or what year this pretended discovery was made. According to Mr. Muller, the first account of it given to the public was in a chart published by Texeira, a Portuguese geographer, in 164[illegible] who places it in ten or twelve degrees to the north-east of Japan, between the latitudes of 44° and 45°; and announces it to be land seen by John de Gama, the Indian, in a voyage from China to New Spain. On what grounds the French geographers have since removed it five degrees to the eastward, does not appear; except we suppose it to have been in order to make room for another discovery of the same kind made by the Dutch, called Company's Land; of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

During the whole day, the wind was exceedingly unsettled, being seldom steady to two or three points, and blowing in fresh gusts, which were succeeded by dead calms. There were not unpromising appearances; but, after standing off and on the whole of this day without seeing anything of the land, we again steered to the northward, not thinking it worth our while to lose time in search of an object, the opinion of whose existence had been already pretty generally exploded. Our people were employed the whole of the 16th in getting their wet things to dry, and in airing the ships below.

We now began to feel very sharply the increasing inclemency of the northern climate.

everal bunches of
t no other signs of

ed to so strong a
e lower sails, and
hich was the most
it under with the
afternoon, when
le space between
ient vent into the
hing afloat. Our
see any means of
could answer no
to bale the water
aterials that were
otion, were tossed
ut a hole through
hold, and by that
rever, before that
e fore-hold, which
ould not get at the
eatest part of the
buckets. But the
alf of the people
bore with great
ving no dry place
grog.
ve were enabled t
nt passage for the
and fancying th
y fathoms of line
n 6° 30′ east; an
hree points to th
n the longitude o
nt of land is sai
ich the course w
e still entertained
observed, that n
ived, or what yea
first account of
ographer, in 164
een the latitudes
ndian, in a voyag
ave since remove
it to have bee
the Dutch, calle

dom steady to tw
lead calms. The
whole of this d
rd, not thinking
hose existence h
whole of the 16th

rthern climate.

DEATH OF CAPTAIN COOK.

the mornin
snow and s
appear very
the wind b
point, and a
the degree
with the e
change mus
sails we had
of our last
ough, and
m, except h
to him.

On the 2
eagerly expe
continued in
progress, ye
of the 21st
addy, we
the three p
This is usual
since the 16t
22nd, the w
Accordingly
them throug
160° 7′; and
Kamtschatka
toward the la
greeably to
On the 2
the fog clear
from north th
quarters west
now, than w
only eight le
nested in
ever beheld.
on the shor
those summi
kept the si
upon them
The wind
and sleet, fro
ther than
crusted with
ent, the exp
ntinued sh
the severity
vour of kee
the crew, som
all this time
when about th
we had a tra
weather, we
the Discovery

the morning of the 18th, our latitude being 45° 40′, and our longitude 160° 25′, we had snow and sleet, accompanied with strong gales from the south-west. This circumstance will appear very remarkable, if we consider the season of the year, and the quarter from which the wind blew. On the 19th, the thermometer in the daytime remained at the freezing point, and at four in the morning fell to 29°. If the reader will take the trouble to compare the degree of heat during the hot sultry weather we had at the beginning of this month, with the extreme cold which we now endured, he will conceive how severely so rapid a change must have been felt by us. In the gale of the 18th, we had split almost all the sails we had bent, which being our second-best suit, we were now reduced to make use of our last and best set. To add to Captain Clerke's difficulties, the sea was in general so rough, and the ships so leaky, that the sail-makers had no place to repair the sails in, except his apartments, which, in his declining state of health, was a serious inconvenience to him.

On the 20th, at noon, being in latitude 49° 45′ N., and longitude 161° 15′ E., and eagerly expecting to fall in with the coast of Asia, the wind shifted suddenly to the north, and continued in the same quarter the following day. However, although it retarded our progress, yet the fair weather it brought was no small refreshment to us. In the forenoon of the 21st we saw a whale, and a land-bird; and, in the afternoon, the water looking muddy, we sounded, but got no ground with a hundred and forty fathoms of line. During the three preceding days we saw large flocks of wild-fowl, of a species resembling ducks. This is usually considered as a proof of the vicinity of land; but we had no other signs of it, since the 16th, in which time we had run upwards of a hundred and fifty leagues. On the 22nd, the wind shifted to the north-east, attended with misty weather. The cold was exceedingly severe, and the ropes were so frozen, that it was with difficulty we could force them through the blocks. At noon, the latitude, by account, was 51° 36′, longitude 160° 7′; and on comparing our present position with that given to the southern parts of Kamtschatka in the Russian charts, Captain Clerke did not think it prudent to run on toward the land all night. We therefore tacked at ten; and having sounded, had ground, agreeably to our conjectures, with seventy fathoms of line.

On the 23rd, at six in the morning, being in latitude 52° 19′, and longitude 160° 47′, on the fog clearing away, the land appeared in mountains covered with snow, and extending from north three-quarters east, to south-west; a high conical rock, bearing south-west three quarters west, at three or four leagues' distance. We had no sooner taken this imperfect view, than we were again covered with a thick fog. Being now, according to our notions, only eight leagues from the entrance of Awatska Bay, as soon as the weather cleared up we stood in to take a nearer view of the land; and a more dismal and dreary prospect I never beheld. The coast appears straight and uniform, having no inlets or bays: the ground from the shore rises in hills of a moderate elevation, behind which are ranges of mountains, whose summits were lost in the clouds. The whole scene was entirely covered with snow, except the sides of some of the cliffs, which rose too abruptly from the sea for the snow to lie upon them.

The wind continued blowing very strong from the north-east, with thick hazy weather and sleet, from the 24th till the 28th. During the whole time, the thermometer was never higher than 30½°. The ship appeared to be a complete mass of ice; the shrouds were so crusted with it, as to measure in circumference more than double their usual size; and, in short, the experience of the oldest seaman among us had never met with anything like the continued showers of sleet, and the extreme cold, which we now encountered. Indeed, the severity of the weather, added to the great difficulty of working the ships, and the labour of keeping the pumps constantly going, rendered the service too hard for many of the crew, some of whom were frost-bitten, and others laid up with bad colds. We continued all this time standing four hours on each tack, having generally soundings of sixty fathoms when about three leagues from the land; but none at twice that distance. On the 25th, we had a transient view of the entrance of Awatska Bay; but, in the present state of the weather, we were afraid of venturing into it. Upon our standing off again, we lost sight of the Discovery; but, as we were now so near the place of rendezvous, this gave us no

great uneasiness. On the 28th, in the morning, the weather at last cleared, and the wind fell to a light breeze from the same quarter as before. We had a fine warm day, and as we now began to expect a thaw, the men were employed in breaking the ice from off the rigging, masts, and sails, in order to prevent its falling on our heads. At noon, being in the latitude of 52° 44′, and in the longitude of 159°, the entrance of Awatska Bay bore north-west, distant three or four leagues; and about three in the afternoon a fair wind sprang up from the southward, with which we stood in, having regular soundings from twenty-two to seven fathoms.

The mouth of the bay opens in a north-north-west direction. The land on the south side is of a moderate height; to the northward it rises into a bluff head, which is the highest part of the coast. In the channel between them, near the north-east side, lie three remarkable rocks; and farther in, near the opposite coast, a single detached rock of a considerable size. On the north head there is a look-out house, which, when the Russians expect any of their ships upon the coast, is used as a light-house. There was a flag-staff on it, but we saw no sign of any person being there. Having passed the mouth of the bay, which is about four miles long, we opened a large circular basin of twenty-five miles in circumference, and at half-past four came to an anchor in six fathoms' water, being afraid of running foul on a shoal or some sunk rocks, which are said by Muller * to lie in the channel of the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul. The middle of the bay was full of loose ice, drifting with the tide, but the shores were still entirely blocked up with it. Great flocks of wild-fowl were seen of various species; likewise ravens, eagles and large flights of Greenland pigeons. We examined every corner of the bay with our glasses, in search of the town of St. Peter and St. Paul, which, according to the accounts given us at Oonalashka, we had conceived to be a place of some strength and consideration. At length we discovered, on a narrow point of land to the

HARBOUR AND TOWN OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.

north-north-east, a few miserable log-houses and some conical huts, raised on poles, amounting in all to about thirty, which from their situation, notwithstanding all the respect we wished to entertain for a Russian *ostrog*, we were under the necessity of concluding to be Petropaulowska. However, in justice to the generous and hospitable treatment we found here, I s

* Voyages made by the Russians from Asia to America, &c. translated from the German, by T. Jefferys, p. 8

beg leave to anticipate the reader's curiosity, by assuring him that our disappointment proved to be more of a laughable than a serious nature. For in this wretched extremity of the earth, situated beyond everything that we conceived to be most barbarous and inhospitable, and as it were out of the very reach of civilisation, barricadoed with ice and covered with summer snow, in a poor miserable port far inferior to the meanest of our fishing-towns, we met with feelings of humanity, joined to a greatness of mind and elevation of sentiment, which would have done honour to any nation or climate.

During the night, much ice drifted by us with the tide, and at daylight I was sent with the boats to examine the bay, and deliver the letters we had brought from Oonalashka to the Russian commander. We directed our course toward the village I have just mentioned; and having proceeded as far as we were able, with the boats, we got upon the ice, which extended near half a mile from the shore. Mr. Webber and two of the seamen accompanied me, whilst the master took the pinnace and cutter to finish the survey, leaving the jolly-boat behind to carry us back. I believe the inhabitants had not yet seen either the ship or the boats, for even after we had got on the ice we could not perceive any signs of a living creature in the town. By the time we had advanced a little way on the ice, we observed a few men hurrying backward and forward, and presently after a sledge drawn by dogs, with one of the inhabitants in it, came down to the sea-side, opposite to us. Whilst we were gazing at this unusual sight, and admiring the great civility of this stranger which we imagined had brought him to our assistance, the man, after viewing us for some time very attentively, turned short round and went off with great speed toward the ostrog. We were not less chagrined than disappointed at this abrupt departure, as we began to find our journey over the ice attended not only with great difficulty but even with danger. We sunk at every step almost knee-deep in the snow, and though we found tolerable footing at the bottom, yet the weak parts of the ice not being discoverable, we were constantly exposed to the risk of breaking through it. This accident at last actually happened to myself; for stepping on quickly over a suspicious spot, in order to press with less weight upon it, I came upon a second, before I could stop myself, which broke under me, and in I fell. Luckily I rose clear of the ice, and a man that was a little way behind with a boat-hook throwing it to me, I laid it across some loose pieces near me, and by that means was enabled to get upon firm ice again.

As we approached the shore we found the ice, contrary to our expectations, more broken than it had been before. We were, however, again comforted by the sight of another sledge coming toward us, but instead of proceeding to our relief the driver stopped short, and began to call out to us. I immediately held up to him Ismyloff's letters; upon which he turned about and set off back again full speed, followed, I believe, not with the prayers of any of our party. Being at a great loss what conclusions to draw from this unaccountable behaviour, we continued our march toward the ostrog with great circumspection, and when we had arrived within a quarter of a mile of it, we perceived a body of armed men marching toward us. That we might give them as little alarm and have as peaceable an appearance as possible, the two men who had boat-hooks in their hands were ordered into the rear, and Mr. Webber and myself marched in front. The Russian party, consisting of about thirty soldiers, was headed by a decent-looking person, with a cane in his hand. He halted within a few yards of us, and drew up his men in a martial and good order. I delivered to him Ismyloff's letters, and endeavoured to make him understand, as well as I could (though I afterward found in vain), that we were English, and had brought them papers from Oonalashka. After having examined us attentively, he began to conduct us toward the village in great silence and solemnity, frequently halting his men to form them in different manners, and making them perform several parts of their manual exercise, probably with a view to show us that if we had the temerity to offer any violence, we should have to deal with men who were not ignorant of their business.

Though I was all this time in my wet clothes, shivering with cold, and sufficiently inclined to the most unconditional submission, without having my fears violently alarmed, yet it was impossible not to be diverted with this military parade, notwithstanding it was attended with the most unseasonable delay. At length we arrived at the house of the commanding officer of the party, into which we were ushered, and after no small stir in giving orders and disposing

of the military without doors, our host made his appearance, accompanied by another person, whom we understood to be the secretary of the port. One of Ismyloff's letters was now opened, and the other sent off by a special messenger to Bolcheretsk, a town on the west side of the peninsula of Kamtschatka, where the Russian commander of this province usually resides.

It is very remarkable that they had not seen the ship the preceding day, when we came to anchor in the bay, nor indeed this morning till our boats were pretty near the ice. The panic with which the discovery had struck them, we found had been very considerable. The garrison was immediately put under arms. Two small field-pieces were placed at the entrance of the commander's house, and pointed toward our boats, and shot, powder, and lighted matches were all ready at hand. The officer in whose house we were at present entertained was a serjeant, and the commander of the ostrog. Nothing could exceed the kindness and hospitality of his behaviour, after he had recovered from the alarm occasioned by our arrival. We found the house insufferably hot, but exceedingly neat and clean. After I had changed my clothes, which the serjeant's civility enabled me to do by furnishing me with a complete suit of his own, we were invited to sit down to dinner, which I have no doubt was the best he could procure, and considering the shortness of time he had to provide it, was managed with some ingenuity. As there was not time to prepare soup and bouilli, we had in their stead some cold beef sliced, with hot water poured over it. We had next a large bird roasted, of a species with which I was unacquainted, but of a very excellent taste. After having eaten a part of this it was taken off, and we were served with fish dressed two different ways, and soon after the bird again made its appearance, in savoury and sweet pâtés. Our liquor, of which I shall have to speak hereafter, was of the kind called by the Russians quass, and was much the worse part of the entertainment. The serjeant's wife brought in several of the dishes herself, and was not permitted to sit down at table. Having finished our repast, during which it is hardly necessary to remark that our conversation was confined to a few bows, and other signs of mutual respect, we endeavoured to open to our host the cause and objects of our visit to this port. As Ismyloff had probably written to them on the same subject in the letters we had before delivered, he appeared very readily to conceive our meaning; but as there was unfortunately no one in the place that could talk any other language except Russian or Kamtschatdale, we found the utmost difficulty in comprehending the information he meant to convey to us. After some time spent in these endeavours to understand one another, we conceived the sum of the intelligence we had procured to be, that though no supply either of provisions or naval stores were to be had at this place, yet that these articles were in great plenty at Bolcheretsk; that the commander would most probably be very willing to give us what we wanted, but that till the serjeant had received orders from him, neither he nor his people, nor the natives, could even venture to go on board the ship.

It was now time for us to take our leave, and as my clothes were still too wet to put on, I was obliged to have recourse again to the serjeant's benevolence, for his leave to carry those I had borrowed of him on board. This request was complied with very cheerfully, and a sledge drawn by five dogs, with a driver, was immediately provided for each of our party. The sailors were highly delighted with this mode of conveyance; and what diverted them still more was, that the two boat-hooks had also a sledge appropriated to themselves. These sledges are so light, and their construction so well adapted to the purposes for which they are intended, that they went with great expedition and perfect safety over the ice, which it would have been impossible for us with all our caution to have passed on foot.

On our return we found the boats towing the ship toward the village, and at seven we got close to the ice, and moored with the small bower to the north-east and best bower to the south-west, the entrance of the bay bearing south by east and south three quarters east, and the ostrog north one quarter east, distant one mile and a half. The next morning the casks and cables were got upon the quarter-deck, in order to lighten the ship forward, and the carpenters were set to work to stop the leak, which had given us so much trouble during our last run. It was found to have been occasioned by the falling of some sheathing from the larboard-bow, and the oakum between the planks having been washed out. The wat

weather we had in the middle of the day began to make the ice break away very fast, which drifting with the tide had almost filled up the entrance of the bay. Several of our gentlemen paid their visits to the serjeant, by whom they were received with great civility; and Captain Clerke sent him two bottles of rum, which he understood would be the most acceptable present he could make him, and received in return some fine fowls of the grouse kind, and twenty trouts. Our sportsmen met with but bad success; for though the bay swarmed with flocks of ducks of various kinds, and Greenland pigeons, yet they were so shy that they could not come within shot of them.

In the morning of the 1st of May, seeing the Discovery standing into the bay, a boat was immediately sent to her assistance, and in the afternoon she moored close by us. They told us that after the weather cleared up on the 28th, the day on which she had parted company, they found themselves to leeward of the bay, and that when they got abreast of it the following day and saw the entrance choked up with ice, they stood off after firing guns, concluding we could not be here; but finding afterward it was only loose drift-ice, they had ventured in. The next day the weather was so very unsettled, attended with heavy showers of snow, that the carpenters were not able to proceed in their work. The thermometer stood at 28° in the evening, and the frost was exceedingly severe in the night.

The following morning, on our observing two sledges drive into the village, Captain Clerke sent me on shore to inquire whether any message was arrived from the commander of Kamtschatka, which, according to the serjeant's account, might now be expected, in consequence of the intelligence that had been sent of our arrival. Bolcheretsk by the usual route is about one hundred and thirty-five English miles from St. Peter and St. Paul's. Our despatches were sent off in a sledge drawn by dogs, on the 29th about noon. And the answer arrived, as we afterward found, early this morning, so that they were only a little more than three days and a half in performing a journey of two hundred and seventy miles. The return of the commander's answer was, however, concealed from us for the present, and I was told on my arrival at the serjeant's, that we should hear from him the next day. Whilst I was on shore the boat which had brought me, together with another belonging to the Discovery, were set fast in the ice, which a southerly wind had driven from the other side of the bay. On seeing them entangled, the Discovery's launch had been sent to their assistance, but soon shared the same fate, and in a short time the ice had surrounded them near a quarter of a mile deep. This obliged us to stay on shore till evening, when finding no prospect of getting the boats off, some of us went in sledges to the edge of the ice, and were taken off by boats sent from the ship, and the rest staid on shore all night. It continued to freeze hard during the night, but before morning on the 4th a change of wind drifted away the floating ice, and set the boats at liberty, without their having sustained the smallest damage.

About ten o'clock in the forenoon, we saw several sledges driving down the edge of the ice, and sent a boat to conduct the persons who were in them on board. One of these was a Russian merchant from Bolcheretsk named Fedositsch, and the other a German called Port, who had brought a letter from Major Behm, the commander of Kamtschatka, to Captain Clerke. When they got to the edge of the ice, and saw distinctly the size of the ships which lay within about two hundred yards from them, they appeared to be exceedingly alarmed, and before they would venture to embark, desired two of our boat's crew might be left on shore as hostages for their safety. We afterward found that Ismyleff, in his letter to the commander, had misrepresented us, for what reasons we could not conceive, as two small trading boats; and that the serjeant, who had only seen the ships at a distance, had not in his despatches rectified the mistake.

When they arrived on board, we still found, from their cautious and timorous behaviour, that they were under some unaccountable apprehensions; and an uncommon degree of satisfaction was visible in their countenances, on the German's finding a person amongst us, with whom he could converse. This was Mr. Webber, who spoke that language perfectly well; and at last, though with some difficulty, convinced them that we were Englishmen, and friends. M. Port being introduced to Captain Clerke, delivered to him the Commander's letter, which was written in German, and was merely complimental, inviting him and his

officers to Bolcheretsk, to which place the people, who brought it, were to conduct us. M. Port at the same time acquainted him, that the Major had conceived a very wrong idea of the size of the ships, and of the service we were engaged in; Ismyloff in his letter, having represented us as two small English packet-boats, and cautioned him to be on his guard; insinuating, that he suspected us to be no better than pirates. In consequence of this letter, he said there had been various conjectures formed about us at Bolcheretsk: that the Major thought it most probable we were on a trading scheme, and for that reason had sent down a merchant to us; but that the officer, who was second in command, was of opinion we were French, and come with some hostile intention, and were for taking measures accordingly. It had required, he added, all the Major's authority to keep the inhabitants from leaving the town, and retiring up into the country: to so extraordinary a pitch had their fears risen, from their persuasion that we were French.

Their extreme apprehensions of that nation were principally occasioned, by some circumstances attending an insurrection that had happened at Bolcheretsk a few years before, in which the commander had lost his life. We were informed, that an exiled Polish officer, named Beniowski, taking advantage of the confusion into which the town was thrown, had seized upon a galliot, then lying at the entrance of the Bolchoireka, and had forced on board a number of Russian sailors, sufficient to navigate her: that he had put on shore a part of the crew at the Kourile Islands; and, among the rest, Ismyloff, who, as the reader will recollect, had puzzled us exceedingly at Oonalashka, with the history of this transaction though, for want of understanding his language, we could not then make out all the circumstances attending it: that he passed in sight of Japan; made Luconia; and was there directed how to steer to Canton; that arriving there, he had applied to the French, and had got a passage in one of their India ships to France: and that most of the Russians had likewise returned to Europe in French ships; and had afterward found their way to Petersburg. We met with three of Beniowski's crew in the harbour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul; and from them we learned the circumstances of the above story. On our arrival at Canton, we received a farther corroboration of the facts, from the gentlemen of the English factory, who told us, that a person had arrived there in a Russian galliot, who said he came from Kamtschatka; and that he had been furnished by the French factory with a passage to Europe*.

We could not help being much diverted with the fears and apprehensions of these good people, and particularly with the account M. Port gave us of the serjeant's wary proceedings the day before. On seeing me come on shore, in company with some other gentlemen, he had made him and the merchant, who arrived in the sledges we had seen come in the morning, hide themselves in his kitchen, and listen to our conversation with one another, in hopes that, by this means, they might discover whether we were really English or not. As we concluded, from the commission and dress of M. Port, that he might probably be the commander's secretary, he was received as such, and invited, with his companion, the merchant, to dine with Captain Clerke: and though we soon began to suspect, from the behaviour of the latter toward him, that he was only a common servant, yet this being no time to sacrifice our little comforts to our pride, we prevented an explanation, by not suffering the question to be put to him; and, in return for the satisfaction we reaped from his abilities as a linguist, we continued to let him live on a footing of equality with us.

* It hath since appeared, from the account of Kerguelen's voyage, that this extraordinary person, who had entered into the French service, was commander of a new settlement at Madagascar, when Kerguelen touched there in 1774.

CHAPTER II.—SCARCITY OF PROVISIONS AND STORES AT THE HARBOUR OF SAINT PETER AND SAINT PAUL.—A PARTY SET OUT TO VISIT THE COMMANDER AT BOLCHERETSK.—PASSAGE UP THE RIVER AWATSKA.—ACCOUNT OF THEIR RECEPTION BY THE TOION OF KARATCHIN.—DESCRIPTION OF A KAMTSCHADALE DRESS.—JOURNEY ON SLEDGES.—DESCRIPTION OF THIS MODE OF TRAVELLING.—ARRIVAL AT NATCHEEKIN.—ACCOUNT OF HOT SPRINGS.—EMBARK ON THE BOLCHOIREKA.—RECEPTION AT THE CAPITAL.—GENEROUS AND HOSPITABLE CONDUCT OF THE COMMANDER AND THE GARRISON.—DESCRIPTION OF BOLCHERETSK.—PRESENTS FROM THE COMMANDER.—RUSSIAN AND KAMTSCHADALE DANCING.—AFFECTING DEPARTURE FROM BOLCHERETSK.—RETURN TO SAINT PETER AND SAINT PAUL'S, ACCOMPANIED BY MAJOR BEHM, WHO VISITS THE SHIPS.—GENEROSITY OF THE SAILORS.—DESPATCHES SENT BY MAJOR BEHM TO PETERSBURG.—HIS DEPARTURE AND CHARACTER.

Being now enabled to converse with the Russians, by the aid of our interpreter, with [illegible]erable facility, our first inquiries were directed to the means of procuring a supply of fresh [illegible]visions, and naval stores; from the want of which latter article, in particular, we had [illegible]en for some time in great distress. On inquiry, it appeared, that the whole stock of live [illegible]ttle, which the country about the bay could furnish, amounted only to two heifers; and [illegible]ese the serjeant very readily promised to procure us. Our applications were next made to [illegible] merchant, but we found the terms upon which he offered to serve us so exorbitant, that [illegible]ptain Clerke thought it necessary to send an officer to visit the commander at Bolcheretsk, [illegible] to inquire into the price of stores at that place. As soon as this determination was [illegible]municated to M. Port, he despatched an express to the commander, to inform him of our [illegible]ntions, and at the same time to clear us from the suspicions that were entertained with [illegible]pect to the designation and purposes of our voyage.

Captain Clerke having thought proper to fix on me for this service, I received orders, [illegible]ther with Mr. Webber, who was to accompany me as interpreter, to be ready to set out [illegible] next day. It proved, however, too stormy, as did also the 6th, for beginning a journey [illegible]ugh so wild and desolate a country; but, on the 7th, the weather appearing more favour[illegible], we set out early in the morning in the ship's boats, with a view to reach the entrance [illegible] the Awatska at high water, on account of the shoals with which the mouth of that river [illegible]unds: here the country boats were to meet us, and carry us up the stream. Captain Gore [illegible]s now added to our party, and we were attended by Messrs. Port and Fedositsch, with [illegible] Cossacks, and were provided, by our conductors, with warm furred clothing; a precaution [illegible]ich we soon found very necessary, as it began to snow briskly just after we set out. At [illegible]ht o'clock, being stopped by shoal water, about a mile from the mouth of the river, some [illegible] canoes belonging to the Kamtschadales, took up us and our baggage, and carried us over [illegible]gt of sand, which is thrown up by the rapidity of the river, and which, they told us, was [illegible]inually shifting. When we had crossed this shoal, the water again deepened; and here [illegible] found a commodious boat, built and shaped like a Norway yawl, ready to convey us up [illegible] river, together with canoes for our baggage.

The mouth of the Awatska is about a quarter of a mile broad; and as we advanced, it [illegible]rowed very gradually. After we had proceeded a few miles, we passed several branches, [illegible]ch we were told emptied themselves into other parts of the bay; and that some of those [illegible] the left hand flowed into the Paratounca river. Its general direction from the bay, for [illegible] first ten miles, is to the north, after which it turns to the westward: this bend excepted, [illegible]eserves, for the most part, a straight course; and the country through which it flows, [illegible] the distance of near thirty miles from the sea, is low and flat, and subject to frequent [illegible]nlations. We were pushed forward by six men, with long poles, three at each end of [illegible] boat; two of whom were Cossacks, the others Kamtschadales, and advanced against a [illegible]ng stream, at the rate, as well as I could judge, of about three miles an hour. Our [illegible]mtschadales bore this severe labour, with great stoutness, for ten hours; during which we [illegible]pped only once, and that for a short time, whilst they took some little refreshment. As [illegible] had been told, at our first setting out in the morning, that we should easily reach an ostrog, [illegible]d Karatchin, the same night, we were much disappointed to find ourselves, at sun-set,

fifteen miles from that place. This we attributed to the delay occasioned in passing the shoals we had met with, both at the entrance of the river, and in several other places, as we proceeded up it; for our boat being the first that had passed up the river, the guides were not acquainted with the situation of the shifting sand-banks, and unfortunately the snow not having yet begun to melt, the shallowness of the river was at its extreme. The fatigue our men had already undergone, and the difficulty of navigating the river, which would have been much increased by the darkness of the night, obliged us to give up all thoughts of continuing our journey that evening. Having therefore found a place tolerably sheltered, and cleared it of the snow, we erected a small marquee, which we had brought with us, and, by the assistance of a brisk fire, and some good punch, passed the night not very unpleasantly. The only inconvenience we laboured under was, the being obliged to make the fire at some distance from us. For, although the ground was, to all appearance, dry enough before, yet when the fire was lighted, it soon thawed all the parts round it into an absolute puddle. We admired much the alertness and expedition with which the Kamtschadales erected our marquee, and cooked our provisions; but what was most unexpected, we found they had brought with them their tea-kettles, considering it as the greatest of hardships not to drink tea two or three times a day.

We set out as soon as it was light in the morning, and had not advanced far, before we were met by the *Toion*, or chief of Karatchin, who had been apprised of our coming, and had provided canoes that were lighter, and better contrived for navigating the higher parts of the river. A commodious vessel, consisting of two canoes, lashed close together with cross spars, lined with bear-skins and furnished with fur cloaks, was also provided for us. We now went on very rapidly, the Toion's people being both stout and fresh, and remarkable for their expertness in this business. At ten we got to the ostrog, the seat of his command, where we were received at the water-side by the Kamtschadale men and women, and some Russian servants belonging to Fedositsch, who were employed in making canoes. They were all dress out in their best clothes. Those of the women were pretty and gay, consisting of a full loose robe of white nankeen, gathered close round the neck, and fastened with a collar of coloured silk. Over this they wore a short jacket, without sleeves, made of different coloured nankeens, and petticoats of a slight Chinese silk. Their shifts, which had sleeves down to the wrists, were also of silk; and coloured silk handkerchiefs were bound round their heads, concealing entirely the hair of the married women, whilst those who were unmarried, brought the handkerchief under the hair, and suffered it to flow loose behind.

This ostrog was pleasantly situated by the side of the river; and consisted of three log-houses; three *jourts*, or houses made under-ground; and nineteen *balagans*, or summer habitations. We were conducted to the dwelling of the Toion, who was a plain decent man, born of a Russian woman, by a Kamtschadale father. His house, like all the rest in this country, was divided into two apartments. A long narrow table, with a bench round it, was all the furniture we saw in the outer; and the household stuff of the inner, which was the kitchen, was not less simple and scanty. But the kind attention of our host, and the hearty welcome we received, more than compensated for the poverty of his lodgings. His wife proved an excellent cook; and served us with fish and game of different sorts, and various kinds of heath-berries, that had been kept since the last year. Whilst we were at dinner in this miserable hut, the guests of a people with whose existence we had before been scarce acquainted, and at the extremity of the habitable globe, a solitary, half-worn pewter spoon, whose shape was familiar to us, attracted our attention; and, on examination, we found it stamped on the back with the word LONDON. I cannot pass over this circumstance in silence, out of gratitude for the many pleasant thoughts, the anxious hopes, and tender remembrances it excited in us. Those who have experienced the effects that long absence and extreme distance from their native country produce on the mind, will readily conceive the pleasure such trifling incidents can give. To the philosopher and the politician they may perhaps suggest reflections of a different nature.

We were now to quit the river, and perform the next part of our journey on sledges, but the thaw had been too powerful in the daytime, to allow us to set out till the cold of the evening had again made the surface of the snow hard and firm. This gave us an oppor-

tunity of walking about the village, which was the only place we had yet seen free from snow, since we landed in this country. It stood upon a well-wooded flat, of about a mile and a half in circumference. The leaves were just budding, and the verdure of the whole scene was strongly contrasted with the sides of the surrounding hills, which were still covered with snow. As the soil appeared to me very capable of producing all the common sorts of garden vegetables, I was greatly surprised not to find the smallest spot anywhere cultivated. If to this we add that none of the inhabitants were possessed of cattle of any sort, nothing can be well conceived more wretched than their situation must be during the winter months. They were at this time removing from their *jourts* into their *balaginas*, which afforded us an opportunity of examining both these sorts of habitations; and they will be hereafter more particularly described. The people invited us into their houses with great good humour; a general air of cheerfulness and content was everywhere visible, to which the approaching change of season might probably not a little contribute.

On our return to the Toion's, we found supper prepared for us, which differed in nothing from our former repast; and concluded with our treating the Toion and his wife with some of the spirits we had brought with us, made into punch. Captain Gore, who had great generosity on all occasions, having afterward made them some valuable presents, they retired to the kitchen, leaving us in possession of the outward room, where spreading our bear-skins on the benches, we were glad to get a little repose; having settled with our conductors to resume our journey as soon as the ground should be judged fit for travelling. About nine o'clock the same evening, we were awaked by the melancholy howlings of the dogs, which continued all the time our baggage was lashing upon the sledges; but, as soon as they were yoked, and we were all prepared to set out, this changed into a light cheerful yelping, which entirely ceased the instant they marched off. But, before we set out, the reader may expect to be made more particularly acquainted with this curious mode of travelling.

I brought over with me one of these sledges, which is now in the possession of Sir Ashton Lever. The body is about four feet and a half long, and a foot wide, made in the form of a crescent, of light tough wood, strongly bound together with wicker-work; which in those belonging to the better sort of people is elegantly stained of a red and blue colour, and the seat covered with bear-skins, or other furs. It is supported by four legs about two feet high, which rest on two long flat pieces of wood, five or six inches broad, extending a foot at each end beyond the body of the sledge. These are turned up before in the manner of a skate, and shod with the bone of some sea animal. The fore-part of the carriage is ornamented with thongs of leather and tassels of coloured cloth; and from the cross bar, to which the harness is joined, are hung links of iron, or small bells, the jingling of which they conceive to be encouraging to the dogs. They are seldom used to carry more than one person at a time, who sits aside, resting his feet on the lower part of the sledge, and carrying his provisions and other necessaries wrapped up in a bundle behind him. The dogs are usually five in number, yoked two and two, with a leader. The reins not being fastened to the head of the dogs, but to the collar, have little power over them, and are therefore generally hung upon the sledge, whilst the driver depends entirely on their obedience to his voice for the direction of them. With this view, the leader is always trained up with a particular degree of care and attention, some of them rising to a most extraordinary value on account of their docility and steadiness; insomuch, that for one of these, I am well assured, forty roubles (or ten pounds) was no unusual price. The driver is also provided with a crooked stick, which answers the purpose both of whip and reins; as by striking it into the snow, he is enabled to moderate the speed of the dogs, or even to stop them entirely; and when they are lazy, or otherwise inattentive to his voice, he chastises them by throwing it at them. Upon these occasions, their dexterity in picking it up again is very remarkable, and forms the principal difficulty of their art. But it is indeed not surprising, that they should labour to be skilful in a practice upon which their safety so materially depends. For they say, that if the driver should happen to lose his stick, the dogs will instantly perceive it; and unless their leader be of the most sober and resolute kind, they will immediately run a-head full speed, and never stop till they are quite spent. But as that will not

be the case soon, it generally happens that either the carriage is overturned, and dashed to pieces against the trees; or they hurry down some precipice, and all are buried in the snow. The accounts that were given us of the speed of these dogs, and of their extraordinary patience of hunger and fatigue, were scarcely credible, if they had not been supported by the best authority. We were indeed ourselves witnesses of the great expedition with which the messenger who had been despatched to Bolcheretsk with the news of our arrival, returned to the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, though the snow was at this time exceedingly soft. But I was informed by the commander of Kamtschatka, that this journey was generally performed in two days and a half; and that he had once received an express from the latter place in twenty-three hours. The dogs are fed during the winter on the offals of dried and stinking fish; but are always deprived of this miserable food a day before they set out on a journey, and never suffered to eat before they reach the end of it. We were also told, that it was not unusual for them to continue thus fasting two entire days, in which time they would perform a journey of one hundred and twenty miles *. These dogs are in shape somewhat like the Pomeranian breed, but considerably larger.

SLEDGE TRAVELLING IN KAMTSCHATKA.

As we did not choose to trust to our own skill, we had each of us a man to drive and guide the sledge, which, from the state the roads were now in, proved a very laborious business. For, as the thaw had advanced very considerably in the valleys through which our road lay, we were under the necessity of keeping along the sides of the hills; and this obliged our guides, who were provided with snow-shoes for that purpose, to support the sledges, on the lower side, with their shoulders, for several miles together. I had a very good-humoured Cossack to attend me, who was, however, so very unskilful in his business, that we were overturned almost every minute, to the great entertainment of the rest of the company. Our party consisted, in all, of ten sledges; that in which Captain Gore was carried, was made of two lashed together, and abundantly provided with furs and bear-skins; it had ten dogs, yoked four abreast; as had also some of those that were heavy laden with baggage.

When we had proceeded about four miles, it began to rain; which, added to the darkness of the night, threw us all into confusion. It was at last agreed, that we should remain where we were till daylight; and accordingly we came to anchor in the snow (for I cannot better express the manner in which the sledges were secured), and wrapping ourselves up in our furs, waited patiently for the morning. About three o'clock we were called on to set out, our guides being apprehensive, that if we waited longer, we might be stopped by the thaw, and neither be able to proceed, nor to return. After encountering many difficulties, which were principally occasioned by the bad condition of the road, at two in the afternoon we got safe to an *ostrog*, called Natcheekin, situated on the side of a small stream, which falls into the Bolchoireka, a little way below the town. The distance between Karatchin and

* Extraordinary as this may appear, Kraschininikoff, whose account of Kamtschatka, from everything that I saw, and had an opportunity of comparing it with, seems to me to deserve entire credit; and whose authority I shall therefore frequently have recourse to, relates instances of this kind that are much more surprising. "Travelling parties," says he, "are often overtaken with dreadful storms of snow, on the approach of which, they drive with the utmost precipitation into the nearest wood, and there are obliged to stay, till the tempest, which frequently lasts six or seven days, is over; the dogs remaining all this while quiet and inoffensive; except that sometimes, when pressed by hunger, they will devour their reins, and the other leathern parts of the harness."—History and Description of Kamtschatka, by Kraschininikoff.

Natcheckin is thirty-eight wersts (or twenty-five miles); and had the hard frost continued, we should not, by their account, have been more than four hours in performing it; but the snow was so soft, that the dogs, almost at every step, sunk up to their bellies; and I was indeed much surprised at their being at all able to overcome the difficulties of so fatiguing a journey.

Natcheckin is a very inconsiderable ostrog, having only one log-house, the residence of the Toion; five *balagans* and one *jourt*. We were received here with the same formalities, and in the same hospitable manner, as at Karatchin; and in the afternoon we went to visit a remarkable hot spring, which is near this village. We saw, at some distance, the steam rising from it, as from a boiling caldron; and as we approached, perceived the air had a strong sulphureous smell. The main spring forms a basin of about three feet in diameter; besides which, there are a number of lesser springs, of the same degree of heat, in the adjacent ground; so that the whole spot, to the extent of near an acre, was so hot, that we could not stand two minutes in the same place. The water flowing from these springs is collected in a small bathing pond, and afterward forms a little rivulet; which, at the distance of about a hundred and fifty yards, falls into the river. The bath, they told us, had wrought great cures in several disorders, such as rheumatisms, swelled and contracted joints, and scorbutic ulcers. In the bathing-place the thermometer stood at 100°, or blood heat; but in the spring, after being immersed two minutes, it was 1° above boiling spirits. The thermometer in the air, at this time, was 34°; in the river 40°; and in the Toion's house 64°. The ground where these springs break out is on a gentle ascent; behind which there is a green hill of a moderate size. I am sorry I was not sufficiently skilled in botany to examine the plants, which seemed to thrive here with great luxuriance; the wild garlic, indeed, forced itself on our notice, and was at this time springing up very vigorously.

The next morning we embarked on the Bolchoireka in canoes; and, having the stream with us, expected to be at our journey's end the day following. The town of Bolcheretsk is about eighty miles from Natcheckin; and we were informed, that in the summer season, when the river has been full and rapid, from the melting of snow on the mountains, the canoes had often gone down in a single day; but that, in its present state, we should probably be much longer, as the ice had broken up only three days before we arrived, and that ours would be the first boat that had attempted to pass. This intelligence proved but too true. We found ourselves greatly impeded by the shallows; and though the stream in many places ran with great rapidity, yet every half mile we had ripplings and shoals, over which we were obliged to haul the boats. The country on each side was very romantic, but unvaried; the river running between mountains of the most craggy and barren aspect, where there was nothing to diversify the scene but now and then the sight of a bear, and the flights of wild-fowl. So uninteresting a passage leaves me nothing farther to say, than that this and the following night we slept on the banks of the river under our marquée, and suffered very much from the severity of the weather, and the snow which still remained on the ground.

At daylight on the 12th, we found we had got clear of the mountains, and were entering a low extensive plain, covered with shrubby trees. About nine in the forenoon we arrived at an ostrog, called Opatchin, which is computed to be fifty miles from Natcheckin, and is nearly of the same size as Karatchin. We found here a serjeant with four Russian soldiers, who had been two days waiting for our arrival, and who immediately despatched a light boat to Bolcheretsk with intelligence of our approach. We were now put into the trammels of formality; a canoe furnished with skins and furs, and equipped in a magnificent manner, was prepared for our reception, in which we were accommodated much at our ease, but to the exclusion of the rest of our fellow-travellers. It was with much regret we found ourselves obliged to separate from our old companion Monsieur Port, whom we had observed to grow every day more shy and distant, as we drew nearer the end of our journey. Indeed, he had himself told us before we set out, that we paid him a respect he had no title to; but as we found him a very modest and discreet man, we had insisted on his living with us during the whole of our journey. The remainder of our passage was performed

with great facility and expedition, the river growing more rapid as we descended, and less obstructed by shoals.

As we approached the capital, we were sorry to observe, from an appearance of much stir and bustle, that we were to be received in form. Decent clothes had been for some time a scarce commodity amongst us; and our travelling dresses were made up of a burlesque mixture of European, Indian, and Kamtschadale fashions. We therefore thought it would be too ridiculous to make a parade in this trim through the metropolis of Kamtschatka; and as we saw a crowd collected on the banks of the river, and were told the commander would be at the water-side to receive us, we stopped short at a soldier's house, about a quarter of a mile from the town, from whence we sent Port with a message to his Excellency, acquainting him, that the moment we had put off our travelling dresses we would pay our respects to him at his own house, and to beg he would not think of waiting to conduct us. Finding, however, that he persisted in his intentions of paying us this compliment, we lost no farther time in attiring ourselves, but made all the haste in our power to join him at the entrance of the town. I observed my companions to be as awkward as I felt myself, in making our first salutations; bowing and scraping being marks of good breeding that we had now, for two years and a half, been totally unaccustomed to. The manner in which we were received by the commander was the most engaging that could be conceived, and increased my mortification at finding that he had almost entirely forgot the French language; so that the satisfaction of conversing with him was wholly confined to Mr. Webber, who spoke the German, his native tongue.

In company with Major Behm was Captain Shmaleff, the second in command, and another officer, with the whole body of the merchants of the place. They conducted us to the commander's house, where we were received by his lady with great civility, and found tea and other refreshments prepared for us. After the first compliments were over, Mr. Webber was desired to acquaint the Major with the object of our journey, with our want of naval stores, flour, and fresh provisions, and other necessaries for the ships' crews; and at the same time to assure him that we were sensible, from what we had already seen of the condition of the country about Awatska Bay, we could not expect much assistance from him in that quarter; that the impossibility of sending heavy stores across the peninsula, during the present season of the year, was but too apparent from the difficulties we had met with in our journey; and that, long before any material change could take place, we should be under the necessity of proceeding on our voyage. We were here interrupted by the commander, who observed that we did not yet know what they were capable of doing; that at least it was not his business to think of the difficulties of supplying our wants, but only to learn what were the articles we stood in need of, and the longest time we could allow him for procuring them. After expressing our sense of his obliging disposition, we gave him a list of the naval stores, the number of cattle, and the quantity of flour we were directed to purchase, and told him that we purposed recommencing our voyage about the 5th of June. Our conversation afterward turned upon different subjects; and it will naturally be supposed, that our inquiries were principally directed to the obtaining some information respecting our own country. Having now been absent three years, we had flattered ourselves with the certainty of receiving intelligence from Major Behm, which could not fail of being interesting; and I cannot express the disappointment we felt, on finding that he had no news to communicate of a much later date than that of our departure from England.

About seven o'clock, the commander, conceiving we might be fatigued with our journey, and desirous of taking some repose, begged he might conduct us to our lodgings. It was in vain that we protested against a compliment which we had certainly no title to expect, but that of being strangers; a circumstance which seemed, in the opinion of this generous Livonian, to counterbalance every other consideration. In our way we passed by two guard-houses, where the men were turned out under arms, in compliment to Captain Gore; and were afterward brought to a very neat and decent house, which the major gave us to understand was to be our residence during our stay. Two sentinels were posted at the door, and in a house adjoining there was a serjeant's guard. Having shown us into our apartments, the major took his leave, with a promise to see us the next day; and we were

left to find out, at our leisure, all the conveniences that he had most amply provided for us. A soldier, called a *putproperseckack*, whose rank is between that of a serjeant and corporal, along with our fellow-traveller Port, were appointed to be our male domestics; besides whom, there was a housekeeper and a cook, who had orders to obey Port's directions in dressing us a supper according to our own mode of cookery. We received many civil messages, in the course of the evening, from the principal people of the town, purporting that they would not add to our fatigues, by paying their respects to us at that time, but would wait on us in the morning. Such well-supported politeness and attention in a country so desolate and uncultivated, formed a contrast exceedingly favourable to its inhabitants; and to finish the piece as it began, at sunset the serjeant came with the report of his guard to Captain Gore.

Early in the morning, we received the compliments of the commander, of Captain Shmaleff, and of the principal inhabitants of the town, who all honoured us with visits soon after. The two first having sent for Port after we were gone to rest, and inquired of him what articles we seemed to be most in want of on board the ships; we found them prepared to insist on our sharing with the garrison under their command, in what little stock of provisions they had remaining. At the same time they lamented, that we had arrived at a season of the year when there was always the greatest scarcity of everything amongst them; the sloops not being yet arrived with their annual supply from Okotsk. We agreed to accept the liberality of these hospitable strangers with the best grace we could, but on condition that we might be made acquainted with the price of the articles we were to be supplied with; and that Captain Clerke should give bills to the amount upon the Victualling-Office in London. This the major positively refused; and whenever it was afterward urged, stopped us short, by telling us he was certain that he could not oblige his mistress more, than in giving every assistance in his power to her good friends and allies the English; and that it would be a particular satisfaction to her to hear that, in so remote a part of the world, her dominions had afforded any relief to ships engaged in such services as ours; that he could not, therefore, act so contrary to the character of his empress, as to accept of any bills, but that, to accommodate the matter, he would take a bare attestation of the particulars, with which we might be furnished; and that this he should transmit to his court, as a certificate of having performed his duty. I shall leave (he continued) to the two courts all farther acknowledgments, but cannot consent to accept anything of the kind alluded to.

When this matter was adjusted, he began to inquire about our private wants, saying he should consider himself as ill-used if we had any dealings with the merchants, or applied to any other person except himself. In return for such singular generosity, we had little to bestow but our admiration and our thanks. Fortunately, however, Captain Clerke had sent by me a set of prints and maps belonging to the last voyage of Captain Cook, which he desired me to present in his name to the commander, who being an enthusiast in everything relating to discoveries, received it with a satisfaction which showed that, though a trifle, nothing could have been more acceptable. Captain Clerke had likewise entrusted me with a discretionary power of showing him a chart of the discoveries made in the present voyage; and as I judged that a person in his situation and of his turn of mind would be exceedingly gratified by a communication of this sort, though out of delicacy he had forborne to ask more than a few general questions on the subject, I made no scruple to repose in him a confidence of which his whole conduct showed him to be deserving. I had the pleasure to find that he felt this compliment as I hoped he would, and was much struck at seeing in one view the whole of that coast, as well on the side of Asia as on that of America, of which his countrymen had been so many years employed in acquiring a partial and imperfect knowledge*.

Excepting this mark of confidence and the set of prints I have already mentioned, we

* On this occasion, Major Behm permitted us to examine all the maps and charts that were in his possession. Those relating to the peninsula of the Tschutski were made in conformity to the information collected by Plenisher, between the years 1760 and 1770. As the charts of Plenisher were afterward made use of, according to Mr. Coxe, in the compilation of the General Map of Russia, published by the Academy in 1776, it may be necessary to observe, that we found them exceedingly erroneous, and that the compilers of the General Map seem to have been led into some mistakes on his authority. These in which the islands on the coast of America were laid down we found to contain nothing new, and to be much less accurate than those we saw at Oonalashka.

had brought nothing with us that was in the least worth his acceptance; for it scarce deserves noticing that I prevailed on his son, a young boy, to accept of a silver watch I happened to have about me, and I made his little daughter very happy with two pair of ear-rings, of French paste. Besides these trifles, I left with Captain Shmaleff the thermometer I had used on my journey, and he promised me to keep an exact register of the temperature of the air for one year, and to transmit it to Mr. Muller, with whom he had the pleasure of being acquainted.

We dined this day at the commander's, who, studious on every occasion to gratify our curiosity, had, besides a number of dishes dressed in our own way, prepared a great variety of others, after the Russian and Kamtschadale manner. The afternoon was employed in taking a view of the town and the adjacent country. Bolcheretsk is situated in a low swampy plain, that extends to the sea of Okotsk, being about forty miles long, and of a considerable breadth. It lies on the north side of the Bolchoi-reka (or great river), between the mouth of the Gottsofka and the Bistraia, which here empty themselves into this river; and the peninsula on which it stands has been separated from the continent by a large canal, the work of the present commander, which has not only added much to its strength as a fortress, but has made it much less liable than it was before to inundations. Below the town the river is from six to eight feet deep, and about a quarter of a mile broad. It empties itself into the sea of Okotsk, at the distance of twenty-two miles, where, according to Kraschininicoff, it is capable of admitting vessels of a considerable size. There is no corn of any species cultivated in this part of the country, and Major Behm informed me, that his was the only garden that had yet been planted. The ground was for the most part covered with snow; that which was free from it appeared full of small hillocks of a black turfy nature. I saw about twenty or thirty cows, and the major had six stout horses. These and their dogs are the only tame animals they possess; the necessity they are under in the present state of the country of keeping great numbers of the latter, making it impossible to bring up any cattle that are not in size and strength a match for them. For during the summer season their dogs are entirely let loose, and left to provide for themselves, which makes them so exceedingly ravenous that they will sometimes even attack the bullocks.

TOWN OF BOLCHERETSK.

The houses in Bolcheretsk are all of one fashion, being built of logs and thatched. That of the commander is much larger than the rest, consisting of three rooms of a considerable size, neatly papered, and which might have been reckoned handsome, if the talc with which the windows were covered had not given them a poor and disagreeable appearance. The town consists of several rows of low buildings, each consisting of five or six dwellings connected together, with a long common passage running the length of them, on one side of which is the kitchen and store-house, and on the other the dwelling apartments. Besides these are barracks for the Russian soldiers and Cossacks, a well-looking church, and a court-room; and at the end of the town a great number of *balagans*, belonging to the Kamtschadales. The inhabitants taken all together amount to between five and six hundred. In the evening the major gave a handsome entertainment, to which the principal people of the town of both sexes were invited.

The next morning we applied privately to the merchant Fedositsch, to purchase some tobacco for the sailors, who had now been upward of a twelvemonth without this favourite commodity However this, like all our other transactions of the same kind came imme-

diately to the major's knowledge, and we were soon after surprised to find in our house four bags of tobacco, weighing upward of a hundred pounds each, which he begged might be presented in the name of himself and the garrison under his command, to our sailors. At the same time they had sent us twenty loaves of fine sugar, and as many pounds of tea, being articles they understood we were in great want of, which they begged to be indulged in presenting to the officers. Along with these, Madame Behm had also sent a present for Captain Clerke, consisting of fresh butter, honey, figs, rice, and some other little things of the same kind, attended with many wishes that, in his infirm state of health, they might be of service to him. It was in vain we tried to oppose this profusion of bounty, which I was really anxious to restrain, being convinced that they were giving away not a share but almost the whole stock of the garrison The constant answer the major returned us on those occasions was, that we had suffered a great deal, and that we must needs be in distress. Indeed, the length of time we had been out since we touched at any known port, appeared to them so very incredible, that it required the testimony of our maps, and other corroborating circumstances, to gain their belief. Amongst the latter was a very curious fact which Major Behm related to us this morning, and which he said but for our arrival he should have been totally at a loss to account for.

It is well known that the Tschutski are the only people of the north of Asia who have maintained their independence, and resisted all the attempts that have been made by the Russians to reduce them. The last expedition against them was undertaken in the year 1750, and terminated, after various success, in the retreat of the Russian forces, and the loss of the commanding officer. Since that time, the Russians had removed their frontier fortress from the Anadyr to the Ingiga, a river that empties itself into the northern extremity of the sea of Okotsk, and gives its name to a gulf, situated to the west of that of Penshinsk. From this fort, Major Behm had received despatches the day of our arrival at Bolcheretsk, containing intelligence, that a tribe, or party, of the Tschutski, had arrived at that place with propositions of friendship, and a voluntary offer of tribute; that on inquiring into the cause of this unexpected alteration in their sentiments, they had informed his people, that toward the latter end of the last summer, they had been visited by two very large Russian boats; that they had been treated by the people who were in them with the greatest kindness, and had entered into a league of friendship and amity with them; and that relying on this friendly disposition, they were now come to the Russian fort, in order to settle a treaty, on such terms as might be acceptable to both nations. This extraordinary history had occasioned much speculation, both at Ingiginsk and Bolcheretsk; and had we not furnished them with a key to it, must have remained perfectly unintelligible. We felt no small satisfaction in having, though accidentally, shown the Russians, in this instance, the only true way of collecting tribute, and extending their dominions; and in the hopes that the good understanding which this event hath given rise to, may rescue a brave people from the future invasions of such powerful neighbours.

We dined this day with Captain Shmaleff, and in the afternoon, in order to vary our amusements, he treated us with an exhibition of the Russian and Kamtschadale dancing. No description can convey an adequate idea of this rude and uncouth entertainment. The figure of the Russian dance was much like those of our hornpipes, and was danced either single, or by two or four persons at a time. Their steps were short and quick, with the feet scarce raised from the ground; the arms were fixed close to the sides; the body being all the while kept upright and immoveable, excepting when the parties passed each other, at which time the hand was raised with a quick and awkward motion. But if the Russian dance was at the same time both unmeaning and ridiculous, the Kamtschadale joined to the latter quality the most whimsical idea that ever entered into any people's heads. It is intended to represent the awkward and clumsy gestures of the bear, which these people have frequent opportunities of observing in a great variety of situations. It will scarcely be expected that I should give a minute description of all the strange postures which were exhibited on these occasions; and I shall therefore only mention, that the body was always bowed, and the knees bent, whilst the arms were used in imitating the tricks and attitudes of that animal.

As our journey to Bolcheretsk had taken up more time than we expected, and we were told that our return might prove still more difficult and tedious, we were under the necessity

of acquainting the commander, this evening, with our intention of setting out the next day. It was not without the utmost regret we thought of leaving our new acquaintance; and were therefore most agreeably surprised, when the major told us, that if we could stay one day longer, he would accompany us. He had, he said, made up his despatches, and resigned the command of Kamtschatka to his successor Captain Shmaleff, and had prepared everything for his departure to Okotsk, which was to take place in a few days; but that he should feel great pleasure in putting off his journey a little longer, and returning with us to St. Peter and St. Paul's, that he might himself be a witness of everything being done for us that it was in their power to do.

In return for the few trifles I had given to the children of Major Behm, I was next morning, the 15th, presented by his little boy, with a most magnificent Kamtschadale dress, which shall be described in its proper place. It was of the kind worn by the principal *Toions* of the country, on occasions of great ceremony; and, as I was afterwards told by Fedositsch, could not have been purchased for one hundred and twenty roubles. At the same time, I had a present from his daughter of a handsome sable muff. We afterwards dined with the commander, who, in order to let us see as much of the manners of the inhabitants, and of the customs of the country, as our time would permit, invited the whole of the better sort of people in the village, to his house this evening. All the women appeared very splendidly dressed after the Kamtschadale fashion. The wives of Captain Shmaleff, and the other officers of the garrison, were prettily dressed, half in the Siberian, and half in the European mode; and Madame Behm, in order to make the stronger contrast, had unpacked part of her baggage, and put on a rich European dress. I was much struck with the richness and variety of the silks which the women wore, and the singularity of their habits. The whole was like some enchanted scene, in the midst of the wildest and most dreary country in the world. Our entertainment again consisted of dancing and singing.

The next morning being fixed for our departure, we retired early to our lodgings, where the first things we saw were three travelling-dresses, made after the fashion of the country which the major had provided for us, who came himself to our house soon after, to see all our things packed up, and properly taken care of. Indeed what with his liberal presents, and the kindness of Captain Shmaleff, and many other individuals, who all begged to throw in their mite together with the ample stock of provisions he had sent us for our journey, we had amassed no inconsiderable load of baggage.

Early in the morning, everything being ready for our departure, we were invited to call on Madame Behm, in our way to the boats, and take our leave of her. Impressed, as our minds were, with sentiments of the warmest gratitude, by the attentive, benevolent, and generous treatment we had met with at Bolcheretsk, they were greatly heightened by the affecting scene which presented itself to us, on leaving our lodgings. All the soldiers and Cossacks belonging to the garrison, were drawn up on one hand, and the male inhabitants of the town, dressed out in their best clothes, on the other; and as soon as we came out of the house, the whole body of the people joined in a melancholy song, which, the major told us, it was usual in that country to sing on taking leave of their friends. In this manner we marched down to the commander's house, preceded by the drums and music of the garrison, where we were received by Madame Behm, attended by the ladies, who were dressed in long silk cloaks, lined with very valuable furs of different colours, which made a most magnificent appearance. After partaking of some refreshment, that was prepared for us, we went down to the water side, accompanied by the ladies, who now joined the song with the rest of the inhabitants; and as soon as we had taken leave of Madame Behm, and assured her of the grateful sense we should ever retain of the hospitality of Bolcheretsk, we found ourselves too much affected, not to hasten into the boats with all the expedition we could. When we put off, the whole company gave us three cheers, which we returned from the boat; and, as we were doubling a point, where for the last time we saw our friendly entertainers, they took their farewell in another cheer.

We found the stream, on our return, so exceedingly rapid, that notwithstanding the Cossacks and Kamtschadales used their utmost exertions, we did not reach the first village

Opatchin, till the evening of the 17th, which was at the rate of about twenty miles a-day. We got to Natcheckin on the 19th; and on the 20th we crossed the plain to Karatchin. We found the road much better than when we had passed it before, there having been a smart frost on the night of the 19th. On the 21st, we proceeded down the Awatska River; and, before it was dark, got over the shoals which lie at the entrance of the bay. During the whole course of our journey, we were much pleased with the great good-will with which the *Toions*, and their Kamtschadales, afforded us their assistance, at the different ostrogs through which we passed; and I could not but observe the pleasure that appeared in their countenances, on seeing the major, and their strong expressions of sorrow, on hearing he was so soon going to leave them.

We had despatched a messenger to Captain Clerke, from Bolcheretsk, with an account of our reception, and of the major's intention of returning with us; at the same time apprising him of the day he might probably expect to see us. We were therefore very well pleased to observe, as we approached the harbour, all the boats of the two ships coming toward us, the men clean, and the officers as well dressed as the scarcity of our clothing would permit. The major was much struck at the robust and healthy appearance of the boats' crews, and still more at seeing most of them without any other covering than a shirt and trousers, although at the very moment it actually snowed. As Major Behm had expressed his intentions of visiting the ships before he landed, as soon as we arrived off the town, I desired to receive his commands; when remarking, that from the account we had given of the very bad state of Captain Clerke's health, it might be imprudent to disturb him at so late an hour (it being now past nine o'clock), he thought it, he said, most advisable to remain that night on shore. Accordingly, after attending him to the serjeant's house, I took my leave for the present, and went on board to acquaint Captain Clerke with my proceedings at Bolcheretsk. It was with the utmost concern I found, that in the fortnight we had been absent, this excellent officer was much altered for the worse, instead of reaping that advantage we flattered ourselves he might, from the repose of the harbour, and the milk and vegetable diet with which he was supplied.

As soon as I had despatched this business, I returned to the major, and the next morning conducted him to the ships; where, on his arrival, he was saluted with thirteen guns, and received with every other mark of distinction that it was in our power to pay him. He was attended by the commander of one of the Russian galliots, the master of a sloop that lay in the harbour, two merchants from Bolcheretsk, and the priest of the neighbouring village of Paratounca, for whom he appeared to entertain the highest respect, and whom I shall hereafter have occasion to mention, on account of his great kindness to Captain Clerke.

After visiting the captain, and taking a view of both the ships, he returned to dinner on board the Resolution; and, in the afternoon, the various curiosities we had collected in the course of our voyage, were shown him, and a complete assortment of every article presented to him by Captain Clerke. On this occasion I must not pass over an instance of great generosity and gratitude in the sailors of both ships; who, when they were told of the handsome present of tobacco that was made them by the major, desired, entirely of their own accord, that their grog might be stopped, and their allowance of spirits presented, on their part, to the garrison of Bolcheretsk, as they said they had reason to conclude that brandy was scarce in the country, and would be very acceptable to them, since the soldiers on shore had offered four roubles a bottle for it. We, who knew how much the sailors always felt, whenever their allowance of grog was stopped, which was generally done in warm weather, that they might have it in a greater proportion in cold, and that this offer would deprive them of it during the inclement season we had to expect in our next expedition to the north, could not but admire so extraordinary a sacrifice; and that they might not suffer by it, Captain Clerke, and the rest of the officers, substituted in the room of the very small quantity the major could be prevailed on to accept, the same quantity of rum. This, with a dozen or two of Cape wine, for Madame Behm, and such other little presents as were in our power to bestow, were accepted in the most obliging manner. The next morning the tobacco was divided between the crews of the two ships, three pounds being allotted to every man that chewed or smoked tobacco, and one pound to those that did not.

I have before mentioned, that Major Behm had resigned the command of Kamtschatka, and intended to set out in a short time for Petersburg; and he now offered to charge himself with any despatches we might trust to his care. This was an opportunity not to be neglected; and accordingly Captain Clerke acquainted him, that he would take the liberty of sending by him some papers relating to our voyage, to be delivered to our ambassador at the Russian court. Our first intentions were to send only a small journal of our proceedings; but afterward Captain Clerke being persuaded that the whole account of our discoveries might safely be trusted to a person who had given such striking proofs both of his public and private virtues; and considering that we had a very hazardous part of the voyage still to undertake, determined to send, by him, the whole of the journal of our late commander, with that part of his own which completed the period from Captain Cook's death, till our arrival at Kamtschatka; together with a chart of all our discoveries. Mr. Bayly and myself thought it also proper to send a general account of our proceedings to the board of longitude; by which precautions, if any misfortune had afterward befallen us, the Admiralty would have been in possession of a complete history of the principal facts of our voyage. It was also determined, that a smaller packet should be sent by an express from Okotsk, which, the major said, if he was fortunate in his passage to that port, would reach Petersburg by December, and that he himself should be there in February or March. During the three following days, the major was entertained alternately in the two ships, in the best manner we were able. On the 25th, he took his leave, and was saluted with thirteen guns; and the sailors, at their own desire, gave him three cheers. The next morning, Mr. Webber and myself attended him a few miles up the Awatska River, where we met the Russian priest, his wife and children, who were waiting to take the last farewell of their commander.

It was hard to say, whether the good priest and his family, or ourselves, were most affected on taking our leave of Major Behm. Short as our acquaintance had been, his noble and disinterested conduct had inspired us with the highest respect and esteem for him; and we could not part with a person to whom we were under such obligations, and whom we had little prospect of ever seeing again, without feeling the most tender concern. The intrinsic value of the private presents we received from him, exclusive of the stores which might be carried to a public account, must have amounted, according to the current price of articles in that country, to upward of two hundred pounds. But this generosity, extraordinary as it must appear in itself, was exceeded by the delicacy with which all his favours were conferred, and the artful manner in which he endeavoured to prevent our feeling the weight of obligations, which he knew we had no means of requiting. If we go a step further, and consider him as supporting a public character, and maintaining the honour of a great sovereign, we shall find a still higher subject of admiration, in the just and enlarged sentiments by which he was actuated. "The service in which you are employed," he would often say, "is for the general advantage of mankind, and therefore gives you a right, not merely to the offices of humanity, but to the privileges of citizens, in whatever country you may be thrown. I am sure I am acting agreeably to the wishes of my mistress, in affording you all the relief in our power; and I cannot forget either her character, or my own honour so much, as to barter for the performance of a duty." At other times, he would tell us that he was particularly desirous of setting a good example to the Kamtschadales, who, he said, were but just emerging from a state of barbarism; that they looked up to the Russians as their patterns in everything; and that he had hopes they might in future look upon it as a duty incumbent upon them to assist strangers to the utmost of their power, and believe that such was the universal practice of civilised nations. To all this must be added, that, after having relieved, to the utmost of his abilities, all our present distresses, he showed himself not much less mindful of our future wants; and, as he supposed it more than probable we should not discover the passage we were in search of, and therefore should return to Kamtschatka in the fall of the year, he made Captain Clerke give him a list of what cordage and flour we should want, and promised they should be sent from Okotsk, and wait our arrival. For the same purpose, he gave Captain Clerke a paper, enjoining all the subjects of the empress, whom we might happen to meet, to give us every assistance in their power.

CHAPTER III.—CONTINUATION OF TRANSACTIONS IN THE HARBOUR OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—ABUNDANCE OF FISH.—DEATH OF A SEAMAN BELONGING TO THE RESOLUTION.—THE RUSSIAN HOSPITAL PUT UNDER THE CARE OF THE SHIP'S SURGEONS.—SUPPLY OF FLOUR AND CATTLE.—CELEBRATION OF THE KING'S BIRTH-DAY.—DIFFICULTIES IN SAILING OUT OF THE BAY.—ERUPTION OF A VOLCANO.—STEER TO THE NORTHWARD.—CHEEPOONSKOI NOSS.—ERRORS OF THE RUSSIAN CHARTS.—KAMTSCHATSKOI NOSS.—OLUTORSKOI NOSS.—TSCHUKOTSKOI NOSS.—ISLAND OF ST. LAURENCE.—VIEW, FROM THE SAME POINT, OF THE COASTS OF ASIA AND AMERICA, AND THE ISLANDS OF ST. DIOMEDE.—VARIOUS ATTEMPTS TO GET TO THE NORTH, BETWEEN THE TWO CONTINENTS.—OBSTRUCTED BY IMPENETRABLE ICE.—SEA-HORSES AND WHITE BEARS KILLED.—CAPTAIN CLERKE'S DETERMINATION, AND FUTURE DESIGNS.

Having concluded the last chapter with an account of our return from Bolcheretsk, accompanied by Major Behm, the Commander of Kamtschatka, and of his departure; I shall proceed to relate the transactions that passed in the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul during our absence. On the 7th of May, soon after we had left the bay, a large piece of ice drove across the cut-water of the Resolution, and brought home the small bower anchor. This obliged them to weigh the other anchor, and moor again. The carpenters, who were employed in stopping the leak, were obliged to take off a great part of the sheathing from the bows, and found many of the trunnels so very loose and rotten, as to be easily drawn out with the fingers. On the 11th they had heavy gales from the north-east, which obliged both the ships to strike yards and topmasts; but in the afternoon, the weather being more moderate, and the ice having drifted away as far as the mouth of the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, they warped close to the shore for the greater convenience of watering and wooding, and again moored as before, the town bearing north half west, half a mile distant, and the mouth of the bay shut in by the southernmost point of Rakowina harbour, south. The next day, a party was sent on shore to cut wood, but made little progress on account of the snow, which still covered the ground. A convenient spot was cleared away abreast of the ships, where there was a fine run of water, and a tent being erected for the cooper, the empty casks were landed, and the sail-makers sent on shore.

On the 15th, the beach being clear of ice, the people were sent to haul the seine, and caught an abundant supply of fine flat fish for both the ships' companies. Indeed from this time, during the whole of our stay in the harbour, we were absolutely overpowered with the quantities of fish which came in from every quarter. The *Toions* both of this town and of Paratounca, a village in the neighbourhood, had received orders from Major Behm to employ all the Kamtschadales in our service, so that we frequently could not take into the ships the presents that were sent us. They consisted in general of flat fish, cod, trout, and herring. These last, which were in their full perfection, and of a delicious flavour, were exceedingly abundant in this bay. The Discovery's people surrounded at one time so great a quantity in their seine, that they were obliged to throw a vast number out, lest the net should be broken to pieces; and the cargo they landed was afterward so plentiful, that besides a sufficient store for immediate use, they filled as many casks as they could spare for salting; and after sending to the Resolution a sufficient quantity for the same purpose, they left several bushels behind on the beach.

The snow now began to disappear very rapidly, and abundance of wild garlic, celery, and nettle-tops were gathered for the use of the crews, which being boiled with wheat and portable soup, made them a wholesome and comfortable breakfast, and with this they were supplied every morning. The birch trees were also tapped, and the sweet juice, which they yielded in great quantities, was constantly mixed with the men's allowance of brandy. The next day, a small bullock, which had been procured for the ships' companies by the sergeant, was killed, and weighed two hundred and seventy-two pounds. It was served out to both crews for their Sunday's dinner, being the first piece of fresh beef they had tasted since our departure from the Cape of Good Hope in December, 1776, a period of near two years and a half.

This evening died John Macintosh, the carpenter's mate, after having laboured under a dysentery ever since our departure from the Sandwich Islands: he was a very hard-working quiet man, and much regretted by his mess-mates. He was the fourth person we lost by sickness during the voyage, but the first who could be said, from his age and the constitutional habits of his body, to have had on our setting out an equal chance with the rest of his comrades: Watman we supposed to be about sixty years of age; and Roberts and Mr. Anderson, from the decay which had evidently commenced before we left England, could not, in all probability, under any circumstances, have lived a greater length of time than they did.

I have already mentioned that Captain Clerke's health continued daily to decline, notwithstanding the salutary change of diet which the country of Kamtschatka afforded him. The priest of Paratounca, as soon as he heard of the infirm state he was in, supplied him every day with bread, milk, fresh butter, and fowls, though his house was sixteen miles from the harbour where we lay.

On our first arrival, we found the Russian hospital, which is near the town of St. Peter and St. Paul, in a condition truly deplorable. All the soldiers were, more or less, affected by the scurvy, and a great many in the last stage of that disorder. The rest of the Russian inhabitants were also in the same condition; and we particularly remarked that our friend the sergeant, by making too free with the spirits we gave him, had brought on himself in the course of a few days, some of the most alarming symptoms of that malady. In this lamentable state, Captain Clerke put them all under the care of our surgeons, and ordered a supply of sour krout, and malt for wort, to be furnished for their use. It was astonishing to observe the alteration in the figures of almost every person we met on our return from Bolcheretsk; and I was informed by our surgeons that they attributed their speedy recovery principally to the effects of the sweet wort.

On the 1st of June we got on board two hundred and fifty poods, or nine thousand pounds' weight of rye flour, with which we were supplied from the stores of St. Peter and St. Paul's, and the Discovery had a proportional quantity. The men were immediately put on full allowance of bread, which they had not been indulged in since our leaving the Cape of Good Hope. The same day our watering was completed, having got on board sixty-five tons. On the 4th * we had fresh breezes and hard rain, which disappointed us in our design of dressing the ships, and obliged us to content ourselves with firing twenty-one guns in honour of the day, and celebrating it in other respects in the best manner we were able. Port, who was left with us on account of his skill in languages, behaved himself with so much modesty and discretion, that as soon as his master was gone he was no longer Jean Port, but Monsieur Port, the interpreter, and partook, as well as the sergeant (in his capacity of commander of the place), of the entertainment of the day. Our worthy friend the priest of Paratounca having got intelligence of its being our king's birth-day, gave also a sumptuous feast, at which some of our gentlemen were present, who seemed highly delighted with their entertainment, which consisted of abundance of good eating and drinking, together with dancing.

On the 6th, twenty head of cattle were sent us by the commander's orders from the Verchnei ostrog, which is situated on the river Kamtschatka, at the distance of near a hundred miles from this place, in a direct line. They were of a moderate size; and notwithstanding the Kamtschadales had been seventeen days in driving them down to the harbour, arrived in good condition. The four following days were employed in making ready for sea, and on the 11th, at two in the morning, we began to unmoor; but before we had got one anchor up, it blew so strong a gale from the north-east, that we kept fast, and moored again, conjecturing, from the position of the entrance of the bay, that the current of wind would set up the channel. Accordingly, the pinnace being sent out to examine the passage, returned with an account that the wind blew strong from the south-east, with a great swell, setting into the bay, which would have made any attempt to get to sea very hazardous.

Our friend Port now took his leave of us, and carried with him the box with our journals, which was to go by the major, and the packet that was to be sent express. On the 12th,

* The Birth-day of George III.

the weather being moderate, we began to unmoor again; but, after breaking the messenger, and reeving a running purchase with a six-inch hawser, which also broke three times, we were obliged at last to heave a strain at low water, and wait for the flowing of the tide to raise the anchor. This project succeeded; but not without damaging the cable in the wake of the hawse. At three, we weighed the best bower, and set sail; and, at eight, having little wind, and the tide making against us, we dropped anchor again in ten fathoms, off the mouth of Rakowina harbour; the ostrog bearing north by east half east, two miles and a half distant; the Needle Rocks, on the east side of the passage, south south-east half east, and the high rock, on the west side of the passage, south.

On the 13th, at four in the morning, we got under weigh with the ebb tide; and, there being a dead calm, the boats were sent ahead to tow the ships. At ten, the wind springing up from the south-east by south, and the tide having turned, we were again obliged to drop anchor in seven fathoms; the Three Needle Rocks bearing south half east; and the ostrog north half east, at the distance of one mile from the nearest land. After dinner, I went with Captain Gore on shore, on the east side of the passage, where we saw, in two different places, the remains of extensive villages; and on the side of the hill, an old ruined parapet, with four or five embrasures. It commanded the passage up the mouth of the bay; and in Beering's time, as he himself mentions, had guns mounted on it. Near this place, were the ruins of some caverns under ground, which we supposed to have been magazines.

At six in the afternoon we weighed with the ebb tide, and turned to windward; but at eight, a thick fog arising, we were obliged to bring-to, as our soundings could not afford us a sufficient direction for steering between several sunk rocks, which lie on each side of the passage we had to make. In the morning of the 14th, the fog clearing away, we weighed as soon as the tide began to ebb; and, having little wind, sent the boats ahead to tow; but, at ten o'clock, both the wind and tide set in so strong from the sea, that we were again obliged to drop anchor in thirteen fathoms, the high rock bearing west one quarter south, distant three quarters of a mile. We remained fast for the rest of the day, the wind blowing fresh into the mouth of the bay; and, toward evening, the weather had a very unusual appearance, being exceedingly dark and cloudy, with an unsettled shifting wind.

Before daylight on the 15th, we were surprised with a rumbling noise, resembling distant hollow thunder; and when the day broke, we found the decks and sides of the ships covered with a fine dust like emery, near an inch thick. The air, at the same time, continued loaded and darkened with this substance; and, toward the volcano mountain, situated to the north of the harbour, it was so thick and black that we could not distinguish the body of the hill. About twelve o'clock, and, during the afternoon, the explosions became louder, and were followed by showers of cinders, which were, in general, about the size of peas; though many were picked up from the deck larger than a hazel-nut. Along with the cinders fell several small stones, which had undergone no change from the action of fire. In the evening we had dreadful thunder and lightning, which, with the darkness of the atmosphere, and the sulphureous smell of the air, produced altogether a most awful and terrifying effect. We were, at this time, about eight leagues from the foot of the mountain.

On the 16th, at daylight, we again weighed anchor, and stood out of the bay; but the ebb-tide setting across the passage upon the eastern shore, and the wind falling, we were driven very near the Three Needle Rocks, which lie on that side of the entrance, and obliged to hoist out the boats, in order to tow the ships clear of them. At noon we were two leagues from the land, and had soundings with forty-three fathoms of line, over a bottom of small stones, of the same kind with those which fell on our decks, after the eruption of the volcano; but whether they had been left there by the last, or by some former eruptions, we were not able to determine. The aspect of the country was now very different from what it had been on our first arrival. The snow, excepting what remained on the tops of some very high mountains, had disappeared; and the sides of the hills, which in many parts were well wooded, were covered with a beautiful verdure.

As it was Captain Clerke's intention to keep as much in sight of the coast of Kamtschatka as the weather would permit, in order to determine its position, we continued steering to the north north-east, with light and variable winds, till the 18th. The volcano was still seen

throwing up immense volumes of smoke; and we had no soundings with one hundred and fifty fathoms, at the distance of four leagues from the shore. On the 18th, the wind freshening from the south, the weather became so thick and hazy, as to make it imprudent to attempt any longer to keep in sight of the land. But that we might be ready to resume our survey, whenever the fogs should disperse, we ran on in the direction of the coast, as laid down in the Russian charts, and fired signal-guns for the Discovery to steer the same course. At eleven o'clock, just before we lost sight of the land, Cheepoonskoi Noss, so called by the Russians (a description of which, as well as the coast between it and Awatska Bay, will be given hereafter,) bore north north-east, distant seven or eight leagues.

On the 20th, at three in the morning, the weather having cleared up, we stood in toward the land; and in an hour's time saw it ahead, extending from north-west to north north-east, distant about five leagues. The north part we took to be Kronotskoi Noss; its position in the Russian charts agreeing nearly with our reckoning as to its latitude, which was 54° 42′; but in longitude we differed from them considerably, they placing it 1° 48′ E. of Awatska; whereas, our reckoning, corrected by the time-keepers and lunar observations, makes it 3° 34′ E. of that place, or 162° 17′ E. from Greenwich. The land about this cape is very high, and the inland mountains were still covered with snow. The shore breaks off in steep cliffs, and the coast is without any appearance of inlets or bays. We had not been long gratified with this sight of the land, when the wind freshened from the south-west, and brought on a thick fog, which obliged us to stand off to the north-east by east. The weather clearing up again at noon, we steered toward the land, expecting to fall in with Kamtschatskoi Noss, and had sight of it at daybreak of the 21st. The southerly wind was soon after succeeded by a light breeze blowing off the land, which prevented our approaching the coast sufficiently near to describe its aspect, or ascertain, with accuracy, its direction. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was 55° 52′, and longitude (deduced from a comparison of many lunar observations, taken near this time, with the time-keepers,) 163° 50′; the extremities of the land bearing N. W. by W. three quarters W., and N. by W. three quarters W., the nearest part about eight leagues distant. At nine o'clock in the evening, having approached about two leagues nearer the coast, we found it formed a projecting peninsula, extending about twelve leagues in a direction nearly N. and S. It is level and of a moderate height, the southern extremity terminating in a low sloping point; that to the north forming a steep bluff head; and between them, about four leagues to the southward of the northern cape, there is a considerable break in the land. On each side of this break the land is quite low; beyond the opening rises a remarkable saddle-like hill; and a chain of high mountains covered with snow, ranges along the back of the whole peninsula. As the coast runs in an even direction, we were at a great loss where to place Kamtschatskoi Noss, which, according to Muller, forms a projecting point about the middle of the peninsula, and which certainly does not exist; but I have since found, that in the general map published by the Academy of Petersburg in 1776, that name is given to the southern cape. This was found, by several accurate observations, to be in latitude 56° 3′, longitude 163° 20′; the difference in longitude from the Russian charts, being the same as at Kronotskoi Noss. The variation of the compass at this time was 10° E. To the southward of this peninsula the great river Kamtschatka falls into the sea. As the season was too far advanced to admit of our making an accurate survey of the coast of Kamtschatka, it was Captain Clerke's plan, in our run to Beering's Straits, to determine principally the positions of the projecting points of the coast. We therefore directed our course across an extensive bay, laid down between Kamtschatskoi Noss and Olutorskoi Noss, intending to make the latter; which, according to the Russian geographers, terminates the peninsula called Kamtschatka, and becomes the southern boundary of the Koriaki country.

On the 22nd, we passed a dead whale, which emitted a horrid stench, perceivable at upward of a league's distance; it was covered with a great number of sea-birds, that were feasting on it. On the 24th, the wind, which had varied round the compass, the three preceding days, fixed at S. W. and brought clear weather, with which we continued our course to the N. E. by N., across the bay, without any land in sight. This day we saw a great number of gulls, and were witnesses to the disgusting mode of feeding of the arctic

gull, which has procured it the name of the parasite, and which, if the reader is not already acquainted with it, he will find in the note below.*

On the 25th, at one o'clock in the afternoon, being in latitude 59° 12′, longitude 168° 35′, the wind freshening from the same quarter, a thick fog succeeded; and this unfortunately just at the time we expected to see Olutorskoi Noss; which, if Muller places it right in latitude 58° 30′, and in longitude 167° 36′, could only have then been twelve leagues from us; at which distance land of a moderate height might easily have been seen. But if the same error in longitude prevails here, which we have hitherto invariably found, it would have been much nearer us, even before the fog came on; and as we saw no appearance of land at that time, it must either have been very low, or there must be some mistake of latitude in Muller's account. We tried soundings, but had no ground with one hundred and sixty fathoms of line.

The weather still thickening, and preventing a nearer approach to the land, at five we steered E. by N., which is somewhat more easterly than the Russian charts lay down the trending of the coast from Olutorskoi Noss. The next day we had a fresh gale from the S. W., which lasted till the 27th at noon, when the fogs clearing away, we stood to the northward, in order to make the land. The latitude at noon, by observation, was 59° 49′, longitude 175° 43′. Notwithstanding we saw shags in the forenoon, which are supposed never to go far from land, yet there was no appearance of it this day; but on the 28th, at six in the morning, we got sight of it to the N. W. The coast shows itself in hills of a moderate height; but inland, others are seen to rise considerably. We could observe no wood, and the snow lying upon them in patches, gave the whole a very barren appearance. At nine, we were about ten miles from the shore, the southern extremity bearing W. by S., six leagues distant, beyond which the coast appeared to trend to the westward. This point being in latitude 61° 48′, longitude 174° 48′, lies, according to the Russian charts, near the mouth of the river Opuka. At the same time, the northern extreme bore N. by W.; between which and a hill bearing N. W. by W. a quarter W., and at this distance appearing to us like an island, the coast seemed to bend to the westward, and form a deep bay. About eight miles from land, we perceived ourselves in a strong rippling; and being apprehensive of foul ground, we bore away to the N. E., along the shore; notwithstanding, on heaving the lead, we found regular soundings of twenty-four fathoms, over a gravelly bottom; from whence we concluded, that this appearance was occasioned by a tide, at that time running to the southward. At noon, the extremes of the land bearing W. S. W. three quarters W., and N. N. E. three quarters E., distant from the nearest shore four leagues, we were abreast of the low land, which we now perceived to join the two points, where we had before expected to find a deep bay. The coast bends a little to the westward, and has a small inlet, which may probably be the mouth of some trifling stream. Our latitude, by observation, was 61° 56′, and longitude 175° 43′, and the variation of the compass 17° 30′ E.

We continued during the afternoon to run along the shore, at the distance of four or five leagues, with a moderate westerly breeze, carrying regular soundings from twenty-eight to thirty-six fathoms. The coast presented the same barren aspect as to the southward, the hills rising considerably inland, but to what height the clouds on their tops put it out of our power to determine. At eight in the evening, land was thought to have been seen to the east by north, on which we steered to the southward of east, but it turned out to be only a fog-bank. At midnight, the extreme point bearing north-east a quarter east, we supposed it to be Saint Thadeus's Noss; to the southward of which the land trends to the westward, and forms a deep bight, wherein, according to the Russian charts, lies the river Katirka.

On the 29th the weather was unsettled and variable, with the wind from the north-east. At noon of the 30th, our latitude by observation was 61° 48′, and longitude 180° 0′, at which time Saint Thadeus's Noss bore north north-west, twenty-three leagues distant, and beyond

* This bird, which is somewhat larger than the common gull, pursues the latter kind whenever it meets them; the gull, after flying for some time, with loud screams and evident marks of great terror, drops its dung; which its pursuer immediately darts at, and catches before it falls into the sea. [This is an error. The larger bird forces the smaller to disgorge the food it has just swallowed, which has been mistaken for its dung. See Encyclopædia Britannica, article *Larus*.—ED.]

it we observed the coast stretching almost directly north. The most easterly point of the Noss is in latitude 62° 50′, and longitude 179° 0′, being 3½° more to the east than what the Russians make it. The land about it must be of a considerable height, from its being seen at so great a distance. During the two last days, we saw numbers of whales, large seals, and sea-horses; also gulls, sea-parrots, and albatrosses. We took the advantage of a little calm weather to try for fish, and caught abundance of fine cod. The depth of water from sixty-five to seventy-five fathoms.

On the 1st of July at noon, Mr. Bligh having moored a small keg with the deep-sea lead in seventy-five fathoms, found the ship made a course north by east half a mile an hour. This he attributed to the effect of a long southerly swell, and not to that of any current. The wind freshening from the south-east toward evening, we shaped our course to the north-east by east for the point called in Beering's chart Tschukotskoi Noss, which we had observed on the 4th of September last year, at the same time that we saw to the south-east the island of Saint Laurence. This Cape and Saint Thadeus's Noss form the north-east and south-west extremities of the large and deep Gulf of Anadir, into the bottom of which the river of that name empties itself, dividing, as it passes, the country of the Koriacs from that of Tschutski. On the 3rd at noon the latitude, by observation, was 63° 33′, and the longitude 186° 45′; half an hour after which we got sight of the Tschukotskoi Noss, bearing north half west, thirteen or fourteen leagues distant, and at five in the afternoon saw the island of St. Laurence, bearing east three quarters north; and another island a little to the eastward of it, which we supposed to be between Saint Laurence and Anderson's Island, about six leagues east-south-east of the former. As we had no certain account of this island, Captain Clerke was desirous of a nearer prospect, and immediately hauled the wind toward it; but unfortunately we were not able to weather the island of Saint Laurence, and were therefore under the necessity of bearing up again, and passing them all to the leeward.

We had a better opportunity of settling the longitude of the island Saint Laurence when we last saw it, than now. But seeing it at that time but once, and to the southward, we could only determine its latitude so far as we could judge of distances, whereas now the noon observations enabled us to ascertain it correctly, which is 63° 47′. Its longitude was found to be 188° 15′, as before. This island, if its boundaries were at this time within our view, is about three leagues in circuit. The north part may be seen at the distance of ten or twelve leagues; but as it falls in low land to the south-east, the extent of which we could not see, some of us conjectured that it might probably be joined to the land to the eastward of it; this, however, the haziness of the weather prevented our ascertaining. These islands, as well as the land about the Tschukotskoi Noss, were covered with snow, and presented us with a most dreary picture. At midnight, Saint Laurence bore south-south-east, five or six miles distant, and our depth of water was eighteen fathoms. We were accompanied by various kinds of sea-fowl, and saw several small crested hawks.

The weather still continuing to thicken, we lost all sight of land till the 5th, when it appeared both to the north-east and north-west. Our latitude, by account, was at this time 65° 24′, longitude 189° 14′. As the islands of Saint Diomede, which lie between the two continents in Beering's Strait, were determined by us last year to be in latitude 65° 48′, we could not reconcile the land to the north-east with the situation of those islands. We therefore stood toward the land till three in the afternoon, when we were within four miles of it, and finding it to be two islands, were pretty well satisfied of their being the same; but the weather still continuing hazy, to make sure of our situation we stood over to the coast of Asia till seven in the evening, at which time we were within two or three leagues of the east cape of that continent. This cape is a high round head of land, extending four or five miles from north to south, forming a peninsula, and connected with the continent by a narrow neck of low land. Its shore is bold, and off its north part are three high detached spiral rocks. At this time it was covered with snow, and the beach surrounded with ice. We were now convinced that we had been under the influence of a strong current setting to the north, that had caused an error in our latitude at noon of twenty miles. In passing this strait the last year, we had experienced the same effect. Being at length sure of our position, we held on to the north by east. At ten at night the weather becoming clear, we had an

opportunity of seeing at the same moment the remarkable peaked hill near Cape Prince of Wales, on the coast of America, and the east Cape of Asia, with the two connecting islands of Saint Diomede between them.

At noon on the 6th, the latitude, by account, was 67° N., and the longitude 191° 6′ E. Having already passed a considerable number of large masses of ice, and observed that it still adhered in several places to the shore on the continent of Asia, we were not much surprised to fall in, at three in the afternoon, with an extensive body of it, stretching away to the westward. This sight gave great discouragement to our hopes of advancing much farther northward this year, [illegible] we had done the preceding.

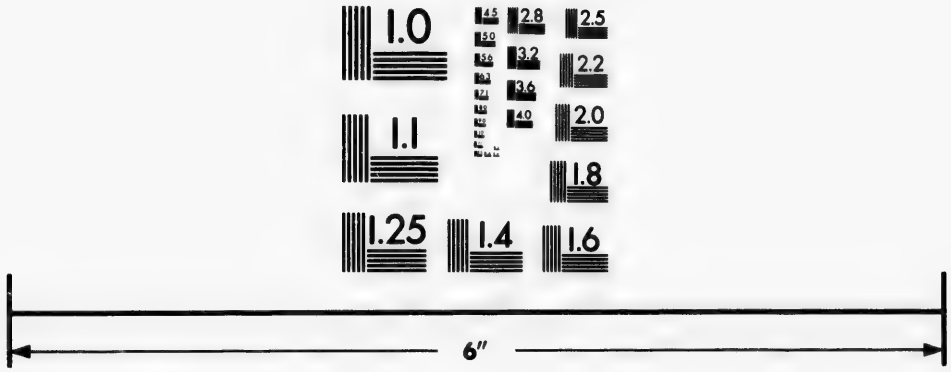
Having little wind in the afternoon, we hoisted out the boats in pursuit of the sea-horses, which were in great numbers on the detached pieces of ice; but they soon returned without success; these animals being exceedingly shy, and before they could come within gun-shot, always making their retreat into the water. At seven in the evening, we hoisted in the boats, and the wind freshening from the southward, we stood on to the N. E., with a view of exploring the continent of America, between the latitudes of 68° and 69°, which, owing to the foggy weather last year, we had not been able to examine. In this attempt we were again in part disappointed. For on the 7th, at six in the morning, we were stopped by a large field of ice stretching from N. W. to S. E., but soon after the horizon becoming clear, we had sight of the coast of America at about ten leagues distance, extending from north-east by east to east, and lying, by observation, between the 68° and 68° 20′ of latitude. As the weather was clear, and the ice not high, we were enabled to see over a great extent of it. The whole presented a solid and compact surface not in the smallest degree thawed, and appeared to us likewise to adhere to the land.

The weather soon after changing to hazy, we saw no more of the land; and there not remaining a possibility of approaching nearer to it, we stood to the north north-west, keeping the ice close on board, and got round its western extremity by noon, when we found it trending nearly north. Our latitude at this time was, by account, 68° 22′, and longitude 192° 34′. We continued our course to the north north-east, along the edge of the ice, during the remaining part of the day, passing through many loose pieces that had been broken off from the main body, and against which, notwithstanding all our caution, the ships were driven with great violence. At eight o'clock in the evening we passed some driftwood, and at midnight the wind shifted to the north-west; the thermometer fell from 38° to 31°, and we had continued showers of snow and sleet.

On the 8th, at five in the morning, the wind coming still more to the northward, we could no longer keep on the same tack, on account of the ice, but were obliged to stand to the westward. At this time our soundings had decreased to nineteen fathoms, from which, on comparing it with our observations on the depth of water last year, we concluded that we were not at a greater distance from the American shore than six or seven leagues; but our view was confined within a much shorter compass by a violent fall of snow. At noon, the latitude by account was 69° 21′, longitude 192° 42′. At two in the afternoon the weather cleared up, and we found ourselves close to an expanse of what appeared from the deck solid ice; but from the mast head it was discovered to be composed of huge compact bodies, close and united toward the outer edge, but in the interior parts several pieces were seen floating in vacant spaces of the water. It extended from north-east by the north to west south-west. We bore away by the edge of it to the southward, that we might get into clearer water; for the strong northerly winds had drifted down such quantities of loose pieces, that we had been for some time surrounded by them, and could not avoid striking against several, notwithstanding we reefed the topsails and stood under an easy sail.

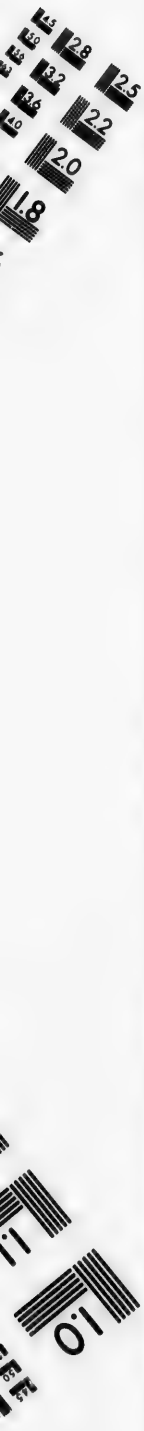
On the 9th we had a fresh gale from the north north-west, with heavy showers of snow and sleet. The thermometer was in the night-time 28°, and at noon 30°. We continued to steer west south-west as before, keeping as near the large body of ice as we could, and had the misfortune to rub off some of the sheathing from the bows against the drift pieces, and to damage the cutwater. Indeed the shocks we could not avoid receiving, were frequently so severe as to be attended with considerable danger. At noon, the latitude by account was 69° 12′, and longitude 188° 5′. The variation in the afternoon was found to be 29° 30′ E.

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)

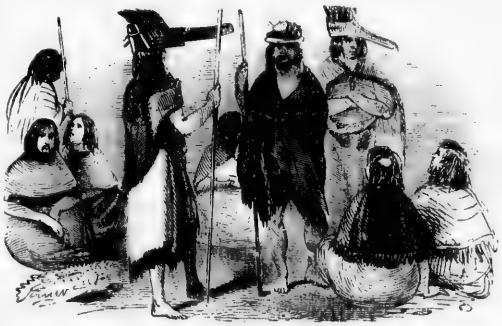


Photographic Sciences Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503


2.8
2.5
3.2
2.2
3.6
2.0
4.0
1.8
1.1
1.0

Thus far of their ordinary dress and ornaments; but they have some that seem to be used only on extraordinary occasions; either when they exhibit themselves as strangers, in visits of ceremony, or when they go to war. Amongst the first may be considered the skins of animals, such as wolves or bears, tied on in the usual manner, but ornamented at the edges with broad borders of fur, or of the woollen stuff manufactured by them, ingeniously wrought with various figures. These are worn either separately, or over their other common garments. On such occasions, the most common head-dress is a quantity of withe, or half-beaten bark, wrapped about the head; which, at the same time, has various large feathers, particularly those of eagles, stuck in it, or is entirely covered, or, we may say, powdered with small white feathers. The face, at the same time, is variously painted, having its upper and lower parts of different colours, the strokes appearing like fresh gashes; or it is besmeared with a kind of tallow,* mixed with paint, which is afterward formed into a great variety of regular figures, and appears like carved-work. Sometimes, again, the hair is separated into small parcels, which are tied at intervals of about two inches, to the end, with thread; and others tie it together, behind, after our manner, and stick branches of the *Cupressus thyoides* in it. Thus dressed, they have a truly savage and incongruous appearance; but this is much heightened, when they assume what may be called their monstrous decorations. These consist of an endless variety of carved wooden masks or vizors, applied on the face, or to the upper part of the head or forehead. Some of these resemble human faces, furnished with hair, beards, and eye-brows; others, the heads of birds, particularly of eagles and quebrantahuessos; and many, the heads of land and sea animals, such as wolves, deer, and porpoises, and others. But, in general, these representations much exceed the natural size; and they are painted, and often strewed with pieces of the foliaceous *mica*, which makes them glitter, and serves to augment their enormous deformity. They even exceed this sometimes, and fix on the same part of the head large pieces of carved-work, resembling the prow of a canoe, painted in the same manner, and projecting to a considerable distance. So fond are they of these disguises, that I have seen one of them put his head into a tin kettle he had got from us, for want of another sort of mask. Whether they use these extravagant masquerade ornaments on any particular religious occasion, or diversion, or whether they be put on to intimidate their enemies when they go to battle, by their monstrous appearance; or† as decoys when they go to hunt animals, is uncertain. But it may be concluded, that, if travellers or voyagers, in an ignorant and credulous age, when many unnatural or marvellous things were supposed to exist, had seen a number of people decorated in this manner, without being able to approach so near as to be undeceived, they would readily have believed, and in their relations would have attempted to make others believe, that there existed a race of beings, partaking of the nature of man and beast; more especially, when, besides the heads of animals on the human shoulders, they might have seen the whole bodies of their men-monsters covered with quadrupeds' skins‡.



DECORATION OF NOOTKA SOUND.

* Usually bears' grease. Turpentine is used to make the feathers, which are arranged with great regularity, adhere to the hair.—Ed.

† Masks and disguises are used generally by the Indians in religious ceremonies, in hunting, and in playing the spy or stealing on the enemy, and are managed with infinite address. See Catlin's Letters *passim*. We are not aware, however, of any instance in which they have been adopted with a view of terrifying an enemy. Such an attempt would appear absurd to an Indian; and their frightful paintings of the warriors are regarded rather as heraldic tokens of their rank and prowess, than as a means of creating fear, although that object is sought, when, as in some of their religious ceremonies, they personate beings of another world, as the Africans with their Mumbo Jumbo.

‡ The reflection in the text may furnish the admirers of Herodotus, in particular, with an excellent apology for some of his wonderful tales of this sort.

The only dress amongst the people of Nootka, observed by us, that seems peculiarly adapted to war, is a thick leathern mantle doubled, which, from its size, appears to be the skin of an elk or buffalo, tanned. This they fasten on in the common manner; and it is so contrived, that it may reach up, and cover the breast quite to the throat, falling, at the same time, almost to the heels. It is sometimes ingeniously painted in different compartments; and is not only sufficiently strong to resist arrows, but as they informed us by signs, even spears cannot pierce it; so that it may be considered as their coat of mail, or most complete defensive armour. Upon the same occasion, they sometimes wear a kind of leathern cloak, covered with rows of dried hoofs of deer, disposed horizontally, appended by leathern thongs, covered with quills; which, when they move, make a loud rattling noise, almost equal to that of many small bells. It seems doubtful, however, whether this part of their garb be intended to strike terror in war, or only is to be considered as belonging to their eccentric ornaments on ceremonious occasions; for we saw one of their musical entertainments conducted by a man dressed in this sort of cloak, with his mask on, and shaking his rattle.

Though these people cannot be viewed without a kind of horror, when equipped in such extravagant dresses, yet when divested of them, and beheld in their common habit and actions, they have not the least appearance of ferocity in their countenances*; and seem, on the contrary, as observed already, to be of a quiet, phlegmatic, and inactive disposition; destitute, in some measure, of that degree of animation and vivacity that would render them agreeable as social beings. If they are not reserved, they are far from being loquacious; but their gravity is, perhaps, rather a consequence of the disposition just mentioned, than of any conviction of its propriety, or the effect of any particular mode of education. For, even in the greatest paroxysms of their rage, they seem unable to express it sufficiently, either with warmth of language, or significancy of gestures. Their orations, which are made either when engaged in any altercation or dispute, or to explain their sentiments publicly on other occasions, seem little more than short sentences, or rather single words, forcibly repeated, and constantly in one tone and degree of strength, accompanied only with a single gesture, which they use at every sentence, jerking their whole body a little forward, by bending the knees, their arms hanging down by their sides at the same time.

Though there be too much reason, from their bringing to sale human skulls and bones, to infer that they treat their enemies with a degree of brutal cruelty, this circumstance rather marks a general agreement of character with that of almost every tribe of uncivilised man, in every age, and in every part of the globe, than that they are to be reproached with any charge of peculiar inhumanity. We had no reason to judge unfavourably of their disposition in this respect. They seem to be a docile, courteous, good-natured people; but notwithstanding the predominant phlegm of their tempers, quick in resenting what they look upon as an injury; and, like most other passionate people, as soon forgetting it. I never found that these fits of passion went farther than the parties immediately concerned; the spectators not troubling themselves about the quarrel, whether it was with any of us, or amongst their own body; and preserving as much indifference as if they had not known anything about it. I have often

* "The men are in general from about five feet six to five feet eight inches in height; remarkably straight, of a good form, robust and strong, with their limbs in general well turned and proportioned, excepting the legs and feet, which are clumsy and ill-formed, owing no doubt, to their practice of sitting on them, though I have seen instances in which they were very well-shaped. This defect is more particularly apparent in the women, who are for the most part of the time within doors, and constantly sitting while employed in their cooking and other occupations. The only instance of deformity that I saw amongst them was a man of dwarfish stature. He was thirty years old, and but three feet three inches high. He had, however, no other defect than his diminutive size, being well made, and as strong and able to bear fatigue as what they were in general. Their complexion, when freed from the paint and oil with which their skins are generally covered, is a brown, somewhat inclined to a copper cast. The shape of the face is oval, the lips being thin, and the teeth very white and even. Their eyes are black, but rather small, and the nose pretty well formed, being neither flat nor very prominent. Their hair is black, long, and coarse. As to the women, they are much whiter, many of them not being darker than those in some of the southern parts of Europe. They are in general very well-looking, and some quite handsome. Maquina's favourite wife in particular, who was a Wickinninish princess, would be considered as a beautiful woman in any country. She was uncommonly well-formed, tall, and of a majestic appearance; her skin remarkably fair, for one of these people, with considerable colour; her features handsome; and her eyes black, soft, and languishing. Her hair was very long, thick, and black, as is that of the females in general, which is much softer than that of the men's. In this they take much pride, frequently oiling and plaiting it carefully into two broad plaits, tying the ends with a strip of the cloth of this country, and letting it hang down before on each side of the face."—Jewitt.

seen one of them rave and scold, without any of his countrymen paying the least attention to his agitation; and when none of us could trace the cause, or the object of his displeasure. In such cases they never discover the least symptom of timidity, but seem determined, at all events, to punish the insult. For, even with respect to us, they never appeared to be under the least apprehension of our superiority; but when any difference happened, were just as ready to avenge the wrong, as amongst themselves.

Their other passions, especially their curiosity, appear in some measure to lie dormant. For few expressed any desire to see or examine things wholly unknown to them; and which to those truly possessed of that passion would have appeared astonishing. They were always contented to procure the articles they knew and wanted, regarding everything else with great indifference; nor did our persons, apparel, and manners, so different from their own, or even the extraordinary size and construction of our ships, seem to excite admiration, or even engage attention. One cause of this may be their indolence, which seems considerable. But, on the other hand, they are certainly not wholly unsusceptible of the tender passions; if we may judge from their being so fond of music, which is mostly of the grave or serious, but truly pathetic sort. They keep the exactest concert in their songs, which are often sung by great numbers together, as those already mentioned, with which they used to entertain us in their canoes. These are generally slow and solemn; but the music is not of that confined sort found amongst many rude nations; for the variations are very numerous and expressive, and the cadence or melody powerfully soothing. Besides their full concerts, sonnets of the same grave cast were frequently sung by single performers, who kept time by striking the hand against the thigh. However, the music was sometimes varied, from its predominant solemnity of air; and there were instances of stanzas being sung in a more gay and lively strain, and even with a degree of humour.

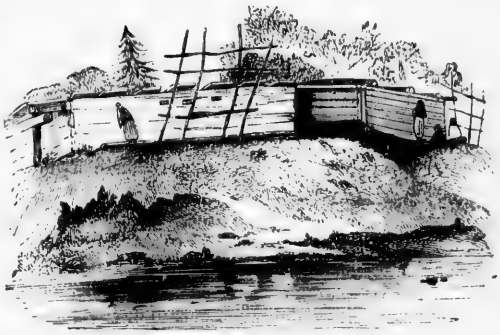
The only instruments of music (if such they may be called) which I saw amongst them, were a rattle; and a small whistle, about an inch long, incapable of any variation, from having but one hole. They use the rattle when they sing; but upon what occasions they use the whistle, I know not, unless it be when they dress themselves like particular animals, and endeavour to imitate their howl or cry. I once saw one of them dressed in a wolf's skin, with the head over his own, and imitating that animal, by making a squeaking noise with one of these whistles, which he had in his mouth. The rattles are, for the most part, made in the shape of a bird, with a few pebbles in the belly, and the tail is the handle. They have others, however, that bear rather more resemblance to a child's rattle.

In trafficking with us some of them would betray a knavish disposition, and carry off our goods without making any return. But in general it was otherwise; and we had abundant reason to commend the fairness of their conduct. However their eagerness to possess iron and brass, and, indeed, any kind of metal, was so great, that few of them could resist the temptation to steal it, whenever an opportunity offered. The inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, as appears from a variety of instances in the course of this voyage, rather than be idle, would steal anything that they could lay their hands upon, without ever considering whether it could be of use to them or no. The novelty of the object, with them, was a sufficient motive for endeavouring, by any indirect means, to get possession of it; which marked that, in such cases, they were rather actuated by a childish curiosity, than by a dishonest disposition, regardless of the modes of supplying real wants. The inhabitants of Nootka, who invaded our property, cannot have such apology made for them. They were thieves in the strictest sense of the word; for they pilfered nothing from us, but what they knew could be converted to the purposes of private utility, and had a real value according to their estimation of things. And it was lucky for us, that nothing was thought valuable by them, but the single articles of our metals. Linen and such like things were perfectly secure from their depredations; and we could safely leave them hanging out ashore all night, without watching. The same principle which prompted our Nootka friends to pilfer from us, it was natural to suppose, would produce a similar conduct in their intercourse with each other. And, accordingly, we had abundant reason to believe that stealing is much practised amongst them; and that it chiefly gives rise to their quarrels; of which we saw more than one instance.

CHAPTER III.—MANNER OF BUILDING THE HOUSES IN NOOTKA SOUND.—INSIDE OF THEM DESCRIBED.—FURNITURE AND UTENSILS.—WOODEN IMAGES.—EMPLOYMENTS OF THE MEN —OF THE WOMEN.—FOOD, ANIMAL AND VEGETABLE.—MANNER OF PREPARING IT.—WEAPONS.—MANUFACTURES AND MECHANIC ARTS.—CARVING AND PAINTING.—CANOES. —IMPLEMENTS FOR FISHING AND HUNTING.—IRON TOOLS.—MANNER OF PROCURING THAT METAL.—REMARKS ON THEIR LANGUAGE, AND A SPECIMEN OF IT.—ASTRONOMICAL AND NAUTICAL OBSERVATIONS MADE IN NOOTKA SOUND.

The two towns or villages mentioned in the course of my Journal seem to be the only inhabited parts of the Sound. The number of inhabitants in both might be pretty exactly computed from the canoes that were about the ships the second day after our arrival. They amounted to about a hundred, which, at a very moderate allowance, must, upon an average, have held five persons each; but as there were scarcely any women, very old men, children, or youths amongst them at that time, I think it will be rather rating the number of the inhabitants of the two towns too low, if we suppose they could be less than four times the number of our visitors, that is, two thousand in the whole.

The village at the entrance of the Sound stands on the side of a rising ground, which has a pretty steep ascent from the beach to the verge of the wood in which space it is situated. The houses are disposed in three ranges or rows, rising gradually behind each other, the largest being that in front and the others less; besides a few straggling or single ones at each end. These ranges are interrupted or disjoined at irregular distances by narrow paths or lanes that pass upward; but those which run in the direction of the houses between the rows are much broader. Though there be some appearance of regularity in this disposition, there is none in the single houses; for each of the divisions made by the paths may be considered either as one house or as many, there being no regular or complete separation either without or within, to distinguish them by. They are built of very long and broad planks *, resting upon the edges of each other, fastened or tied by withes of pine bark here and there, and have only slender posts, or rather poles, at considerable distances on the outside, to which they are also tied; but within are some larger poles, placed aslant. The height of the sides and ends of these habitations is seven or eight feet, but the back part is a little higher, by which means the planks that compose the roof slant forward, and are laid on loose, so as to be moved about, either to be put close to exclude the rain, or in fair weather to be separated, to let in the light, and carry out the smoke. They are however, upon the whole, miserable dwellings, and constructed with little care or ingenuity. For though the side-planks be made to fit pretty closely in some places, in others they are quite open, and there are no regular doors into them, the only way of entrance being either by a hole where the unequal length of the planks has accidentally left an opening, or in some cases, planks are made to pass a little beyond each other, or overlap, about two feet asunder, and the entrance is in this space. There are also holes or windows in the sides of the houses to look out at; but without any regularity of shape or disposition, and these have bits of mat hung before them to prevent the rain getting in.



HOUSES OF NOOTKA SOUND.

* The habitations of the natives, more to the north upon this coast, where Behring's people landed in 1741, seem to resemble those of Nootka. Muller describes them thus: "Ces cabanes étoient de bois revêtu de planches bien unies, et même enchainées en quelques endroits." Muller, Découvertes, p. 255.

On the inside, one may frequently see from one end to the other of these ranges of buildings without interruption. For though in general there be the rudiments, or rather vestiges, of separations on each side, for the accommodation of different families, they are such as do not intercept the sight, and often consist of no more than pieces of plank, running from the side toward the middle of the house, so that if they were complete, the whole might be compared to a long stable with a double range of stalls, and a broad passage in the middle. Close to the sides in each of these parts is a little bench of boards, raised five or six inches higher than

SLEEPING-BENCHES OF NOOTKA SOUND.

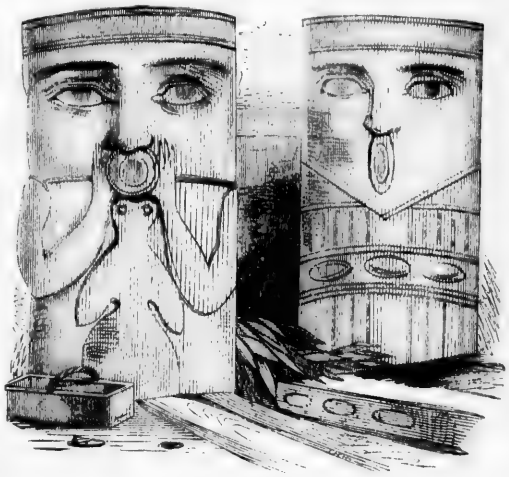
he rest of the floor, and covered with mats, on which the family sit and sleep. These benches are commonly seven or eight feet long and four or five broad. In the middle of the floor, between them, is the fire-place, which has neither hearth nor chimney. In one house, which was in the end of a middle range, almost quite separated from the rest by a high close partition and the most regular as to design of any that I saw, there were four of these benches, each of which held a single family at a corner, but without any separation by boards; and the middle part of the house appeared common to them all.

Their furniture consists chiefly of a great number of chests and boxes of all sizes, which are generally piled upon each other close to the sides or ends of the house, and contain their spare garments, skins, masks, and other things which they set a value upon. Some of these are double, or one covers the other as a lid, others have a lid fastened with thongs, and some of the very large ones have a square hole, or scuttle, cut in the upper part, by which the things are put in and taken out. They are often painted black, studded with the teeth of different animals or carved with a kind of frieze-work and figures of birds or animals, as decorations. Their other domestic utensils are mostly square and oblong pails or buckets to hold water and other things *, round wooden cups and bowls, and small shallow wooden troughs about two feet long, out of which they eat their food, and baskets of twigs, bags of matting, &c. Their fishing implements, and other things also, lie or hang up in different parts of the house, but without the least order, so that the whole is a complete scene of confusion; and the only places that do not partake of this confusion are the sleeping-benches, that have nothing on them but the mats, which are also cleaner or of a finer sort than those they commonly have to sit on in their boats.

The nastiness and stench of their houses are, however, at least equal to the confusion; for, as they dry their fish within doors, they also gut them there, which, with their bones and fragments thrown down at meals, and the addition of other sorts of filth, lie everywhere in heaps, and are, I believe, never carried away till it becomes troublesome, from their size, to walk over them. In a word, their houses are as filthy as hog-sties, everything in and about them stinking of fish, train-oil, and smoke. But, amidst all the filth and confusion that are found in the houses, many of them are decorated with images. These are nothing more than the trunks of very large trees four or five feet high, set up singly or by pairs at the upper end of the apartment, with the front carved into a human face, the arms and hands cut out upon

* These are used chiefly to hold blubber and fermented salmon roes, which forms a chief article in their diet.—Ed.

the sides and variously painted; so that the whole is a truly monstrous figure. The general name of those images is *Klumma*, and the names of two particular ones which stood abreast of each other, three or four feet asunder in one of the houses, were *Natchkoa* and *Matseeta*. Mr. Webber's view of the inside of a Nootka house, in which these images are represented, will convey a more perfect idea of them than any description. A mat, by way of curtain, for the most part hung before them, which the natives were not willing at all times to remove; and when they did unveil them, they seemed to speak of them in a very mysterious manner. It should seem that they are at times accustomed to make offerings to them, if we can draw this inference from their desiring us, as we interpreted their signs, to give something to these images when they drew aside the mats that covered them. It was natural, from these circumstances, for us to think that they were representatives of their gods, or symbols of some religious or superstitious object; and yet we had proofs of the little real estimation they were in, for with a small quantity of iron or brass, I could have purchased all the gods (if their images were such) in the place. I did not see one that was not offered to me; and I actually got two or three of the very smallest sort.



NATCHKOA AND MATSEETA. IDOLS OF NOOTKA SOUND.

The chief employment of the men seems to be that of fishing and killing land or sea animals for the sustenance of their families, for we saw few of them doing anything in the houses; whereas the women were occupied in manufacturing their flaxen or woollen garments, and in preparing the sardines for drying, which they also carry up from the beach in twig baskets, after the men have brought them in their canoes. The women are also sent in the small canoes to gather muscles and other shell-fish, and perhaps on some other occasions, for they manage these with as much dexterity as the men, who, when in the canoes with them, seem to pay little attention to their sex by offering to relieve them from the labour of the paddle; nor, indeed, do they treat them with any particular respect or tenderness in other situations. The young men appeared to be the most indolent or idle set in this community, for they were either sitting about in scattered companies to bask themselves in the sun, or lay wallowing in the sand upon the beach, like a number of hogs, for the same purpose, without any covering. But this disregard of decency was confined to the men. The women were always properly clothed, and behaved with the utmost propriety, justly deserving all commendation for a bashfulness and modesty becoming their sex, but more meritorious in them, as the men seem to have no sense of shame. It is impossible, however, that we should have been able to observe the exact mode of their domestic life and employments from a single visit (as the first was quite transitory) of a few hours. For it may be easily supposed, that on such an occasion most of the labour of all the inhabitants of the village would cease upon our arrival, and an interruption be given even to the usual manner of appearing in their houses, during their more remiss or sociable hours, when left to themselves. We were much better enabled to form some judgment of their disposition, and in some measure even of their method of living, from the frequent visits so many of them paid us at our ships in their canoes, in which it should seem they spend a great deal of time, at least in the summer season; for we observed that they not only eat and sleep frequently in them, but strip off their clothes and lay

themselves along to bask in the sun, in the same manner as we had seen practised at their village. Their canoes of the larger sort are, indeed, sufficiently spacious for that purpose, and perfectly dry; so that, under shelter of a skin they are, except in rainy weather, much more comfortable habitations than their houses.

Though their food, strictly speaking, may be said to consist of everything animal or vegetable that they can procure, the quantity of the latter bears an exceedingly small proportion to that of the former. Their greatest reliance seems to be upon the sea, as affording fish, muscles, and smaller shell-fish and sea animals. Of the first, the principal are herrings and sardines, the two species of bream formerly mentioned, and small cod; but the herrings and sardines are not only eaten fresh in their season, but likewise serve as stores, which after being dried and smoked, are preserved by being sewed up in mats, so as to form large bales three or four feet square. It seems that the herrings also supply them with another grand resource for food, which is a vast quantity of roe very curiously prepared. It is strewed upon, or as it were incrusted about, small branches of the Canadian pine; they also prepare it upon a long narrow sea-grass, which grows plentifully upon the rocks under water. This *caviare*, if it may be so called, is kept in baskets or bags of mat, and used occasionally, being first dipped in water. It may be considered as the winter bread of these people, and has no disagreeable taste. They also eat the roe of some other fish, which, from the size of its grains, must be very large, but it has a rancid taste and smell. It does not appear that they prepare any other fish in this manner, to preserve them for any length of time. For though they split and dry a few of the bream and *chimæræ*, which are pretty plentiful, they do not smoke them as the herrings and sardines. The next article on which they seem to depend for a large proportion of their food, is the large muscle; great abundance of which are found in the Sound. These are roasted in their shells, then stuck upon long wooden skewers, and taken off occasionally as wanted, being eat without any other preparation, though they often dip them in oil as a sauce. The other marine productions, such as the smaller shell-fish, though they contribute to increase the general stock, are by no means to be looked upon as a standing or material article of their food, when compared to those just mentioned.

Of the sea animals, the most common that we saw in use amongst them as food is the porpoise; the fat or rind of which, as well as the flesh, they cut in large pieces and, having

MODE OF COOKING, NOOTKA SOUND.

dried them as they do the herrings, eat them without any farther preparation. They also prepare a sort of broth from this animal in its fresh state in a singular manner, putting

pieces of it in a square wooden vessel or bucket with water, and then throwing heated stones into it. This operation they repeat till they think the contents are sufficiently stewed or seethed. They put in the fresh and take out the other stones with a cleft stick, which serves as tongs; the vessel being always placed near the fire for that purpose. This is a pretty common dish amongst them; and, from its appearance seems to be strong nourishing food. The oil which they procure from these and other sea animals is also used by them in great quantities; both supping it alone with a large scoop or spoon made of horn, or mixing it with other food, as sauce.

It may also be presumed that they feed upon other sea-animals, such as seals, sea-otters, and whales; not only from the skins of the two first being frequent amongst them, but from the great number of implements of all sorts intended to destroy these different animals, which clearly points out their dependence upon them; though perhaps they do not catch them in great plenty at all seasons, which seemed to be the case while we lay there, as no great number of fresh skins, or pieces of the flesh, were seen. The same might perhaps be said of the land-animals, which, though doubtless the natives sometimes kill them, appeared to be scarce at this time; as we did not see a single piece of the flesh belonging to any of them; and though their skins be in tolerable plenty, it is probable that many of these are procured by traffic from other tribes. Upon the whole, it seems plain, from a variety of circumstances, that these people procure almost all their animal food from the sea, if we except a few birds, of which the gulls or sea-fowls, which they shoot with their arrows, are the most material.

As the Canadian pine-branches and sea-grass, on which the fish-roe is strewed, may be considered as their only winter vegetables; so, as the spring advances, they make use of several others as they come in season. The most common of these, which we observed, were two sorts of liliaceous roots, one simply tunicated, the other granulated upon its surface, called *mahkatte* and *kookquoppa*, which have a mildish sweetish taste, and are mucilaginous, and eaten raw. The next, which they have in great quantities, is a root called *aheita*, resembling in taste our liquorice; and another fern root, whose leaves were not yet disclosed. They also eat, raw, another small, sweetish insipid root, about the thickness of *sarsaparilla;* but we were ignorant of the plant to which it belongs, and also of another root, which is very large and palmated, which we saw them dig up near the village, and afterward eat it. It is also probable that, as the season advances, they have many others which we did not see. For though there be no appearance of cultivation amongst them, there are great quantities of alder, gooseberry and currant bushes, whose fruits they may eat in their natural state, as we have seen them eat the leaves of the last, and of the lilies, just as they were plucked from the plant. It must, however, be observed, that one of the conditions which they seemed to require in all food is, that it should be of the bland or less acrid kind; for they would not eat the leek or garlic, though they brought vast quantities to sell, when they understood we were fond of it. Indeed they seemed to have no relish for any of our food; and when offered spirituous liquors, they rejected them as something unnatural and disgusting to the palate.

Though they sometimes eat small marine animals, in their fresh state, raw, it is their common practice to roast or broil their food; for they are quite ignorant of our method of boiling, unless we allow that of preparing their porpoise broth is such; and indeed their vessels being all of wood, are quite insufficient for this purpose.

Their manner of eating is exactly consonant to the nastiness of their houses and persons: for the troughs and platters, in which they put their food, appear never to have been washed from the time they were first made, and the dirty remains of a former meal are only sweeped away by the succeeding one. They also tear everything, solid or tough, to pieces, with their hands and teeth; for though they make use of their knives to cut off the larger portions, they have not, as yet, thought of reducing these to smaller pieces and mouthfuls, by the same means, though obviously more convenient and cleanly. But they seem to have no idea of cleanliness; for they eat the roots which they dig from the ground, without so much as shaking off the soil that adheres to them. We are uncertain if they have any set time for meals: for we have seen them eat at all hours, in their canoes. And yet, from seeing several

messes of the porpoise-broth preparing toward noon, when we visited the village, I should suspect that they make a principal meal about that time.

Their weapons are bows and arrows, slings, spears, short truncheons of bone, somewhat like the *patoo patoo* of New Zealand, and a small pickaxe, not unlike the common American *tomahawk*. The spear has generally a long point, made of bone. Some of the arrows are pointed with iron; but most commonly their points were of indented bone. The tomahawk is a stone, six or eight inches long, pointed at one end, and the other end fixed into a handle of wood. This handle resembles the head and neck of the human figure; and the stone is fixed in the mouth, so as to represent an enormously large tongue. To make the resemblance still stronger, human hair is also fixed to it. This weapon they call *taaweesh*, or *tsuskeeah*. They have another stone weapon called *sceaik*, nine inches or a foot long, with a square point. From the number of stone weapons, and others, we might almost conclude that it is their custom to engage in close fight; and we had too convincing proofs that their wars are both frequent and bloody, from the vast number of human skulls which they brought to sell.

Their manufactures and mechanic arts are far more extensive and ingenious, whether we regard the design or the execution, than could have been expected from the natural disposition of the people, and the little progress that civilisation has made amongst them in other respects. The flaxen and woollen garments, with which they cover themselves, must necessarily engage their first care, and are the most material of those that can be ranked under the head of manufactures. The former of these are made of the bark of a pine-tree, beat into a hempen state. It is not spun, but, after being properly prepared, is spread upon a stick, which is fastened across to two others that stand upright. It is disposed in such a manner that the manufacturer, who sits on her hams at this simple machine, knots it across with small plaited threads, at the distance of half an inch from each other. Though, by this method, it be not so close or firm as cloth that is woven, the bunches between the knots make it sufficiently impervious to the air, by filling the interstices, and it has the additional advantage of being softer and more pliable. The woollen garments, though probably manufactured in the same manner, have the strongest resemblance to woven cloth. But the various figures which are very artificially inserted in them, destroy the supposition of their being wrought in the loom; it being extremely unlikely that these people should be so dexterous as to be able to finish such a complex work, unless immediately by their hands. They are of different degrees of fineness; some resembling our coarsest rugs or blankets, and others almost equal to our finest sorts, or even softer, and certainly warmer. The wool of which they are made seems to be taken from animals, as the fox and brown lynx; the last of which is by far the finest sort, and, in its natural state, differs little from the colour of our coarser wools; but the hair, with which the animal is also covered, being intermixed, its appearance, when wrought, is somewhat different. The ornamental parts or figures in these garments, which are disposed with great taste, are commonly of a different colour, being dyed, chiefly, either of a deep brown, or of a yellow; the last of which, when it is new, equals the best in our carpets, as to brightness.

To their taste or design in working figures upon their garments, corresponds their fondness for carving, in everything they make of wood. Nothing is without a kind of frieze-work, or the figure of some animal upon it; but the most general representation is that of the human face, which is often cut out upon birds, and the other monstrous figures mentioned before; and even upon their stone and their bone weapons. The general design of all these things is perfectly sufficient to convey a knowledge of the object they are intended to represent; but the carving is not executed with the nicety that a dexterous artist would bestow even upon an indifferent design. The same, however, cannot be said of many of the human masks and heads, where they show themselves to be ingenious sculptors. They not only preserve, with exactness, the general character of their own faces, but finish the more minute parts with a degree of accuracy in proportion, and neatness in execution. The strong propensity of this people to works of this sort is remarkable, in a vast variety of particulars. Small whole human figures; representations of birds, fish, and land and sea animals; models of their household utensils and of their canoes, were found amongst them in great abundance.

The imitative arts being nearly allied, no wonder that, to their skill in working figures in their garments, and carving them in wood, they should add that of drawing them in colours. We have sometimes seen the whole process of their whale-fishery painted on the caps they wear. This, though rudely executed, serves, at least, to show, that though there be no appearance of the knowledge of letters amongst them, they have some notion of a method of commemorating and representing actions, in a lasting way, independently of what may be recorded in their songs and traditions. They have also other figures painted on some of their things; but it is doubtful if they ought to be considered as symbols, that have certain established significations, or only the mere creation of fancy and caprice.

Their canoes are of a simple structure; but, to appearance, well calculated for every useful purpose. Even the largest, which carry twenty people or more, are formed of one tree. Many of them are forty feet long, seven broad, and about three deep. From the middle, toward each end, they become gradually narrower, the after-part, or stern, ending abruptly or perpendicularly, with a small knob on the top; but the fore-part is lengthened out, stretching forward and upward, ending in a notched point or prow, considerably higher than the sides of the canoe, which run nearly in a straight line. For the most part they are without any ornament; but some have a little carving, and are decorated by setting seals' teeth on the surface, like studs; as is the practice on their masks and weapons. A few have, likewise, a kind of additional head or prow, like a large cut-water, which is painted with the figure of some animal. They have no seats, nor any other supporters, on the inside, than several round sticks, little thicker than a cane, placed across, at mid depth. They are very light, and their breadth and flatness enable them to swim firmly, without an out-rigger, which none of them have; a remarkable distinction between the navigation of all the American nations and that of the southern parts of the East Indies, and the islands in the Pacific Ocean. Their paddles are small and light; the shape, in some measure, resembling that of a large leaf, pointed at the bottom, broadest in the middle, and gradually losing itself in the shaft, the whole being about five feet long. They have acquired great dexterity in managing these paddles, by constant use; for sails are no part of their art of navigation.

Their implements for fishing and hunting, which are both ingeniously contrived and well made, are nets, hooks, and lines, harpoons, gigs, and an instrument like an oar. This last is about twenty feet long, four or five inches broad, and about half an inch thick. Each edge, for about two-thirds of its length (the other third being its handle) is set with sharp bone-teeth, about two inches long. Herrings and sardines, and such other small fish as come in shoals, are attacked with this instrument; which is struck into the shoal, and the fish are caught either upon or between the teeth. Their hooks are made of bone and wood, and rather inartificially; but the harpoon, with which they strike the whales and lesser sea animals, shows a great reach of contrivance. It is composed of a piece of bone, cut into two barbs, in which is fixed the oval blade of a large muscle-shell, in which is the point of the instrument. To this are fastened about two or three fathoms of rope; and to throw this harpoon, they use a shaft about twelve or fifteen feet long, to which the line or rope is made fast; and to one end of which the harpoon is fixed, so as to separate from the shaft, and leave it floating upon the water as a buoy, when the animal darts away with the harpoon.

We can say nothing as to the manner of their catching or killing land animals, unless we may suppose that they shoot the smaller sorts with their arrows, and engage bears, or wolves and foxes, with their spears. They have, indeed, several nets, which are probably applied to that purpose *; as they frequently throw them over their heads, to show their use, when they brought them to us for sale. They also, sometimes, decoy animals by covering themselves with a skin, and running about upon all-fours, which they do very nimbly, as appeared from the specimens of their skill which they exhibited to us, making a kind of noise or neighing at the same time; and, on these occasions, the masks, or carved heads, as well as the real dried heads, of the different animals, are put on.

* One of the methods of catching the sea-otter, when ashore, in Kamtschatka, is with nets.—See Cox's Russian Discoveries, p. 13, 4to edition.

As to the materials of which they make their various articles, it is to be observed, that everything of the rope kind is formed either from thongs of skins, and sinews of animals, or from the same flaxen substance of which their mantles are manufactured. The sinews often appeared to be of such a length, that it might be presumed they could be of no other animal than the whale. And the same may be said of the bones of which they make their weapons already mentioned; such as their bark-beating instruments, the points of their spears, and the barbs of their harpoons. Their great dexterity in works of wood may, in some measure, be ascribed to the assistance they receive from iron tools; for, as far as we know, they use no other; at least, we saw only one chisel of bone. And though, originally, their tools must have been of different materials, it is not improbable that many of their improvements have been made since they acquired a knowledge of that metal, which is now universally used in their various wooden works. The chisel and the knife are the only forms, as far as we saw, that iron assumes amongst them. The chisel is a long flat piece, fitted into a handle of wood. A stone serves for a mallet, and a piece of fish-skin for a polisher. I have seen some of these chisels that were eight or ten inches long, and three or four inches broad; but, in general, they were smaller. The knives are of various sizes; some very large, and their blades are crooked, somewhat like our pruning-knife; but the edge is on the back or convex part. Most of them, that we saw, were about the breadth and thickness of an iron hoop; and their singular form marks that they are not of European make. Probably, they are imitations of their own original instruments, used for the same purposes. They sharpen these iron tools upon a coarse slate whetstone; and likewise keep the whole instrument constantly bright.

Iron, which they call *seekemaile* (which name they also give to tin, and all white metals), being familiar to these people, it was very natural for us to speculate about the mode of its being conveyed to them. Upon our arrival in the Sound, they immediately discovered a knowledge of traffic, and an inclination for it; and we were convinced afterward, that they had not received this knowledge from a cursory interview with any strangers; but, from their method, it seemed to be an established practice, of which they were fond, and in which they were also skilled. With whom they carry on this traffic, may perhaps admit of some doubt. For though we found amongst them things doubtless of European manufacture, or at least derived from some civilised nation, such as iron and brass, it by no means appears that they receive them immediately from these nations. For we never observed the least sign of their having seen ships like ours before, nor of their having traded with such people. Many circumstances serve to prove this almost beyond a doubt. They were earnest in their inquiries, by signs, on our arrival, if we meant to settle amongst them; and if we came as friends: signifying, at the same time, that they gave the wood and water freely from friendship. This not only proves, that they considered the place as entirely their property, without fearing any superiority; but the inquiry would have been an unnatural one, on a supposition that any ships had been here before, had trafficked, and supplied themselves with wood and water, and had then departed; for, in that case, they might reasonably expect we would do the same. They, indeed, expressed no marks of surprise at seeing our ships. But this, as I observed before, may be imputed to their natural indolence of temper, and want of curiosity. Nor were they even startled at the report of a musket; till one day, upon their endeavouring to make us sensible that their arrows and spears could not penetrate the hide-dresses, one of our gentlemen shot a musket-ball through one of them, folded six times. At this they were so much staggered, that they plainly discovered their ignorance of the effect of fire-arms. This was very often confirmed afterward, when we used them at their village, and other places, to shoot birds, the manner of which plainly confounded them; and our explanations of the use of shot and ball were received with the most significant marks of their having no previous ideas on this matter.

Some accounts of a Spanish voyage to this coast, in 1774, or 1775, had reached England before I sailed; but the foregoing circumstances sufficiently prove, that these ships had not been at Nootka *. Besides this, it was evident that iron was too common here; was in too

* We now know that Captain Cook's conjecture was well founded. It appears from the Journal of this Voyage, already referred to, that the Spaniards had intercourse with the natives of this coast only in three places, in

many hands; and the uses of it were too well known, for them to have had the first knowledge of it so very lately; or, indeed, at any earlier period, by an accidental supply from a ship. Doubtless, from the general use they make of this metal, it may be supposed to come from some constant source, by way of traffic, and that not of a very late date; for they are as dexterous in using their tools as the longest practice can make them. The most probable way, therefore, by which we can suppose that they get their iron, is by trading for it with other Indian tribes, who either have immediate communication with European settlements upon that continent, or receive it, perhaps, through several intermediate nations. The same might be said of the brass and copper found amongst them.

Whether these things be introduced by way of Hudson's Bay and Canada, from the Indians, who deal with our traders, and so successively across from one tribe to the other; or whether they be brought from the north-western parts of Mexico, in the same manner, perhaps cannot be easily determined. But it should seem, that not only the rude materials, but some articles in their manufactured state, find their way hither. The brass ornaments for noses, in particular, are so neatly made, that I am doubtful whether the Indians are capable of fabricating them. The materials certainly are European; as no American tribes have been found, who knew the method of making brass; though copper has been commonly met with, and, from its softness, might be fashioned into any shape, and also polished. If our traders to Hudson's-Bay and Canada do not use such articles in their traffic with the natives, they must have been introduced at Nootka from the quarter of Mexico from whence, no doubt, the two silver table-spoons met with here were originally derived. It is most probable, however, that the Spaniards are not such eager traders, nor have formed such extensive connexions with the tribes north of Mexico, as to supply them with quantities of iron, from which they can spare so much to the people here*.

Of the political and religious institutions established amongst them, it cannot be supposed that we should learn much. This we could observe, that there are such men as chiefs, who are distinguished by the name or title of *Acweek*, and to whom the others are in some measure subordinate. But I should guess, the authority of each of these great men extends no farther than the family to which he belongs, and who own him as their head. These *Acweeks* were not always elderly men; from which I concluded, that this title came to them by inheritance. I saw nothing that could give the least insight into their notions of religion, besides the figures before mentioned, called by them *Klumma*. Most probably these were idols; but as they frequently mentioned the word *acweek*, when they spoke of them, we may perhaps be authorised to suppose that they are the images of some of their ancestors, whom they venerate as divinities. But all this is mere conjecture; for we saw no act of religious homage paid to them; nor could we gain any information, as we had learned little more of the language, than to ask the names of things, without being able to hold any conversation with the natives, that might instruct us as to their institutions or traditions†.

In drawing up the preceding account of the people of this Sound, I have occasionally blended Mr. Anderson's observations with my own; but I owe everything to him that relates to their language; and the following remarks are in his own words:

"Their language is by no means harsh or disagreeable, farther than proceeds from their using the *k* and *h* with more force, or pronouncing them with less softness, than we do; and

latitude 41° 7′; in latitude 47° 21′; and in latitude 57° 18′. So that they were not within two degrees of Nootka; and it is most probable, that the people there never heard of these Spanish ships.

* Though the two silver table-spoons, found at Nootka Sound, most probably came from the Spaniards in the south, there seem to be sufficient grounds for believing, that the regular supply of iron comes from a different quarter. It is remarkable, that the Spaniards, in 1775, found at Puerto de la Trinidad, in latitude 41° 7′, arrows pointed with copper or iron, which they understood were procured from the north. Mr. Daines Barrington, in a note at this part of the Spanish Journal, p. 20, says, "I should conceive that the copper and iron, here mentioned, must have originally been bartered at our forts in Hudson's Bay."

† The natives of Nootka Sound are governed by a king, whose office is hereditary, as is the rank of the chiefs. Every son of a chief, when he attained an age fitting him for bearing arms, and had passed through certain ordeals of no trifling nature, testifying his fortitude, assumed the rank of *syee* (so spelt by Jewitt), or chief, in virtue of his birth. The institution of slavery among the people of Nootka, which is not common among the North American Indians, with whom those captives who are spared are generally adopted into the tribe, probably renders it necessary to keep up this hereditary nobility to the full extent. For in tribes where slavery is not known, the dignity of the king or head chief alone is hereditary; nor is this always the case; but other honours must be won by desert.—Ed.

upon the whole, it abounds rather with what we may call labial and dental, than with guttural sounds. The simple sounds which we have not heard them use, and which consequently, may be reckoned rare, or wanting in their language, are those represented by the letters *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *r*, and *v*. But on the other hand, they have one which is very frequent, and not used by us. It is formed in a particular manner, by clashing the tongue partly against the roof of the mouth, with considerable force; and may be compared to a very coarse or harsh method of lisping. It is difficult to represent this sound by any composition of our letters, unless, somehow, from *lszthl*. This is one of their most usual terminations, though we sometimes found it in the beginning of words. The next most general termination is composed of *tl*; and many words end with *z* and *ss*. A specimen or two of each of these is here put down:

Opulszthl	The sun.	*Teeshcheetl*	To throw a stone.
Onulszthl	The moon*.	*Kooomitz*	A human skull.
Kahsheetl	Dead.	*Quahmiss*	Fish roe.

"They seem to take so great a latitude in their mode of speaking, that I have sometimes observed four or five different terminations of the same word. This is a circumstance very puzzling at first to a stranger, and marks a great imperfection in their language.

"As to the composition of it, we can say very little; having been scarcely able to distinguish the several parts of speech. It can only be inferred, from their method of speaking, which is very slow and distinct, that it has few prepositions or conjunctions; and as far as we could discover, is destitute of even a single interjection, to express admiration or surprise. From its having few conjunctions, it may be conceived, that these being thought unnecessary, as being understood, each single word with them will also express a great deal to comprehend several simple ideas; which seems to be the case. But for the same reason, the language will be defective in other respects; not having words to distinguish or express differences which really exist, and hence not sufficiently copious. This was observed to be the case in many instances, particularly with respect to the names of animals. The relation or affinity it may bear to other languages, either on this or on the Asiatic continent, I have not been able sufficiently to trace, for want of proper specimens to compare it with, except those of the Esquimaux and Indians about Hudson's Bay; to neither of which it bears the least resemblance. On the other hand, from the few Mexican words I have been able to procure, there is the most obvious agreement, in the very frequent terminations of the words in *l*, *tl*, or *z*, throughout the language†."

The large vocabulary of the Nootka language, collected by Mr. Anderson, shall be reserved for another place‡, as its insertion here would too much interrupt our narration. At present, I only select their numerals, for the satisfaction of such of our readers as love to compare those of different nations, in different parts of the world:

Tsawack	One.	*Nofpo*	Six.
Ahkla	Two.	*Atslepoo*	Seven.
Katsitsa	Three.	*Atlaquolthl*	Eight.
Mo or *moo*	Four.	*Tsawaquulthl*	Nine.
Sochah	Five.	*Haecoo*	Ten.

Were I to affix a name to the people of Nootka, as a distinct nation, I would call them *Wakashians*, from the word *wakash*, which was very frequently in their mouths. It seemed to express applause, approbation, and friendship; for when they appeared to be satisfied, or well pleased with anything they saw, or any incident that happened, they would, with one voice, call out, *Wakash! wakash!*§ I shall take my leave of them with remarking, that,

* Jewitt gives *Oop-helth*, as a name common to the sun and the moon. The other words in this list he does not give; but the numerals a little farther on agree with his, save in a slight difference in spelling.—Ed.

† May we not, in confirmation of Mr. Anderson's remark, observe, that *Opulszthl*, the Nootka name of the sun, and *Vitziputzli*, the name of the Mexican divinity, have no very distant affinity in sound?

‡ It will be found at the end of the volume.

§ *Wacash*, or *wocash*, as Jewitt spells it, is an expression of approbation, and in the same indefinable sense as the Italian "*Bravo*" is by us. Jewitt translates it "good," which probably does not convey its exact meaning.—Ed.

l and dental, than with
n use, and which conse-
hose represented by the
hich is very frequent, and
he tongue partly against
l to a very coarse or harsh
mposition of our letters,
terminations, though we
l termination is composed
each of these is here put

. . . To throw a stone.
. . . A human skull.
. . Fish roe.

g, that I have sometimes
s is a circumstance very
eir language.
en scarcely able to distin-
heir method of speaking.
ajunctions; and as far as
ess admiration or surprise.
eing thought unnecessary,
great deal to comprehend
me reason, the language
ish or express differences
bserved to be the case in
The relation or affinity
ntinent, I have not been
t with, except those of the
it bears the least resem-
been able to procure, there
of the words in *l*, *tl*, or *z*,

nderson, shall be reserved
ur narration. At present,
aders as love to compare

. . . . Six.
. . . . Seven.
. . . . Eight.
. . . . Nine.
. . . . Ten.

ation, I would call them
their mouths. It seemed
ppeared to be satisfied, or
d, they would, with one
m with remarking, that,

e end of the volume.

h, as Jewitt spells it, is an ex-
nd in the same indefinable sense
is by us. Jewitt translates it
ly does not convey its exact

differing so essentially as they certainly do in their persons, their customs, and language, from the inhabitants of the islands in the Pacific Ocean, we cannot suppose their respective progenitors to have been united in the same tribe, or to have had any intimate connexion, when they emigrated from their original settlements, into the places where we now find their descendants.

My account of the transactions in Nootka Sound would be imperfect, without adding the astronomical and nautical observations made by us, while the ships were in that station.

LATITUDE.

The latitude of the observatory by	Sun		49°	36′	1″,	15‴
	Stars	South	49	36	8,	36
		North	49	36	10,	30
The mean of these means			49	36	6,	47 north.

LONGITUDE.

The longitude by lunar observations.	Twenty sets taken on the 21st and 23d of March	233°	26′	18″,	7‴
	Ninety-three taken at the observatory	233	18	6,	6
	Twenty-four taken on the 1st, 2d, and 3d of May	233	7	16,	7
The mean of these means		233	17	14,	0 east.
But by reducing each set taken before we arrived in the Sound, and after we left it, by the time-keeper, and adding them up with those made on the spot, the mean of the 137 sets will be		233°	17′	30″,	5‴
Longitude by the time-keeper	Greenwich rate	235°	46′	51″,	0‴
	Ulietea rate	233	59	24,	0

From the results of the last fifteen days' observations of equal altitudes of the sun, the daily rate of the time-keeper was losing, on mean time, 7″; and the 16th of April, she was too slow for mean time, by $16^h\ 0^m\ 58''$, 45. There was found an irregularity in her rate, greater than at any time before. It was thought proper to reject the first five days, as the rate in them differed so much from that of the fifteen following; and even in these, each day differed from another more than usual.

VARIATION OF THE COMPASS.

April 4th.	A. M.	Observatory	15°	57′	48½″	15°	49′	25″ east.
	P. M.	Mean of 4 needles	15	41	2			
5th.	A. M.	On board the ship	19	50	49	19	44	57½
17th.	P. M.	Mean of 4 needles	19	38	46			

The variation found on board the ship ought to be taken for the true one, not only as it agreed with what we observed at sea; but because it was found that there was something ashore that had a considerable effect upon the compasses; in some places more than others. At one spot, on the west point of the Sound, the needle was attracted 11¾ points from its proper direction.

INCLINATION OF THE DIPPING NEEDLE.

April 5th. On board with balanced needle	Marked	End North and dipping	71°	26′	22½″	71°	40′	22½
	Unmarked		71	54	22½			
The same needle at the observatory	Marked	End North and dipping	72	3	45	70	0	0
	Unmarked		71	56	15			
18th. Ditto	Marked	End North and dipping	71	58	20	72	7	15
	Unmarked		72	16	10			
5th. Spare needle at the observatory	Marked	End North and dipping	72	32	30	72	49	15
	Unmarked		73	6	0			
18th. Ditto	Marked	End North and dipping	72	55	0	73	11	45
	Unmarked		73	28	30			
24. Spare needle on board	Marked	End North and dipping	73	28	38	73	11	0
	Unmarked		72	53	30			
Hence the mean dip with both needles on shore, was						72	32	3¾
On board						72	25	41½

This is as near as can be expected; and shows that whatever it was that affected the compasses, whether on board or ashore, it had no effect upon the dipping needles.

TIDES.

It is high-water on the days of the new and full moon at $12^h\ 20^m$. The perpendicular rise and fall eight feet nine inches; which is to be understood of the day tides, and those which happen two or three days after the new and full moon. The night tides at this time rise near two feet higher. This was very conspicuous during the spring-tide of the full moon, which happened soon after our arrival; and it was obvious that it would be the same in those of the new moon, though we did not remain here long enough to see the whole of its effect.

Some circumstances that occurred daily, relating to this, deserve particular notice. In the cove where we got wood and water, was a great deal of drift-wood thrown ashore, a part of which we had to remove to come at the water. It often happened that large pieces of trees which we had removed during the day out of the reach of the then high-water, were found the next morning floated again in our way, and all our spouts for conveying down the water thrown out of their places, which were immoveable during the day tides. We also found that wood which we had split up for fuel, and had deposited beyond the reach of the day tide, floated during the night. Some of these circumstances happened every night or morning for three or four days, in the height of the spring tides; during which time we were obliged to attend every morning tide, to remove the large logs out of the way of watering. I cannot say whether the flood tide falls into the Sound from the N.W., S.W., or S.E. I think it does not come from the last quarter; but this is only conjecture founded upon the following observations: the S.E. gales which we had in the Sound, were so far from increasing the rise of the tide, that they rather diminished it; which would hardly have happened if the flood and wind had been in the same direction.

CHAPTER IV.—A STORM AFTER SAILING FROM NOOTKA SOUND.—RESOLUTION SPRINGS A LEAK.—PRETENDED STRAIT OF ADMIRAL DE FONTE PASSED UNEXAMINED.—PROGRESS ALONG THE COAST OF AMERICA.—BEERING'S BAY.—KAYE'S ISLAND—ACCOUNT OF IT.—THE SHIPS COME TO ANCHOR.—VISITED BY THE NATIVES.—THEIR BEHAVIOUR.—FONDNESS FOR BEADS AND IRON.—ATTEMPT TO PLUNDER THE DISCOVERY.—RESOLUTION'S LEAK STOPPED.—PROGRESS UP THE SOUND.—MESSRS. GORE AND ROBERTS SENT TO EXAMINE ITS EXTENT.—REASONS AGAINST A PASSAGE TO THE NORTH THROUGH IT.—THE SHIPS PROCEED DOWN IT TO THE OPEN SEA.

Having put to sea on the evening of the 26th, as before related, with strong signs of an approaching storm, these signs did not deceive us. We were hardly out of the Sound before the wind, in an instant, shifted from N.E. to S.E. by E., and increased to a strong gale with squalls and rain, and so dark a sky that we could not see the length of the ship. Being apprehensive, from the experience I had since our arrival on this coast, of the wind veering more to the S., which would put us in danger of a lee-shore, we got the tacks on board, and stretched off to the S.W., under all the sail the ships could bear. Fortunately the wind veered no farther southerly than S.E., so that at day-light the next morning we were quite clear of the coast. The Discovery being at some distance astern, I brought to, till she came up, and then bore away, steering N.W., in which direction I supposed the coast to lie. The wind was at S E., blew very hard, and in squalls, with thick hazy weather. At half past one in the afternoon, it blew a perfect hurricane, so that I judged it highly dangerous to run any longer before it, and, therefore, brought the ships to with their heads to the southward, under the foresails and mizen stay-sails. At this time the Resolution sprung a leak, which, at first, alarmed us not a little. It was found to be under the starboard buttock: where, from the bread-room, we could both hear and see the water rush in, and, as we then

thought, two feet under water. But in this we were happily mistaken; for it was afterward found to be even with the water-line, if not above it, when the ship was upright. It was no sooner discovered, than the fish-room was found to be full of water, and the casks in it afloat; but this was, in a great measure, owing to the water not finding its way to the pumps through the coals that lay in the bottom of the room; for after the water was baled out, which employed us till midnight, and had found its way directly from the leak to the pumps, it appeared that one pump kept it under, which gave us no small satisfaction. In the evening, the wind veered to the S., and its fury in some degree ceased. On this we set the mainsail and two topsails close-reefed, and stretched to the westward; but at eleven o'clock the gale again increased, and obliged us to take in the topsails, till five o'clock the next morning, when the storm began to abate; so that we could bear to set them again.

The weather now began to clear up; and being able to see several leagues round us, I steered more to the northward. At noon, the latitude, by observation, was 50° 1′; longitude 229° 26′*. I now steered N.W. by N., with a fresh gale at S.S.E., and fair weather. But at nine in the evening it began again to blow hard and in squalls with rain. With such weather, and the wind between S.S.E. and S.W., I continued the same course till the 30th, at four in the morning, when I steered N. by W., in order to make the land. I regretted very much indeed that I could not do it sooner, for this obvious reason, that we were now passing the place where geographers† have placed the pretended strait of Admiral de Fonte. For my own part, I give no credit to such vague and improbable stories, that carry their own confutation along with them. Nevertheless, I was very desirous of keeping the American coast aboard, in order to clear up this point beyond dispute. But it would have been highly imprudent in me to have engaged with the land in weather so exceedingly tempestuous, or to have lost the advantage of a fair wind by waiting for better weather. The same day at noon we were in the latitude of 53° 22′, and in the longitude of 225° 14′.

The next morning, being the first of May, seeing nothing of the land, I steered north-easterly, with a fresh breeze at S.S.E. and S., with squalls and showers of rain and hail. Our latitude at noon was 54° 43′, and our longitude 224° 44′. At seven in the evening, being in the latitude of 55° 20′, we got sight of the land, extending from N.N.E. to E., or E. by S., about twelve or fourteen leagues distant. An hour after I steered N. by W., and at four the next morning, the coast was seen from N. by W. to S.E., the nearest part about six leagues distant‡. At this time the northern point of an inlet, or what appeared to be one, bore E. by S. It lies in the latitude of 56°, and from it to the northward, the coast seemed to be much broken, forming bays and harbours every two or three leagues, or else appearances much deceived us. At six o'clock, drawing nearer the land, I steered N.W. by N., this being the direction of the coast, having a fresh gale at S.E., with some showers of hail, snow, and sleet. Between eleven and twelve o'clock, we passed a group of small islands lying under the main land, in the latitude of 56° 48′, and off, or rather to the northward of, the S. point of a large bay. An arm of this bay, in the northern part of it, seemed to extend in toward the N., behind a round elevated mountain that lies between it and the sea. This mountain I called Mount Edgecumbe, and the point of land that shoots out from it, Cape Edgecumbe. The latter lies in the latitude of 57° 3′, and in the longitude of 224° 7′, and at noon it bore N. 20° W., six leagues distant.

The land, except in some places close to the sea, is all of a considerable height, and hilly; but Mount Edgecumbe far out-tops all the other hills. It was wholly covered with snow;

* As in the remaining part of this volume, the latitude and longitude are very frequently set down; the former being invariably *north* and the latter *east*, the constant repetition of the two words *north* and *east* has been omitted, to avoid unnecessary precision.

† See De Lisle's Carte Générale des Découvertes de l'Amiral de Fonte, &c. Paris, 1752; and many other maps.

‡ This must be very near that part of the American coast where Tscherikow anchored in 1741. For Muller places its latitude in 56°. Had this Russian navigator been so fortunate as to proceed a little farther northward along the coast, he would have found, as we now learn from Captain Cook, bays, and harbours, and islands, where his ship might have been sheltered, and his people protected in landing. For the particulars of the misfortunes he met with here, two boats' crews, which he sent ashore, having never returned, probably cut off by the natives, see Muller's Découvertes des Russes, p. 248, 254. The Spaniards, in 1775, found two good harbours on this part of the coast; that called Gualoupe, in latitude 57° 11′; and the other De los Remedios, in latitude 57° 18′.

as were also all the other elevated hills; but the lower ones, and the flatter spots, bordering upon the sea, were free from it, and covered with wood.

As we advanced to the north, we found the coast from Cape Edgecumbe to trend to north and north-easterly for six or seven leagues, and there form a large bay. In the entrance of that bay are some islands; for which reason I named it the *Bay of Islands.* It lies in the latitude of 57° 20′*; and seemed to branch into several arms, one of which turned to the south, and may probably communicate with the bay on the east side of Cape Edgecumbe, and make the land of that cape an island. At eight o'clock in the evening, the cape bore south-east half south; the Bay of Islands N. 53° E.; and another inlet, before which are also some islands, bore N. 52° E., five leagues distant. I continued to steer N.N.W., half W., and N.W. by W., as the coast trended, with a fine gale at N.E., and clear weather. At half an hour past four in the morning, on the 3rd, Mount Edgecumbe bore S. 54° E.; a large inlet, N. 50° E., distant six leagues; and the most advanced point of the land, to the N.W., lying under a very high peaked mountain, which obtained the name of Mount Fair Weather, bore N. 32° W. The inlet was named Cross Sound, as being first seen on that day, so marked in our calendar. It appeared to branch in several arms, the largest of which turned to the northward. The south-east point of this sound is a high promontory, which obtained the name of Cross Cape. It lies in the latitude of 57° 57′, and its longitude is 223° 21′. At noon it bore south-east; and the point, under the peaked mountain, which was called Cape Fair Weather, north by west a quarter west, distant thirteen leagues. Our latitude at this time was 58° 17′, and our longitude 222° 14′; and we were distant from the shore three or four leagues. In this situation we found the variation of the compass to be from 24° 11′ to 26° 11′ E.

Here the north-east wind left us, and was succeeded by light breezes from the north-west, which lasted for several days. I stood to the south-west, and west-south-west, till eight o'clock the next morning, when we tacked and stood toward the shore. At noon the latitude was 58° 22′, and the longitude 220° 45′. Mount Fair Weather, the peaked mountain over the cape of the same name, bore N., 63° E.; the shore under it twelve leagues distant. This mountain, which lies in the latitude of 58° 52′, and in the longitude of 222°, and five leagues inland, is the highest of a chain, or rather a ridge of mountains, that rise at the north-west entrance of Cross Sound, and extend to the north-west in a parallel direction with the coast. These mountains were wholly covered with snow, from the highest summit down to the sea-coast, some few places excepted, where we could perceive trees rising, as it were, out of the sea; and which, therefore, we supposed grew on low land, or on islands bordering upon the shore of the continent†. At five in the afternoon, our latitude being then 58° 53′, and our longitude 220° 52′, the summit of an elevated mountain appeared above the horizon, being N. 26° W.; and, as was afterward found, forty leagues distant. We supposed it to be Beering's Mount St. Elias; and it stands by that name in our chart. This day we saw several whales, seals, and porpoises; many gulls, and several flocks of birds, which had a black ring about the head; the tip of the tail and upper part of the wings with a black band; and the rest bluish above, and white below. We also saw a brownish duck, with a black or deep blue head and neck, sitting upon the water.

Having but light winds, with some calms, we advanced slowly; so that, on the 6th at noon, we were only in the latitude of 59° 8′, and in the longitude of 220° 19′. Mount Fair Weather bore S., 63° E., and Mount Elias N., 30° W.; the nearest land about eight leagues distant. In the direction of north, 47° E. from this station, there was the appearance of a bay, and an island off the south point of it, that was covered with wood. It is here where I suppose Commodore Beering to have anchored. The latitude, which is 59° 18′,

* It should seem that in this very bay, the Spaniards, in 1775, found their port which they call De los Remedios. The latitude is exactly the same; and their journal mentions its "being protected by a long ridge of high islands." —See Miscellanies, by the Honourable Daines Barrington, p. 503, 504.

† According to Muller, Beering fell in with the coast of North America in latitude 58° 28′; and he describes its aspect thus: "L'aspect du pays étoit effrayant par ses hautes montagnes couvertes de neige." The chain, or ridge of mountains, covered with snow, mentioned here by Captain Cook, in the same latitude, exactly agrees with what Beering met with.—See Muller's Voyages et Découvertes des Russes, p. 248—254.

atter spots, bordering

mbe to trend to north
. In the entrance of
slands. It lies in the
which turned to the
of Cape Edgecumbe,
vening, the cape bore
let, before which are
to steer N.N.W., half
E., and clear weather.
umbe bore S. 54° E.;
point of the land, to
l the name of Mount
as being first seen on
al arms, the largest of
is a high promontory,
° 57′, and its longitude
eaked mountain, which
thirteen leagues. Our
we were distant from
tion of the compass to

es from the north-west,
t-south-west, till eight
ore. At noon the lati-
r, the peaked mountain
twelve leagues distant.
gitude of 222°, and five
untains, that rise at the
a parallel direction with
om the highest summit
erceive trees rising, as it
low land, or on islands
oon, our latitude being
ted mountain appeared
d, forty leagues distant.
that name in our chart.
d several flocks of birds,
r part of the wings with
so saw a brownish duck,

; so that, on the 6th at
f 220° 19′. Mount Fair
earest land about eight
n, there was the appear-
vered with wood. It is
atitude, which is 59° 18′,

litude 58° 28′; and he describes
t du pays étoit effrayant par ses
tes de neige." The chain, or
ed with snow, mentioned here
ame latitude, exactly agrees with
See Muller's Voyages et Décou-
—254.

corresponds pretty well with the map of his voyage*, and the longitude is 221° E. Behind the bay (which I shall distinguish by the name of Beering's Bay, in honour of its discoverer), or rather to the south of it, the chain of mountains before mentioned is interrupted by a plain of a few leagues' extent; beyond which the sight was unlimited; so that there is either a level country or water behind it. In the afternoon, having a few hours' calm, I took this opportunity to sound, and found twenty fathoms' water over a muddy bottom. The calm was succeeded by a light breeze from the north, with which we stood to the westward; and at noon the next day we were in the latitude of 59° 27′, and the longitude of 219° 7′. In this situation, Mount Fair Weather bore S., 70′ E.; Mount St. Elias N., half W.; the westernmost land in sight, N., 52° W.; and our distance from the shore four or five leagues; the depth of water being eighty-two fathoms over a muddy bottom. From this station we could see a bay (circular to appearance) under the high land, with low wood-land on each side of it.

We now found the coast to trend very much to the west, inclining hardly anything to the north; and as we had the wind mostly from the westward, and but little of it, our progress was slow. On the 9th, at noon, the latitude was 59° 30′, and the longitude 217°. In this situation the nearest land was nine leagues distant; and Mount St. Elias bore N. 30° E., nineteen leagues distant. This mountain lies twelve leagues inland, in the latitude of 60° 27′, and in the longitude of 219°. It belongs to a ridge of exceedingly high mountains, that may be reckoned a continuation of the former; as they are only divided from them by the plain above-mentioned. They extend as far to the west as the longitude of 217°; where, although they do not end, they lose much of their height, and become more broken and divided. At noon, on the 10th, our latitude was 59° 51′, and our longitude 215° 56′, being no more than three leagues from the coast of the continent, which extended from east half north, to north-west half west, as far as the eye could reach. To the westward of this last direction was an island that extended from N., 52° W., to S., 85° W., distant six leagues. A point shoots out from the main toward the north-east end of the island, bearing at this time N., 30° W., five or six leagues distant. This point I named Cape Suckling. The point of the cape is low; but within it is a tolerably high hill, which is disjoined from the mountains by low land; so that, at a distance, the cape looks like an island. On the north side of Cape Suckling is a bay that appeared to be of some extent, and to be covered from most winds. To this bay I had some thoughts of going to stop our leak, as all our endeavours to do it at sea had proved ineffectual. With this view I steered for the Cape; but as we had only variable light breezes, we approached it slowly. However, before night, we were near enough to see some low land spitting out from the Cape to the north-west, so as to cover the east part of the bay from the south wind. We also saw some small islands in the bay, and elevated rocks between the Cape and the north-east end of the island. But still there appeared to be a passage on both sides of these rocks; and I continued steering for them all night, having from forty-three to twenty-seven fathoms water over a muddy bottom.

At four o'clock next morning, the wind, which had been mostly at north-east, shifted to north. This being against us, I gave up the design of going within the island, or into the bay, as neither could be done without loss of time. I therefore bore up for the west end of the island. The wind blew faint; and at ten o'clock it fell calm. Being not far from the island, I went in a boat and landed upon it, with a view of seeing what lay on the other side; but finding it farther to the hills than I expected, and the way being steep and woody, I was obliged to drop the design. At the foot of a tree, on a little eminence not far from the shore, I left a bottle with a paper in it, on which were inscribed the names of the ships, and the date of our discovery. And along with it I inclosed two silver twopenny pieces of his majesty's coin, of the date 1772. These, with many others, were furnished me by the Reverend Dr. Kaye †; and, as a mark of my esteem and regard for that gentleman, I named the island, after him, Kaye's Island. It is eleven or twelve leagues in length, in the

* Probably Captain Cook means Muller's map, prefixed to his History of the Russian Discoveries.

† Then sub-almoner and chaplain to his majesty, afterwards dean of Lincoln.

direction of north-east and south-west; but its breadth is not above a league, or a league and a half, in any part of it. The south-west point, which lies in the latitude of 59° 49′, and the longitude of 216° 58′, is very remarkable, being a naked rock, elevated considerably above the land within it. There is also an elevated rock lying off it, which, from some points of view, appears like a ruined castle. Toward the sea the island terminates in a kind of bare sloping cliffs, with a beach, only a few paces across to their foot, of large pebble stones, intermixed in some places with a brownish clayey sand, which the sea seems to deposit after rolling in, having been washed down from the higher parts by the rivulets or torrents. The cliffs are composed of a bluish stone or rock, in a soft or mouldering state, except in a few places. There are parts of the shore interrupted by small valleys and gullies. In each of these a rivulet or torrent rushes down with considerable impetuosity; though it may be supposed that they are only furnished from the snow, and last no longer than till it is all melted. These valleys are filled with pine-trees, which grow down close to the entrance, but only to about half way up the higher or middle part of the island. The woody part also begins everywhere immediately above the cliffs, and is continued to the same height with the former; so that the island is covered, as it were, with a broad girdle of wood, spread upon its side, included between the top of the cliffy shore, and the higher parts in the centre. The trees, however, are far from being of an uncommon growth; few appearing to be larger than one might grasp round with his arms, and about forty or fifty feet high; so that the only purpose they could answer for shipping would be to make top-gallant masts, and other small things. How far we may judge of the size of the trees which grow on the neighbouring continent, it may be difficult to determine. But it was observed that none larger than those we saw growing lay upon the beach amongst the drift-wood. The pine-trees seemed all of one sort; and there was neither the Canadian pine nor cypress to be seen. But there were a few which appeared to be the alder, that were but small, and had not yet shot forth their leaves. Upon the edges of the cliffs, and on some sloping ground, the surface was covered with a kind of turf, about half a foot thick, which seemed composed of the common moss; and the top, or upper part, of the island had almost the same appearance as to colour; but whatever covered it seemed to be thicker. I found amongst the trees some currant and hawberry bushes; a small yellow-flowered violet; and the leaves of some other plants not yet in flower, particularly one which Mr. Anderson supposed to be the *Heracleum* of Linnæus, the sweet herb, which Steller, who attended Beering, imagined the Americans here dress for food, in the same manner as the natives of Kamtschatka *.

We saw, flying about the wood, a crow; two or three of the white-headed eagles mentioned at Nootka; and another sort full as large, which appeared also of the same colour, or blacker, and had only a white breast. In the passage from the ship to the shore, we saw a great many fowls sitting upon the water, or flying about in flocks or pairs; the chief of which were a few quebrantahuessos, divers, ducks, or large peterels, gulls, shags, and burres. The divers were of two sorts; one very large, of a black colour, with a white breast and belly; the other smaller, and with a longer and more pointed bill, which seemed to be the common guillemot. The ducks were also of two sorts; one brownish, with a black or deep blue head and neck, and is perhaps the stone-duck described by Steller. The others fly in larger flocks, but are smaller than these, and are of a dirty black colour. The gulls were of the common sort, and those which fly in flocks. The shags were large and black, with a white spot behind the wings as they flew; but probably only the larger water-cormorant. There was also a single bird seen flying about, to appearance of the gull kind, of a snowy white colour, with black along part of the upper side of its wings. I owe all these remarks to Mr. Anderson. At the place where we landed, a fox came from the verge of the wood, and eyed us with very little emotion, walking leisurely, without any signs of fear. He was of a reddish-yellow colour, like some of the skins we bought at Nootka, but not of a large size. We also saw two or three little seals off-shore; but no other animals or birds, nor the least signs of inhabitants having ever been upon the island.

* See Muller, p. 256.

I returned on board at half-past two in the afternoon; and, with a light breeze easterly, steered for the south-west of the island, which we got round by eight o'clock, and then stood for the westernmost land now in sight, which at this time bore north-west half north On the north-west side of the north-east end of Kaye's Island, lies another island stretching south-east and north-west about three leagues, to within the same distance of the north-west boundary of the bay above mentioned, which is distinguished by the name of Comptroller's Bay.

Next morning at four o'clock Kaye's Island was still in sight, bearing east a quarter south. At this time we were about four or five leagues from the main; and the most western part in sight bore north-west half north. We had now a fresh gale at east-south-east; and as we advanced to the north-west we raised land more and more westerly, and at last to the southward of west; so that at noon, when the latitude was 61° 11′ and the longitude 213° 28′, the most advanced land bore from us south-west by west half west. At the same time the east point of a large inlet bore west-north-west, three leagues distant. From Comptroller's Bay to this point, which I name Cape Hinchinbroke, the direction of the coast is nearly east and west. Beyond this it seemed to incline to the southward; a direction so contrary to the modern charts founded upon the late Russian discoveries, that we had reason to expect that by the inlet before us we should find a passage to the north, and that the land to the west and south-west was nothing but a group of islands. Add to this, that the wind was now at south-east, and we were threatened with a fog and a storm; and I wanted to get into some place to stop the leak before we encountered another gale. These reasons induced me to steer for the inlet, which we had no sooner reached than the weather became so foggy that we could not see a mile before us, and it became necessary to secure the ships in some place to wait for a clearer sky. With this view, I hauled close under Cape Hinchinbroke, and anchored before a small cove, a little within the cape, in eight fathoms' water, a clayey bottom, and about a quarter of a mile from the shore.

The boats were then hoisted out, some to sound and others to fish. The seine was drawn in the cove; but without success, for it was torn. At some short intervals the fog cleared away, and gave us a sight of the lands around us. The cape bore south by west half west, one league distant; the west point of the inlet south-west by west, distant five leagues; and the land on that side extended as far as west by north. Between this point and north-west by west we could see no land; and what was in the last direction seemed to be at a great distance. The westernmost point we had in sight on the north shore, bore north-north-west half west, two leagues distant. Between this point and the shore under which we were at anchor is a bay about three leagues deep; on the south-east side of which there are two or three coves, such as that before which we had anchored; and in the middle some rocky islands. To these islands Mr. Gore was sent in a boat, in hopes of shooting some eatable birds. But he had hardly got to them before about twenty natives made their appearance in two large canoes; on which he thought proper to return to the ships, and they followed him. They would not venture alongside, but kept at some distance, holloing aloud, and alternately clasping and extending their arms; and, in a short time, began a kind of song exactly after the manner of those at Nootka. Their heads were also powdered with feathers. One man held out a white garment, which we interpreted as a sign of friendship; and another stood up in the canoe quite naked, for almost a quarter of an hour, with his arms stretched out like a cross, and motionless. The canoes were not constructed of wood, as at King George's or Nootka Sound. The frame only, being slender laths, was of that substance; the outside consisting of the skins of seals, or of such-like animals. Though we returned all their signs of friendship, and, by every expressive gesture, tried to encourage them to come alongside, we could not prevail. Some of our people repeated several of the common words of the Nootka language, such as *seekemaile* and *mahook;* but they did not seem to understand them. After receiving some presents which were thrown to them, they retired toward that part of the shore from whence they came; giving us to understand by signs, that they would visit us again the next morning. Two of them, however, each in a small canoe, waited upon us in the night;

probably with a design to pilfer something, thinking we should be all asleep, for they retired as soon as they found themselves discovered.

During the night the wind was at south-south-east, blowing hard and in squalls, with rain, and very thick weather. At ten o'clock next morning the wind became more moderate, and the weather being somewhat clearer, we got under sail in order to look out for some snug place where we might search for and stop the leak; our present station being too much exposed for this purpose. At first I proposed to have gone up the bay, before which we had anchored; but the clearness of the weather tempted me to steer to the northward, farther up the great inlet, as being all in our way. As soon as we had passed the north-west point of the bay above-mentioned, we found the coast on that side turn short to the eastward. I did not follow it, but continued our course to the north, for a point of land which we saw in that direction.

The natives who visited us the preceding evening, came off again in the morning, in five or six canoes, but not till we were under sail; and although they followed us for some time, they could not get up with us. Before two in the afternoon the bad weather returned again, with so thick a haze that we could see no other land besides the point just mentioned, which we reached at half past four, and found it to be a small island lying about two miles from the adjacent coast, being a point of land, on the east side of which we discovered a fine bay, or rather harbour. To this we plied up under reefed topsails and courses. The wind blew strong at south-east, and in excessively hard squalls, with rain. At intervals we could see land in every direction; but in general the weather was so foggy, that we could see none but the shores of the bay into which we were plying. In passing the island the depth of water was twenty-six fathoms, with a muddy bottom. Soon after the depth increased to sixty and seventy fathoms, a rocky bottom; but in the entrance of the bay the depth was from thirty to six fathoms, the last very near the shore. At length, at eight o'clock, the violence of the squalls obliged us to anchor in thirteen fathoms, before we had got so far into the bay as I intended; but we thought ourselves fortunate that we had already sufficiently secured ourselves at this hour, for the night was exceedingly stormy. The weather, bad as it was, did not hinder three of the natives from paying us a visit. They came off in two canoes, two men in one and one in the other, being the number each could carry; for they were built and constructed in the same manner with those of the Esquimaux, only in the one were two holes for two men to sit in, and in the other but one. Each of these men had a stick about three feet long, with the large feathers or wing of birds tied to it. These they frequently held up to us; with a view, as we guessed, to express their pacific disposition*.

The treatment these men met with, induced many more to visit us between one and two the next morning, in both great and small canoes. Some ventured on board the ship; but not till some of our people had stepped into their boats. Amongst those who came on board, was a good-looking middle-aged man, whom we afterwards found to be the chief. He was clothed in a dress made of the sea-otter's skin; and had on his head such a cap as is worn by the people of King George's Sound, ornamented with sky-blue glass beads, about the size of a large pea. He seemed to set a much higher value upon these than upon our white glass beads. Any sort of beads, however, appeared to be in high estimation with these people; and they readily gave whatever they had in exchange for them; even their fine sea-otter skins. But here I must observe, that they set no more value upon these than upon other skins, which was also the case at King George's Sound, till our people set a higher price upon them; and even after that, the natives of both places would sooner part with a dress made of these, than with one made of the skins of wild cats or of martins. These people were also desirous of iron; but they wanted pieces of eight or ten inches long at least, and of the breadth of three or four fingers. For they absolutely rejected small pieces. Consequently they got but little from us; iron having, by this time, become rather a scarce article. The

* Exactly corresponding to this, was the manner of receiving Beering's people at the Schumagin Islands on this coast, in 1741. Muller's words are—"On sait ce que c'est que le *calumet*, que les Américains Septentrionaux présentent en signe de paix. Ceux-ci en tenoient de pareils en main. C'étoient des bâtons avec *ailes de faucon* attachés au bout."—Découvertes, p. 268.

points of some of their spears or lances were of that metal; others were of copper, and a few of bone; of which the points of their darts, arrows, &c., were composed. I could not prevail upon the chief to trust himself below the upper deck; nor did he and his companions remain long on board. But while we had their company it was necessary to watch them narrowly, as they soon betrayed a thievish disposition. At length, after being about three or four hours alongside the Resolution, they all left her and went to the Discovery; none having been there before, except one man, who at this time came from her, and immediately returned thither in company with the rest. When I observed this, I thought this man had met with something there, which he knew would please his countrymen better than what they met with at our ship. But in this I was mistaken, as will soon appear.

As soon as they were gone, I sent a boat to sound the head of the bay. For as the wind was moderate, I had thoughts of laying the ship ashore, if a convenient place could be found where I might begin our operations to stop the leak. It was not long before all the Americans left the Discovery, and instead of returning to us, made their way toward our boat employed as above. The officer in her seeing this, returned to the ship, and was followed by all the canoes. The boat's crew had no sooner come on board, leaving in her two of their number by way of a guard, than some of the Americans stepped into her. Some presented their spears before the two men; others cast loose the rope which fastened her to the ship; and the rest attempted to tow her away. But the instant they saw us preparing to oppose them, they let her go, stepped out of her into canoes, and made signs to us to lay down our arms, having the appearance of being as perfectly unconcerned as if they had done nothing amiss. This, though rather a more daring attempt, was hardly equal to what they had meditated on board the Discovery. The man who came and carried all his countrymen from the Resolution to the other ship, had first been on board of her; where, after looking down all the hatchways, and seeing nobody but the officer of the watch, and one or two more, he, no doubt, thought they might plunder her with ease; especially as she lay at some distance from us. It was unquestionably with this view that they all repaired to her. Several of them, without any ceremony, went on board; drew their knives, and made signs to the officer and people on deck to keep off; and began to look about them for plunder. The first thing they met with was the rudder of one of the boats, which they threw overboard to those of their party who had remained in the canoes. Before they had time to find another object that pleased their fancy, the crew were alarmed, and began to come upon deck armed with cutlasses. On seeing this, the whole company of plunderers sneaked off into their canoes, with as much deliberation and indifference as they had given up the boat; and they were observed describing to those who had not been on board, how much longer the knives of the ship's crew were than their own. It was at this time that my boat was on the sounding duty; which they must have seen; for they proceeded directly for her, after their disappointment at the Discovery. I have not the least doubt that their visiting us so very early in the morning, was with a view to plunder; on a supposition that they should find everybody asleep. May we not, from these circumstances, reasonably infer, that these people are unacquainted with fire-arms? For certainly, if they had known anything of their effect, they never would have dared to attempt taking a boat from under a ship's guns, in the face of above a hundred men; for most of my people were looking at them, at the very instant they made the attempt. However, after all these tricks, we had the good fortune to leave them as ignorant, in this respect, as we found them. For they neither heard nor saw a musket fired, unless at birds.

Just as we were going to weigh the anchor, to proceed farther up the bay, it began to blow and to rain as hard as before; so that we were obliged to bear away the cable again, and lay fast. Toward the evening, finding that the gale did not moderate, and that it might be some time before an opportunity offered to get higher up, I came to a resolution to heel the ship where we were; and with this view, moored her with a kedge-anchor and hawser. In heaving the anchor out of the boat, one of the seamen, either through ignorance or carelessness, or both, was carried overboard by the buoy-rope, and followed the anchor to the bottom. It is remarkable that, in this very critical situation, he had presence of mind

to disengage himself, and come up to the surface of the water, where he was taken up, with one of his legs fractured in a dangerous manner Early the next morning we gave the ship a good heel to port, in order to come at and stop the leak. On ripping off the sheathing it was found to be in the seams, which were very open both in and under the wale; and in several places not a bit of oakum in them. While the carpenters were making good these defects, we filled all our empty water-casks at a stream hard by the ship. The wind was now moderate, but the weather was thick and hazy, with rain. The natives, who left us the preceding day, when the bad weather came on, paid us another visit this morning. Those who came first were in small canoes; others afterwards arrived in large boats; in one of which were twenty women and one man, besides children.

In the evening of the 16th, the weather cleared up, and we then found ourselves surrounded on every side by land. Our station was on the east side of the sound, in a place which in a chart is distinguished by the name of Snug Corner Bay; and a very snug place it is. I went, accompanied by some of the officers, to view the head of it; and we found that it was sheltered from all winds; with a depth of water from seven to three fathoms over a muddy bottom. The land near the shore is low; part clear, and part wooded. The clear ground was covered, two or three feet thick, with snow; but very little lay in the woods. The very summits of the neighbouring hills were covered with wood; but those farther inland seemed to be naked rocks buried in snow.

The leak being stopped, and the sheathing made good over it, at four o'clock in the morning of the 17th we weighed, and steered to the north-westward, with a light breeze at east-north-east; thinking if there should be any passage to the north through this inlet, that it must be in that direction. Soon after we were under sail, the natives, in both great and small canoes, paid us another visit, which gave us an additional opportunity of forming a more perfect idea of their persons, dress, and other particulars, which shall be afterward described. Our visitors seemed to have no other business but to gratify their curiosity; for they entered into no sort of traffic with us. After we had got over to the north-west point of the arm in which we had anchored, we found that the flood-tide came into the inlet, through the same channel by which we had entered. Although this circumstance did not make wholly against a passage, it was, however, nothing in its favour. After passing the point above-mentioned, we met with a good deal of foul ground, and many sunken rocks even out in the middle of the channel, which is here five or six leagues wide. At this time the wind failed us, and was succeeded by calms and light airs from every direction; so that we had some trouble to extricate ourselves from the threatening danger. At length, about one o'clock, with the assistance of our boats, we got to an anchor, under the eastern shore, in thirteen fathoms' water, and about four leagues to the north of our last station. In the morning the weather had been very hazy; but it afterward cleared up, so as to give us a distinct view of all the land round us, particularly to the northward, where it seemed to close. This left us but little hopes of finding a passage that way; or indeed in any other direction, without putting out again to sea.

To enable me to form a better judgment, I despatched Mr. Gore, with two armed boats, to examine the northern arm; and the master, with two other boats, to examine another arm that seemed to take an easterly direction. Late in the evening they both returned. The master reported that the arm he had been sent to communicated with that from which he had last come; and that one side of it was only formed by a group of islands. Mr. Gore informed me that he had seen the entrance of an arm, which, he was of opinion, extended a long way to the north-east; and that probably by it a passage might be found. On the other hand, Mr. Roberts, one of the mates, whom I had sent with Mr. Gore to sketch out the parts they had examined, was of opinion that they saw the head of this arm. The disagreement of these two opinions, and the circumstance already mentioned of the flood-tide entering the Sound from the south, rendered the existence of a passage this way very doubtful. And, as the wind in the morning had become favourable for getting out to sea, I resolved to spend no more time in searching for a passage in a place that promised so little success. Besides this, I considered that if the land on the west should prove to be islands,

agreeably to the late Russian discoveries*, we could not fail of getting far enough to the north, and that in good time; provided we did not lose the season in searching places where a passage was not only doubtful, but improbable. We were now upward of five hundred and twenty leagues to the westward of any part of Baffin's or of Hudson's Bay. And whatever passage there may be, it must be, or at least part of it must lie to the north of latitude 72°. Who could expect to find a passage or strait of such extent?

Having thus taken my resolution, next morning, at three o'clock, we weighed, and with a gentle breeze at north, proceeded to the southward down the inlet; and met with the same broken ground as on the preceding day. However, we soon extricated ourselves from it, and afterward never struck ground with a line of forty fathoms. Another passage into this inlet was now discovered, to the south-west of that by which we came in, which enabled us to shorten our way out to sea. It is separated from the other by an island, extending eighteen leagues in the direction of north-east and south-west; to which I gave the name of Montagu Island. In this south-west channel are several islands. Those that lie in the entrance, next the open sea, are high and rocky. But those within are low ones; and being entirely free from snow, and covered with wood and verdure, on this account they were called Green Islands.

At two in the afternoon the wind veered to the south-west, and south-west by south, which reduced us to the necessity of plying. I first stretched over to within two miles of the eastern shore, and tacked in fifty-three fathoms water. In standing back to Montagu Island, we discovered a ledge of rocks; some above, and others under water, lying three miles within, or to the north of the northern point of Green Islands. Afterward some others were seen in the middle of the channel, farther out than the islands. These rocks made unsafe plying in the night (though not very dark); and, for that reason, we spent it standing off and on, under Montagu Island; for the depth of water was too great to come to an anchor. At daybreak, the next morning, the wind became more favourable, and we steered for the channel between Montagu Island and the Green Islands, which is between two and three leagues broad, and from thirty-four to seventeen fathoms deep. We had but little wind all the day; and at eight o'clock in the evening it was a dead calm; when we anchored in twenty-one fathoms' water, over a muddy bottom, about two miles from the shore of Montagu's Island. The calm continued till ten o'clock the next morning, when it was succeeded by a small breeze from the north, with which we weighed; and, by six o'clock in the evening, we were again in the open sea, and found the coast trending west by south, as far as the eye could reach.

CHAPTER V.—THE INLET CALLED PRINCE WILLIAM'S SOUND.—ITS EXTENT.—PERSONS OF THE INHABITANTS DESCRIBED.—THEIR DRESS.—INCISION OF THEIR UNDER LIP.—VARIOUS OTHER ORNAMENTS.—THEIR BOATS.—WEAPONS, FISHING, AND HUNTING INSTRUMENTS.—UTENSILS.—TOOLS.—USES IRON IS APPLIED TO.—FOOD.—LANGUAGE, AND A SPECIMEN OF IT.—ANIMALS.—BIRDS.—FISH.—IRON AND BEADS, WHENCE RECEIVED.

To the inlet, which we had now left, I gave the name of Prince William's Sound. To judge of this sound from what we saw of it, it occupies, at least, a degree and a half of latitude, and two of longitude, exclusive of the arms or branches, the extent of which is not known. The direction which they seemed to take, as also the situation and magnitude of the several islands in and about it, will be best seen in the sketch, which is delineated with as much accuracy as the short time and other circumstances would allow.

The natives, who came to make us several visits while we were in the Sound, were generally not above the common height; though many of them were under it. They were square, or strong-chested; and the most disproportioned part of their body seemed to be their heads, which were very large, with thick short necks, and large, broad, or spreading

* Captain Cook seems to take his ideas of these from Mr. Stæhlin's map, prefixed to the account of the Northern Archipelago; published by Dr. Maty. London, 1774.

faces; which, upon the whole, were flat. Their eyes, though not small, scarcely bore a proportion to the size of their faces; and their noses had full, round points, hooked, or turned up at the tip. Their teeth were broad, white, equal in size, and evenly set. Their hair was black, thick, straight and strong; and their beards, in general thin, or wanting; but the hairs about the lips of those who have them were stiff or bristly, and frequently of a brown colour. And several of the elderly men had even large and thick, but straight beards.

Though, in general, they agree in the make of their persons and largeness of their heads, there is a considerable variety in their features; but very few can be said to be of the handsome sort, though their countenance commonly indicates a considerable share of vivacity, good-nature, and frankness. And yet some of them had an air of sullenness and reserve. Some of the women have agreeable faces; and many are easily distinguishable from the men by their features, which are more delicate; but this should be understood chiefly of the younger sort, or middle-aged. The complexion of some of the women, and of the children, is white, but without any mixture of red. And some of the men, who were seen naked, had rather a brownish or swarthy cast, which could scarcely be the effect of any stain; for they do not paint their bodies.

Their common dress (for men, women, and children are clothed alike) is a kind of close frock, or rather robe; reaching generally to the ankles, though sometimes only to the knees. At the upper part is a hole just sufficient to admit the head, with sleeves that reach to the wrist. These frocks are made of the skins of different animals; the most common of which are those of the sea-otter, grey fox, racoon, and pine martin; with many of seal skins; and, in general, they are worn with the hairy side outward. Some also have these frocks made of the skins of fowls, with only the down remaining on them, which they glue on other substances. And we saw one or two woollen garments like those of Nootka. At the seams, where the different skins are sewed together, they are commonly ornamented with tassels or fringes of narrow thongs, cut out of the same skins. A few have a kind of cape or collar, and some a hood; but the other is the most common form, and seems to be their whole dress in good weather. When it rains, they put over this another frock, ingeniously made from the intestines of whales, or some other large animal, prepared so skilfully as almost to resemble our gold-beaters' leaf. It is made to draw tight round the neck; its sleeves reach as low as the wrist, round which they are tied with a string; and its skirts, when they are in their canoes, are drawn over the rim of the hole in which they sit, so that no water can enter. At the same time, it keeps the men entirely dry upward. For no water can penetrate through it any more than through a bladder. It must be kept continually moist or wet; otherwise it is apt to crack or break. This, as well as the common frock made of the skins, bears a great resemblance to the dress of the Greenlanders, as described by Crantz*.

MAN OF OONALASHKA.

* Crantz's History of Greenland, vol. i. p. 136—138. The reader will find in Crantz many striking instances, in which the Greenlanders and Americans of Prince William's Sound resemble each other, besides those mentioned in this chapter by Captain Cook. The dress of the people of Prince William's Sound, as described by Captain Cook, also agrees with that of the inhabitants of Schumagin's Islands, discovered by Beering in 1741. Muller's words are, "Leur habillement étoit de boyaux de baleines pour le haut du corps, et de peaux de chiens-marins pour le bas."—Découvertes des Russes, p. 274.

In general, they do not cover their legs or feet; but a few have a kind of skin stockings, which reach half-way up the thigh; and scarcely any of them are without mittens for the hands, made of the skins of bears' paws. Those who wear anything on their heads resembled in this respect our friends at Nootka; having high truncated conic caps, made of straw, and sometimes of wood, resembling a seal's head well painted.

The men commonly wear their hair cropped round the neck and forehead; but the women allow it to grow long, and most of them tie a small lock of it on the crown, or a few club it behind, after our manner. Both sexes have the ears perforated with several holes about the outer and lower part of the edge, in which they hang little bunches of beads, made of the same tubulose shelly substance used for this purpose by those of Nootka. The septum of the nose is also perforated, through which they frequently thrust the quill-feathers of small birds, or little bending ornaments made of the above shelly substance, strung on a stiff string or cord three or four inches long, which give them a truly grotesque appearance. But the most uncommon and unsightly ornamental fashion adopted by some of both sexes, is their having the under lip slit, or cut quite through in the direction of the mouth, a little below the swelling part. This incision, which is made even in the sucking children, is often above two inches long; and either by its natural retraction when the wound is fresh, or by the repetition of some artificial management, assumes the true shape of lips, and become so large as to admit the tongue through. This happened to be the case, when the first person having this incision was seen by one of the seamen, who called out that the man had two mouths, and, indeed it does not look unlike it. In this artificial mouth they stick a flat narrow ornament, made chiefly out of a solid shell or bone, cut into little narrow pieces like small teeth, almost down to the base or thickest part, which has a small projecting bit at each end that supports it when put into the divided lip, the cut part then appearing outward. Others have the lower lip only perforated into separate holes, and then the ornament consists of as many distinct shelly studs, whose points are pushed through these holes; and their heads appear within the lip, as another row of teeth immediately under their own.

These are their native ornaments. But we found many beads of European manufacture among them, chiefly of a pale blue colour, which they hang in their ears, about their caps, or join to their lip-ornaments, which have a small hole drilled in each point, to which they are fastened, and others to them, till they hang sometimes as low as the point of the chin. But, in this last case, they cannot remove them so easily; for as to their own lip-ornaments, they can take them out with their tongue, or suck within, at pleasure. They also wear bracelets of the shelly beads, or others of a cylindrical shape, made of a substance like amber, with such also as are used in their ears and noses. And so fond are they, in general, of ornament, that they stick anything in their perforated lip, one man appearing with two of our iron nails projecting from it like prongs, and another endeavouring to put a large brass button into it.

The men frequently paint their faces of a bright red and of a black colour, and sometimes of a blue or leaden colour; but not in any regular figure; and the women, in some measure, endeavoured to imitate them, by puncturing or staining the chin with black, that comes to a point in each cheek; a practice very similar to which is in fashion amongst the females of Greenland, as we learn from Crantz *. Their bodies are not painted, which may be owing to the scarcity of proper materials, for all the colours which they brought to sell in bladders were in very small quantities. Upon the whole, I have nowhere seen savages who take more pains than these people do to ornament, or rather to disfigure, their persons.

Their boats or canoes are of two sorts, the one being large and open, and the other small and covered. I mentioned already, that in one of the large boats were twenty women and one man, besides children. I attentively examined and compared the construction of this with Crantz's description of what he calls the great, or women's boat, in Greenland, and found that they were built in the same manner, parts like parts, with no other difference than in the form of the head and stern, particularly of the first, which bears some resemblance to the head of a whale. The framing is of slender pieces of wood, over which the skins of seals, or of other larger sea-animals, are stretched to compose the outside. It appeared also, that the small canoes of these people are made nearly of the same form and of the same

* Vol. i. p. 138.

materials with those used by the Greenlanders* and Esquimaux; at least the difference is not material. Some of these, as I have before observed, carry two men; they are broader in proportion to their length than those of the Esquimaux, and the head or fore-part curves somewhat like the head of a violin.

The weapons and instruments for fishing and hunting are the very same that are made use of by the Esquimaux and Greenlanders, and it is unnecessary to be particular in my account of them, as they are all very accurately described by Crantz†. I did not see a single one with these people that he has not mentioned, nor has he mentioned one that they have not. For defensive armour, they have a kind of jacket or coat of mail made of thin laths bound together with sinews, which makes it quite flexible, though so close as not to admit an arrow or dart. It only covers the trunk of the body, and may not be improperly compared to a woman's stays.

As none of these people lived in the bay where we anchored, or where any of us landed, we saw none of their habitations, and I had not time to look after them. Of their domestic utensils, they brought in their boats some round and oval shallow dishes of wood, and others of a cylindrical shape much deeper. The sides were made of one piece, bent round like chip-boxes, though thick, neatly fastened with thongs, and the bottoms fixed in with small wooden pegs. Others were smaller and of a more elegant shape, somewhat resembling a large oval butter-boat without a handle, but more shallow, made from a piece of wood or horny substance. These last were sometimes neatly carved. They had many little square bags, made of the same gut with their outer frocks, neatly ornamented with very minute red feathers interwoven with it, in which were contained some very fine sinews and bundles of small cord made from them, most ingeniously platted. They also brought many checkered baskets so closely wrought as to hold water, some wooden models of their canoes, a good many little images four or five inches long, either of wood or stuffed, which were covered with a bit of fur, and ornamented with pieces of small quill feathers, in imitation of their shelly beads, with hair fixed on their heads. Whether these might be mere toys for children, or held in veneration as representing their deceased friends, and applied to some superstitious purpose, we could not determine. But they have many instruments made of two or three hoops, or concentric pieces of wood, with a cross-bar fixed in the middle, to hold them by. To these are fixed a great number of dried barnacle-shells, with threads, which serve as a rattle, and make a loud noise when they shake them. This contrivance seems to be a substitute for the rattling-bird at Nootka, and perhaps both of them are employed on the same occasions‡.

With what tools they make their wooden utensils, frames of boats, and other things, is uncertain, as the only one seen amongst them was a kind of strong adze, made almost after the manner of those of Otaheite and the other islands of the South Sea. They have a great many iron knives, some of which are straight, others a little curved, and some very small ones fixed in pretty long handles, with the blades bent upward, like some of our shoemakers' instruments. But they have still knives of another sort, which are sometimes near two feet long, shaped almost like a dagger, with a ridge in the middle. These they wear in sheaths of skins, hung by a thong round the neck under their robe, and they are probably only used as weapons, the other knives being apparently applied to other purposes. Everything they have, however, is as well and ingeniously made as if they were furnished with the most complete tool-chest; and their sewing, platting of sinews, and small work on their little bags, may be put in competition with the most delicate manufactures found in any part of the known world. In short, considering the otherwise uncivilised or rude state in which these people are, their northern situation, amidst a country perpetually covered with snow, and the wretched materials they have to work with, it appears that their invention and dexterity in all manual works is at least equal to that of any other nation.

The food which we saw them eat, was dried fish and the flesh of some animal, either

* See Crantz vol. i. p. 150.

† Vol. i. p. 146. He has also given a representation of them on a plate there inserted.

‡ The rattling-ball found by Steller, who attended Beering in 1741, at no great distance from this Sound, seems to be for a similar use.—See Muller, p. 256.

broiled or roasted. Some of the latter that was bought seemed to be bear's flesh, but with a fishy taste. They also eat the larger sort of fern-root, mentioned at Nootka, either baked or dressed in some other way; and some of our people saw them eat freely of a substance which they supposed to be the inner part of the pine bark. Their drink is most probably water, for in their boats they brought snow in the wooden vessels, which they swallowed by mouthfuls. Perhaps it could be carried with less trouble in these open vessels than water itself. Their method of eating seems decent and cleanly, for they always took care to separate any dirt that might adhere to their victuals. And though they sometimes did eat the raw fat of some sea animal, they cut it carefully into mouthfuls with their small knives. The same might be said of their persons, which, to appearance, were always clean and decent, without grease or dirt; and the wooden vessels in which their victuals are probably put, were kept in excellent order, as well as their boats, which were neat and free from lumber.

Their language seems difficult to be understood at first, not from any indistinctness or confusion in their words and sounds, but from the various significations they have. For they appeared to use the very same word frequently on very different occasions, though doubtless this might, if our intercourse had been of longer duration, have been found to be a mistake on our side. The only words I could obtain, and for them I am indebted to Mr. Anderson *, were those that follow, the first of which was also used at Nootka in the same sense, though we could not trace an affinity between the two dialects in any other instance.

Akashou,	What's the name of that?
Namuk,	An ornament for the ear.
Lukluk,	A brown shaggy skin, perhaps a bear's.
As,	Yes.
Natooneshuk,	The skin of a sea-otter.
Keeta,	Give me something.
Naema,	Give me something in exchange or barter.
Oonaka,	Of, or belonging to me.—Will you barter for this that belongs to me?
Manaka,	
Ahleu,	A spear.
Weena, or Veena,	Stranger—calling to one.
Keelashuk,	Guts of which they make jackets.
Tawuk,	Keep it.
Amilhtoo,	A piece of white bear's skin, or perhaps the hair that covered it.
Whachai,	Shall I keep it? Do you give it me?
Yaut,	I'll go; or, shall I go?
Chilke,	One.
Taiha,	Two.
Tokke, (Tinke)	Three.
Chukelo †,	Four?
Kocheene,	Five?
Takulai,	Six?
Keichilho,	Seven?
Klu, or Kliew,	Eight?

As to the animals of this part of the continent, the same must be understood as of those at Nootka, that is, that the knowledge we have of them is entirely taken from the skins which the natives brought to sell. These were chiefly of seals, a few foxes, the whitish cat, or *lynx*, common and pine martins, small ermins, bears, racoons, and sea-otters. Of these, the most common were the martin, racoon, and sea-otter skins, which composed the ordinary dress of the natives; but the skins of the first, which in general were of a much lighter brown than those of Nootka, were far superior to them in fineness; whereas the last, which, as well as the martins, were far more plentiful than at Nootka, seemed greatly inferior in the fineness and thickness of their fur, though they greatly exceeded them in size, and were almost all of the glossy black sort, which is doubtless the colour most esteemed in those skins. Bear and seal skins were also pretty common; and the last were in general white, very beautifully spotted with black, or sometimes simply white, and many of the bears here were of a brown or sooty colour.

Besides these animals, which were all seen at Nootka, there are some others in this place which we did not find there, such as the white bear, of whose skins the natives brought several pieces, and some entire skins of cubs, from which their size could not be determined. We also found the wolverene, or quickhatch, which had very bright colours; a larger sort

* We are also indebted to him for many remarks in this chapter, interwoven with those of Captain Cook, as throwing considerable light on many parts of his Journal.

† With regard to these numerals, Mr. Anderson observes, that the words corresponding to ours are not certain after passing three; and therefore he marks those, about whose position he is doubtful, with a point of interrogation.

of ermine than the common one, which is the same as at Nootka, varied with a brown colour, and with scarcely any black on its tail. The natives also brought the skin of the head of some very large animal, but it could not be positively determined what it was, though, from the colour and shagginess of the hair, and its unlikeness to any land animal, we judged it might probably be that of the large male ursine seal or sea-bear. But one of the most beautiful skins, and which seems peculiar to this place as we never saw it before, is that of a small animal about ten inches long, of a brown or rusty colour on the back, with a great number of obscure whitish specks, and the sides of a blueish ash-colour, also with a few of these specks. The tail is not above a third of the length of its body, and is covered with a hair of a whitish colour at the edges. It is no doubt the same with those called spotted field-mice by Mr. Stæhlin*, in his short account of the New Northern Archipelago; but whether they be really of the mouse kind or a squirrel, we could not tell, for want of perfect skins, though Mr. Anderson was inclined to think that it is the same animal described under the name of the *Casan* marmot, by Mr. Pennant. The number of skins we found here, points out the great plenty of these several animals just mentioned; but it is remarkable, that we neither saw the skins of the moose nor of the common deer.

Of the birds mentioned at Nootka, we found here only the white-headed eagle; the shag; the alcyon, or great king-fisher, which had very bright colours; and the humming-bird, which came frequently and flew about the ship, while at anchor; though it can scarcely live here in the winter, which must be very severe. The water-fowl were geese; a small sort of duck, almost like that mentioned at Kerguelen's Land; another sort which none of us knew; and some of the black seapyes, with red bills, which we found at Van Diemen's Land, and New Zealand. Some of the people who went on shore, killed a grouse, a snipe, and some plover. But though, upon the whole, the water-fowl were pretty numerous, especially the ducks and geese, which frequent the shores, they were so shy, that it was scarcely possible to get within shot; so that we obtained a very small supply of them as refreshment. The duck mentioned above, is as large as the common wild-duck, of a deep black colour, with a short pointed tail, and red feet. The bill is white, tinged with red toward the point, and has a large black spot, almost square, near its base, on each side, where it is also enlarged or distended: and on the forehead is a large triangular white spot; with one still larger on the back part of the neck. The female has much duller colours, and none of the ornaments of the bill, except the two black spots, which are obscure.

There is likewise a species of diver here, which seems peculiar to the place. It is about the size of a partridge; has a short, black, compressed bill; with the head and upper part of the neck of a brown black; the rest of a deep brown, obscurely waved with black, except the under part, which is entirely of a blackish cast, very minutely varied with white; the other (perhaps the female) is blacker above, and whiter below. A small land-bird, of the finch kind, about the size of a yellow-hammer, was also found; but was suspected to be one of those which change their colour with the season, and with their migrations. At this time, it was of a dusky brown colour, with a reddish tail; and the supposed male had a large yellow spot on the crown of the head, with some varied black on the upper part of the neck; but the last was on the breast of the female.

The only fish we got, were some torsk and halibut, which were chiefly brought by the natives to sell; and we caught a few sculpins about the ship; with some purplish star-fish, that had seventeen or eighteen rays. The rocks were observed to be almost destitute of shell-fish; and the only other animal of this tribe seen, was a red crab, covered with spines of a very large size.

The metals we saw were copper and iron; both which, particularly the latter, were in such plenty, as to constitute the points of most of the arrows and lances. The ores, with which they painted themselves, were a red, brittle, unctuous ochre, or iron ore, not much unlike cinnabar in colour; a bright blue pigment, which we did not procure; and black lead. Each of these seems to be very scarce, as they brought very small quantities of the first and last, and seemed to keep them with great care.

* In his Account of Kodjak, p. 32, 34.

Few vegetables of any kind were seen; and the trees which chiefly grew here, were the Canadian and spruce pine, and some of them tolerably large.

The beads and iron found amongst these people, left no room to doubt, that they must have received them from some civilised nation. We were pretty certain, from circumstances already mentioned, that we were the first Europeans with whom they had ever communicated directly; and it remains only to be decided, from what quarter they had got our manufactures, by intermediate conveyance. And there cannot be the least doubt of their having received these articles through the intervention of the more inland tribes, from Hudson's Bay, or the settlements on the Canadian lakes; unless it can be supposed (which however is less likely) that the Russian traders from Kamtschatka have already extended their traffic thus far; or at least that the natives of their most easterly Fox Islands communicate along the coast with those of Prince William's Sound*.

As to the copper, these people seem to procure it themselves, or at most it passes through few hands to them; for they used to express its being in a sufficient quantity amongst them, when they offered any to barter, by pointing to their weapons; as if to say, that having so much of this metal of their own, they wanted no more.

It is, however, remarkable, if the inhabitants of this Sound be supplied with European articles, by way of the intermediate traffic to the east coast, that they should, in return, never have given to the more inland Indians any of their sea-otter skins; which would certainly have been seen, some time or other, about Hudson's Bay. But, as far as I know, that is not the case; and the only method of accounting for this, must be by taking into consideration the very great distance; which, though it might not prevent European goods coming so far, as being so uncommon, might prevent the skins, which are a common article, from passing through more than two or three different tribes, who might use them for their own clothing, and send others, which they esteemed less valuable, as being of their own animals, eastward, till they reach the traders from Europe.

CHAPTER VI.—PROGRESS ALONG THE COAST.—CAPE ELIZABETH.—CAPE ST. HERMOGENES.—ACCOUNTS OF BEERING'S VOYAGE VERY DEFECTIVE.—POINT BANKS.—CAPE DOUGLAS.—CAPE BEDE.—MOUNT ST. AUGUSTIN.—HOPES OF FINDING A PASSAGE UP AN INLET.—THE SHIPS PROCEED UP IT.—INDUBITABLE MARKS OF ITS BEING A RIVER.—NAMED COOK'S RIVER.—THE SHIPS RETURN DOWN IT.—VARIOUS VISITS FROM THE NATIVES.—LIEUTENANT KING LANDS, AND TAKES POSSESSION OF THE COUNTRY.—HIS REPORT.—THE RESOLUTION RUNS AGROUND ON A SHOAL.—REFLECTIONS ON THE DISCOVERY OF COOK'S RIVER.—THE CONSIDERABLE TIDES IN IT ACCOUNTED FOR.

After leaving Prince William's Sound, I steered to the south-west, with a gentle breeze at north north-east; which, at four o'clock the next morning, was succeeded by a calm; and soon after, the calm was succeeded by a breeze from south-west. This freshening, and veering to north-west, we still continued to stretch to the south-west, and passed a lofty promontory, situated in the latitude of 59° 10′, and the longitude of 207° 45′. As the discovery of it was connected with the Princess Elizabeth's birth-day, I named it Cape Elizabeth. Beyond it we could see no land; so that, at first, we were in hopes that it was the western extremity of the continent; but not long after, we saw our mistake; for fresh land appeared in sight, bearing west south-west.

The wind, by this time, had increased to a very strong gale, and forced us to a good distance

* There is a circumstance mentioned by Muller, in his account of Beering's voyage to the coast of America in 1741, which seems to decide this question. His people found iron at the Schumagin Islands, as may be fairly presumed from the following quotation. "Un seul homme avoit un couteau pendu à sa ceinture, qui parut fort singulier à nos gens par sa figure. Il étoit long de huit pouces, et fort épais, et large à l'endroit où devoit être la pointe. On ne peut savoir quel étoit l'usage de cet outil."—*Découvertes des Russes*, p. 274

If there was iron amongst the natives on this part of the American coast, prior to the discovery of it by the Russians, and before there was any traffic with them carried on from Kamtschatka, what reason can there be to make the least doubt of the people of Prince William's Sound, as well as those of Schumagin's Islands, having got this metal from the only probable source, the European settlements on the north-east coast of this continent?

from the coast. In the afternoon of the 22d, the gale abated; and we stood to the northward for Cape Elizabeth; which at noon, the next day, bore west, ten leagues distant. At the same time, a new land was seen, bearing south 77° west, which was supposed to connect Cape Elizabeth with the land we had seen to the westward.

The wind continued at west, and I stood to the southward till noon the next day, when we were within three leagues of the coast which we had discovered on the 22d. It here formed a point that bore west north-west. At the same time, more land was seen extending to the southward, as far as south south-west; the whole being twelve or fifteen leagues distant. On it was seen a ridge of mountains covered with snow, extending, to the north-west, behind the first land, which we judged to be an island, from the very inconsiderable quantity of snow that lay upon it. This point of land is situated in the latitude of 58° 15′, and in the longitude of 207° 42′; and by what I can gather from the account of Beering's voyage, and the chart that accompanies it in the English edition*, I conclude, that it must be what he called Cape St. Hermogenes. But the account of that voyage is so very much abridged, and the chart so extremely inaccurate, that it is hardly possible, either by the one or by the other, or by comparing both together, to find out any one place which that navigator either saw or touched at. Were I to form a judgment of Beering's proceedings on this coast, I should suppose, that he fell in with the continent near Mount Fairweather. But I am by no means certain, that the bay to which I have given his name is the place where he anchored. Nor do I know, that what I called Mount St. Elias, is the same conspicuous mountain to which he gave that name. And as to his Cape St. Elias, I am entirely at a loss to pronounce where it lies.

On the north side of Cape St. Hermogenes, the coast turned toward the north-west, and appeared to be wholly unconnected with the land seen by us the preceding day. In the chart above mentioned, there is here a space, where Beering is supposed to have seen no land. This also favoured the latter account published by Mr. Stæhlin, who makes Cape St. Hermogenes, and all the land that Beering discovered to the south-west of it, to be a cluster of islands; placing St. Hermogenes amongst those which are destitute of wood. What we now saw seemed to confirm this; and every circumstance inspired us with hopes of finding here a passage northward, without being obliged to proceed any farther to the south-west.

We were detained off the cape by variable light airs and calms, till two o'clock the next morning, when a breeze springing up at north-east, we steered north north-west along the coast; and soon found the land of Cape St. Hermogenes to be an island, about six leagues in circuit, separated from the adjacent coast by a channel one league broad. A league and a half to the north of this island lie some rocks above water; on the north-east side of which we had from thirty to twenty fathoms water. At noon, the island of St. Hermogenes bore south-east, eight leagues distant; and the land to the north-west of it extended from south half west to near west. In this last direction it ended in a low point, now five leagues distant, which was called Point Banks. The latitude of the ship, at this time, was 58° 41′, and its longitude 207° 44′. In this situation, the land, which was supposed to connect Cape Elizabeth with this south-west land, was in sight, bearing north-west half north. I steered directly for it; and on a nearer approach, found it to be a group of high islands and rocks entirely unconnected with any other land. They obtained the name of Barren Isles, from their very naked appearance. Their situation is in the latitude of 59°, and in a line with Cape Elizabeth and Point Banks; three leagues distant from the former, and five from the latter.

I intended going through one of the channels that divide these islands, but meeting with a strong current setting against us, I bore up and went to the leeward of them all. Toward the evening, the weather, which had been hazy all day, cleared up, and we got sight of a very lofty promontory, whose elevated summit, forming two exceedingly high mountains, was seen above the clouds. This promontory I named Cape Douglas, in honour of my very good friend, Dr. Douglas, canon of Windsor. It is situated in the latitude of 58° 56′, and in the longitude of 206° 10′, ten leagues to the westward of Barren Isles, and twelve from Point Banks, in the direction of N.W. by W. half W. Between this point and Cape Douglas, the

* Captain Cook means Muller's; of which a translation had been published in London, some time before he sailed.

coast seemed to form a large and deep bay; which, from some smoke that had been seen on Point Banks, obtained the name of Smokey Bay.

At daybreak the next morning, being the 26th, having got to the northward of the Barren Isles, we discovered more land, extending from Cape Douglas to the north. It formed a chain of mountains of vast height, one of which, far more conspicuous than the rest, was named Mount Saint Augustin. The discovery of this land did not discourage us, as it was supposed to be wholly unconnected with the land of Cape Elizabeth. For, in an N.N.E. direction, the sight was unlimited by everything but the horizon. We also thought that there was a passage to the N.W., between Cape Douglas and Mount St. Augustin. In short, it was imagined, that the land on our larboard to the N. of Cape Douglas was composed of a group of islands, disjoined by so many channels, any one of which we might make use of according as the wind should serve.

With these flattering ideas, having a fresh gale at N.N.E., we stood to the N.W. till eight o'clock, when we clearly saw that what we had taken for islands were summits of mountains, everywhere connected by lower land, which the haziness of the horizon had prevented us from seeing at a greater distance. This land was everywhere covered with snow, from the tops of the hills down to the very sea-beach, and had every other appearance of being part of a great continent. I was now fully persuaded that I should find no passage by this inlet; and my persevering in the search of it here was more to satisfy other people than to confirm my own opinion. At this time, Mount St. Augustin bore N. 40° W., three or four leagues distant. This mountain is of a conical figure, and of very considerable height, but it remains undetermined whether it be an island or part of the continent. Finding that nothing could be done to the W., we tacked and stood over to Cape Elizabeth, under which we fetched at half-past five in the afternoon. On the north side of Cape Elizabeth, between it and a lofty promontory, named Cape Bede*, is a bay, in the bottom of which there appeared to be two snug harbours. We stood well into this bay, where we might have anchored in twenty-three fathoms water: but as I had no such view, we tacked, and stood to the westward, with the wind at N., a very strong gale, attended by rain, and thick hazy weather.

The next morning the gale abated, but the same weather continued till three o'clock in the afternoon, when it cleared up. Cape Douglas bore S.W. by W.; Mount St. Augustin W. ½ S., and Cape Bede S. 15° E., five leagues distant. In this situation, the depth of water was forty fathoms, over a rocky bottom. From Cape Bede, the coast trended N.E. by E., with a chain of mountains inland, extending in the same direction. The land on the coast was woody, and there seemed to be no deficiency of harbours. But what was not much in our favour, we discovered low land in the middle of the inlet, extending from N.N.E. to N.E. by E. ½ E. However, as this was supposed to be an island, it did not discourage us. About this time we got a light breeze southerly, and I steered to the westward of this low land, nothing appearing to obstruct us in that direction. Our soundings during the night were from thirty to twenty-five fathoms. On the 28th in the morning, having but very little wind, and observing the ship to drive to the southward, in order to stop her I dropped a kedge-anchor, with an eight-inch hawser bent to it. But, in bringing the ship up, the hawser parted near the inner end, and we lost both it and the anchor. For although we brought the ship up with one of the bowers, and spent most of the day in sweeping for them, it was to no effect. By an observation, we found our station to be in the latitude of 59° 51′; the low land above mentioned extended from N.E. to S. 75° E., the nearest part two leagues distant, and extended from S. 35° W. to N. 7° E., so that the extent of the inlet was now reduced to three points and a half of the compass; that is, from N. ½ E. to N.E. Between these two points no land was to be seen. Here was a strong tide setting to the southward out of the inlet. It was the ebb, and ran between three and four knots in an hour, and it was low water at ten o'clock. A good deal of sea-weed and some drift-wood were carried out with the tide. The water, too, had become thick like that in rivers, but we were encouraged to proceed by finding it as salt at low water as the ocean. The strength of the flood-tide was three knots, and the stream ran up till four in the afternoon.

* In naming this and Mount St. Augustin, Captain Cook was directed by our Calendar.

As it continued calm all day, I did not move till eight o'clock in the evening, when, with a light breeze at E., we weighed and stood to the N., up the inlet. We had not been long under sail, before the wind veered to the N., increasing to a fresh gale, and blowing in squalls, with rain. This did not, however, hinder us from plying up as long as the flood continued, which was till near five o'clock the next morning. We had soundings from thirty-five to twenty-four fathoms. In this last depth we anchored about two leagues from the eastern shore, in the latitude of 60° 8′; some low land that we judged to be an island, lying under the western shore, extended from N. ½ W. to N.W. by N., distant three or four leagues.

The weather had now become fair and tolerably clear, so that we could see any land that might lie within our horizon; and in a N.N.E. direction, no land, nor anything to obstruct our progress, was visible. But on each side was a ridge of mountains, rising one behind another without the least separation. I judged it to be low water by the shore about ten o'clock; but the ebb ran down till near noon. The strength of it was four knots and a half, and it fell upon a perpendicular ten feet three inches, that is, while we lay at anchor; so that there is reason to believe this was not the greatest fall. On the eastern shore we now saw two columns of smoke, a sure sign that there were inhabitants. At one in the afternoon we weighed, and plied up under double-reefed top-sails and courses, having a very strong gale at N.N.E., nearly right down the inlet. We stretched over to the western shore, and fetched within two leagues of the south end of the low land or island before mentioned, under which I intended to have taken shelter till the gale should cease. But falling suddenly into twelve fathoms water, from upward of forty, and seeing the appearance of a shoal ahead spitting out from the low land, I tacked and stretched back to the eastward; and anchored under the shore in nineteen fathoms water, over a bottom of small pebble-stones.

Between one and two in the morning of the 30th, we weighed again with the first of the flood, the gale having by this time quite abated, but still continuing contrary, so that we plied up till near seven o'clock, when the tide being done, we anchored in nineteen fathoms, under the same shore as before. The N.W. part of it forming a bluff point, bore N. 20° E., two leagues distant; a point on the other shore opposite to it, and nearly of the same height, bore N. 36° W., our latitude, by observation, 60° 37′. About noon two canoes with a man in each came off to the ship, from near the place where we had seen the smoke the preceding day. They laboured very hard in paddling across the strong tide, and hesitated a little before they would come quite close; but, upon signs being made to them, they approached. One of them talked a great deal to no purpose, for we did not understand a word he said. He kept pointing to the shore, which we interpreted to be an invitation to go thither. They accepted a few trifles from me, which I conveyed to them from the quarter gallery. These men in every respect resembled the people we had met with in Prince William's Sound, as to their persons and dress. Their canoes were also of the same construction. One of our visitors had his face painted jet black, and seemed to have no beard; but the other, who was more elderly, had no paint, and a considerable beard, with a visage much like the common sort of the Prince William's people. There was also smoke seen upon the flat western shore this day, from whence we may infer, that these lower spots and islands are the only inhabited places.

When the flood made, we weighed, and then the canoes left us. I stood over to the western shore, with a fresh gale at N.N.E., and fetched under the point above mentioned. This, with the other on the opposite shore, contracted the channel to the breadth of four leagues. Through this channel ran a prodigious tide. It looked frightful to us, who could not tell whether the agitation of the water was occasioned by the stream, or by the breaking of the waves against rocks or sands. As we met with no shoal, it was concluded to be the former; but in the end we found ourselves mistaken. I now kept the western shore aboard, it appearing to be the safest. Near the shore we had a depth of thirteen fathoms; and two or three miles off, forty and upward. At eight in the evening, we anchored under a point of land which bore N.E., three leagues distant, in fifteen fathoms water. Here we lay during the ebb, which ran near five knots in the hour.

Until we got thus far, the water had retained the same degree of saltness at low as at

high water, and at both periods was as salt as that in the ocean. But now the marks of a river displayed themselves. The water taken up this ebb, when at the lowest, was found to be very considerably fresher than any we had hitherto tasted, insomuch, that I was convinced that we were in a large river, and not in a strait, communicating with the northern seas. But as we had proceeded thus far, I was desirous of having stronger proofs, and therefore weighed with the next flood in the morning of the 31st, and plied higher up, or rather drove up with the tide, for we had but little wind.

About eight o'clock we were visited by several of the natives, in one large and several small canoes. The latter carried only one person each, and some had a paddle with a blade at each end, after the manner of the Esquimaux. In the large canoes were men, women, and children. Before they reached the ship, they displayed a leathern frock upon a long pole as a sign, as we understood it, of their peaceable intentions. This frock they conveyed into the ship, in return for some trifles which I gave them. I could observe no difference between the persons, dress, ornaments, and boats of these people, and those of Prince William's Sound, except that the small canoes were rather of a less size, and carried only one man. We procured from them some of their fur dresses, made of the skins of sea-otters, martins, hares, and other animals, a few of their darts, and a small supply of salmon and halibut. In exchange for these they took old clothes, beads, and pieces of iron. We found that they were in possession of large iron knives, and of sky-blue glass beads, such as we had found amongst the natives of Prince William's Sound. These latter they seemed to value much, and consequently those which we now gave them. But their inclination led them, especially, to ask for large pieces of iron, which metal, if I was not much mistaken, they called by the name of *goone*, though, like their neighbours in Prince William's Sound, they seemed to have many significations to one word. They evidently spoke the same language; as the words *keeta*, *naema*, *oonaka*, and a few others of the most common we heard in that Sound, were also frequently used by this new tribe. After spending about two hours between the one ship and the other, they all retired to the western shore.

At nine o'clock we came to an anchor in sixteen fathoms water, about two leagues from the west shore, and found the ebb already begun. At its greatest strength it ran only three knots in the hour, and fell upon a perpendicular, after we had anchored, twenty-one feet. The weather was misty, with drizzling rain, and clear by turns. At the clear intervals, we saw an opening between the mountains on the eastern shore, bearing east from the station of the ships, with low land, which we supposed to be islands lying between us and the main land. Low land was also seen to the northward, that seemed to extend from the foot of the mountains on the one side to those on the other; and at low water we perceived large shoals stretching out from this low land, some of which were at no great distance from us. From these appearances, we were in some doubt whether the inlet did not take an easterly direction, through the above opening, or whether that opening was only a branch of it, and the main channel continued its northern direction through the low land now in sight. The continuation and direction of the chain of mountains on each side of it strongly indicated the probability of the latter supposition. To determine this point, and to examine the shoals, I despatched two boats, under the command of the master; and, as soon as the flood-tide made, followed with the ships; but, as it was a dead calm, and the tide strong, I anchored, after driving about ten miles in an east direction. At the lowest of the preceding ebb, the water at the surface, and for near a foot below it, was found to be perfectly fresh; retaining, however, a considerable degree of saltness at a greater depth. Besides this, we had now many other and but too evident proofs of being in a great river; such as low shores, very thick and muddy water, large trees, and all manner of dirt and rubbish, floating up and down with the tide. In the afternoon the natives, in several canoes, paid us another visit; and trafficked with our people for some time, without ever giving us reason to accuse them of any act of dishonesty.

At two o'clock next morning, being the 1st of June, the master returned, and reported that he found the inlet, or rather river, contracted to the breadth of one league, by low land on each side, through which it took a northerly direction. He proceeded three leagues through this narrow part, which he found navigable for the largest ships, being from twenty to seven

teen fathoms deep. The least water, at a proper distance from the shore and shoals, was ten fathoms; and this was before he entered the narrow part. While the ebb or stream ran down, the water was perfectly fresh; but after the flood made, it became brackish; and, toward high water, very much so, even as high up as he went. He landed upon an island, which lies between this branch and the eastern one; and upon it saw some currant bushes, with the fruit already set, and some other fruit-trees and bushes unknown to him. The soil appeared to be clay, mixed with sand. About three leagues beyond the extent of his search, or to the northward of it, he observed there was another separation in the eastern chain of mountains, through which he supposed the river took a north-east direction; but it seemed rather more probable that this was only another branch, and that the main channel kept its northern direction, between the two ridges or chains of mountains before mentioned. He found that these two ridges, as they extended to the north, inclined more and more to each other, but never appeared to close; nor was any elevated land seen between them, only low land, part woody, and part clear.

All hopes of finding a passage were now given up. But as the ebb was almost spent, and we could not return against the flood, I thought I might as well take the advantage of the latter, to get a nearer view of the eastern branch; and, by that means, finally to determine whether the low land on the east side of the river was an island, as we had supposed, or not. With this purpose in view, we weighed with the first of the flood, and, having a faint breeze at north-east, stood over for the eastern shore, with boats ahead, sounding. Our depth was from twelve to five fathoms; the bottom a hard gravel, though the water was exceedingly muddy. At eight o'clock a fresh breeze sprung up at east, blowing in an opposite direction to our course; so that I despaired of reaching the entrance of the river to which we were plying up, before high-water. But thinking that what the ships could not do might be done with boats, I despatched two, under the command of Lieutenant King, to examine the tides, and to make such observations as might give us some insight into the nature of the river.

At ten o'clock, finding the ebb begun, I anchored in nine fathoms water, over a gravelly bottom. Observing the tide to be too strong for the boats to make head against it, I made a signal for them to return on board, before they had got half way to the entrance of the river they were sent to examine, which bore from us S., 80° E., three leagues distant. The principal information gained by this tide's work, was the determining that all the low land, which we had supposed to be an island or islands, was one continued tract, from the banks of the great river to the foot of the mountains, to which it joined; and that it terminated at the south entrance of this eastern branch, which I shall distinguish by the name of River Turnagain. On the north side of this river, the low land again begins, and stretches out from the foot of the mountains down to the banks of the great river; so that, before the river Turnagain, it forms a large bay, on the south side of which we were now at anchor, and where we had from twelve to five fathoms, from half-flood to high-water. After we had entered the bay, the flood set strong into the river Turnagain; the ebb came out with still greater force; the water falling, while we lay at anchor, twenty feet upon a perpendicular. These circumstances convinced me, that no passage was to be expected by this side river, any more than by the main branch. However, as the water during the ebb, though very considerably fresher, had still a strong degree of saltness, it is but reasonable to suppose that both these branches are navigable by ships, much farther than we examined them; and that by means of this river, and its several branches, a very extensive inland communication lies open. We had traced it as high as the latitude of 61° 30', and the longitude of 201°; which is seventy leagues, or more, from its entrance, without seeing the least appearance of its source.

If the discovery of this great river*, which promises to vie with the most considerable ones already known to be capable of extensive inland navigation, should prove of use either to the present or to any future age, the time we spent in it ought to be the less regretted. But to us, who had a much greater object in view, the delay thus occasioned was an essential

* Captain Cook having here left a blank which he had not filled up with any particular name, I [illegible] directed, with the greatest propriety, that it should be called Cook's River.

loss. The season was advancing apace. We knew not how far we might have to proceed to the south; and we were now convinced that the continent of North America extended farther to the west than, from the modern most reputable charts, we had reason to expect. This made the existence of a passage into Baffin's or Hudson's Bays less probable, or, at least, showed it to be of greater extent. It was a satisfaction to me, however, to reflect that, if I had not examined this very considerable inlet, it would have been assumed, by speculative fabricators of geography, as a fact that it communicated with the sea to the north, or with Baffin's or Hudson's Bay to the east; and been marked, perhaps, on future maps of the world, with greater precision, and more certain signs of reality, than the invisible, because imaginary, Straits of de Fuca, and de Fonte.

In the afternoon I sent Mr. King again, with two armed boats, with orders to land on the northern point of the low land, on the south-east side of the river; there to display the flag, and to take possession of the country and river in his Majesty's name; and to bury in the ground a bottle, containing some pieces of English coin, of the year 1772, and a paper, on which were inscribed the names of our ships, and the date of our discovery. In the mean time, the ships were got under sail, in order to proceed down the river. The wind still blew fresh, easterly; but a calm ensued not long after we were under way; and the flood-tide meeting us off the point where Mr. King landed (and which thence got the name of Point Possession), we were obliged to drop anchor in six fathoms water, with the point bearing south, two miles distant. When Mr. King returned, he informed me, that as he approached the shore about twenty of the natives made their appearance, with their arms extended; probably to express thus their peaceable disposition, and to show that they were without weapons. On Mr. King's and the gentlemen with him landing with muskets in their hands, they seemed alarmed, and made signs expressive of their request to lay them down. This was accordingly done; and then they suffered the gentlemen to walk up to them, and appeared to be cheerful and sociable. They had with them a few pieces of fresh salmon, and several dogs. Mr. Law, surgeon of the Discovery, who was one of the party, having bought one of the latter, took it down toward the boat and shot it dead in their sight. This seemed to surprise them exceedingly; and, as if they did not think themselves safe in such company, they walked away; but it was soon after discovered that their spears and other weapons were hid in the bushes close behind them. Mr. King also informed me that the ground was swampy, and the soil poor, light, and black. It produced a few trees and shrubs; such as pines, elders, birch, and willows; rose and currant bushes; and a little grass; but they saw not a single plant in flower.

We weighed anchor, as soon as it was high water, and, with a faint breeze southerly, stood over to the west shore, where the return of the flood obliged us to anchor early next morning. Soon after, several large and some small canoes with natives came off, who bartered their skins; after which they sold their garments, till many of them were quite naked. Amongst others, they brought a number of white hare or rabbit skins, and very beautiful reddish ones of foxes; but there were only two or three skins of otters. They also sold us some pieces of salmon and halibut. They preferred iron to everything else offered to them in exchange. The lip-ornaments did not seem so frequent amongst them as at Prince William's Sound; but they had more of those which pass through the nose, and, in general, these were also much longer. They had, however, a greater quantity of a kind of white and red embroidered work on some parts of their garments, and on other things, such as their quivers and knife-cases.

At half-past ten we weighed with the first of the ebb, and having a gentle breeze at south, plied down the river; in doing of which, by the inattention and neglect of the man at the lead, the Resolution struck, and stuck fast on the bank, that lies nearly in the middle of the river, and about two miles above the two projecting bluff points before mentioned. This bank was, no doubt, the occasion of that very strong rippling, or agitation of the stream, which we had observed when turning up the river. There was not less than twelve feet depth of water about the ship, at the lowest of the ebb; but other parts of the bank were dry. As soon as the ship came aground, I made a signal for the Discovery to anchor. She, as I afterward understood, had been near ashore on the west side of the bank. As the flood-

tide came in, the ship floated off, soon after five o'clock in the afternoon, without receiving the least damage, or giving us any trouble; and, after standing over to the west shore, into deep water, we anchored to wait for the ebb, as the wind was still contrary. We weighed again with the ebb, at ten o'clock at night; and, between four and five next morning, when the tide was finished, once more cast anchor about two miles below the bluff point, on the west shore, in nineteen fathoms water. A good many of the natives came off, when we were in this station, and attended upon us all the morning. Their company was very acceptable; for they brought with them a large quantity of very fine salmon, which they exchanged for such trifles as we had to give them. Most of it was split ready for drying; and several hundred weight of it was procured for the two ships.

In the afternoon the mountains, for the first time since our entering the river, were clear of clouds; and we discovered a volcano in one of those on the west side. It is in the latitude of 63° 23′, and is the first high mountain to the north of Mount St. Augustin. The volcano is on that side of it that is next the river, and not far from the summit. It did not now make any striking appearance, emitting only a white smoke, but no fire. The wind remaining southerly, we continued to tide it down the river; and, on the 5th in the morning, coming to the place where we had lost our kedge-anchor, made an attempt to recover it, but without success. Before we had left this place, six canoes came off from the east shore; some conducted by one, and others by two men. They remained at a little distance from the ships, viewing them with a kind of silent surprise, at least half an hour, without exchanging a single word with us or with one another. At length they took courage and came alongside, began to barter with our people, and did not leave us till they had parted with everything they brought with them, consisting of a few skins and some salmon. And here it may not be improper to remark, that all the people we had met with in this river seemed, by every striking instance of resemblance, to be of the same nation with those who inhabit Prince William's Sound, but differing essentially from those of Nootka, or King George's Sound, both in their persons and language. The language of these is rather more guttural; but, like the others, they speak strongly and distinct, in words which seem sentences.

I have before observed that they are in possession of iron, that is, they have the points of their spears and knives of this metal; and some of the former are also made of copper. Their spears are like our spontoons; and their knives, which they keep in sheaths, are of a considerable length. These, with a few glass beads, are the only things we saw amongst them that were not of their own manufacture. I have already offered my conjectures from whence they derive their foreign articles; and shall only add here, that, if it were probable that they found their way to them from such of their neighbours with whom the Russians may have established a trade, I will be bold to say, the Russians themselves have never been amongst them; for, if that had been the case, we should hardly have found them clothed in such valuable skins as those of the sea-otter. There is not the least doubt, that a very beneficial fur-trade might be carried on with the inhabitants of this vast coast. But unless a northern passage should be found practicable, it seems rather too remote for Great Britain to receive any emolument from it. It must, however, be observed, that the most valuable, or rather the only valuable skins, I saw on this west side of America, were those of the sea-otter. All their other skins seemed to be of an inferior quality; particularly those of their foxes and martins. It must also be observed, that most of the skins which we purchased were made up into garments. However, some of these were in good condition, but others were old and ragged enough; and all of them very lousy. But as these poor people make no other use of skins but for clothing themselves, it cannot be supposed that they are at the trouble of dressing more of them than are necessary for this purpose. And, perhaps, this is the chief use for which they kill the animals; for the sea and the rivers seem to supply them with their principal articles of food. It would, probably, be much otherwise, were they once habituated to a constant trade with foreigners. This intercourse would increase their wants, by introducing them to an acquaintance with new luxuries; and in order to be enabled to purchase these, they would be more assiduous in procuring skins, which they would soon discover to be the commodity most sought for; and a plentiful supply of which, I make no doubt, would be had in the country.

It will appear, from what has been said occasionally of the tide, that it is considerable in this river, and contributes very much to facilitate the navigation of it. It is high-water in the stream on the days of the new and full moon, between two and three o'clock, and the tide rises, upon a perpendicular, between three and four fathoms. The reason of the tide's being greater here than at other parts of this coast is easily accounted for. The mouth of the river being situated in a corner of the coast, the flood that comes from the ocean is forced into it by both shores, and by that means swells the tide to a great height.

The variation of the compass was 25° 40′ E.

CHAPTER VII.—DISCOVERIES AFTER LEAVING COOK'S RIVER.—ISLAND OF ST. HERMOGENES.—CAPE WHITSUNDAY.—CAPE GREVILLE.—CAPE BARNABAS.—TWO-HEADED POINT.—TRINITY ISLAND.—BEERING'S FOGGY ISLAND.—A BEAUTIFUL BIRD DESCRIBED.—KODIAK AND THE SCHUMAGIN ISLANDS.—A RUSSIAN LETTER BROUGHT ON BOARD BY A NATIVE.—CONJECTURES ABOUT IT.—ROCK POINT.—HALIBUT ISLAND.—A VOLCANO MOUNTAIN.—PROVIDENTIAL ESCAPE.—ARRIVAL OF THE SHIPS AT OONALASCHKA.—INTERCOURSE WITH THE NATIVES THERE.—ANOTHER RUSSIAN LETTER.—SAMGANOODHA HARBOUR DESCRIBED.

As soon as the ebb tide made in our favour we weighed, and, with a light breeze between west south-west and south south-west, plied down the river till the flood obliged us to anchor again. At length, about one o'clock next morning, a fresh breeze sprung up at west, with which we got under sail, and at eight passed the Barren Isles, and stretched away for Cape St. Hermogenes. At noon this cape bore south south-east, eight leagues distant; and the passage between the island of that name and the main land, bore south. For this passage I steered, intending to go through it; but soon after the wind failed us, and we had baffling light airs from the eastward, so that I gave up my design of carrying the ships between the island and the main. At this time we saw several columns of smoke on the coast of the continent, to the northward of the passage; and, most probably, they were meant as signals to attract us thither. Here the land forms a bay, or perhaps a harbour, off the north-west point of which lies a low rocky island. There are also some other islands of the same appearance scattered along the coast, between this place and Point Banks.

At eight in the evening, the island of St. Hermogenes extended from south half east to south south-east, a quarter east; and the rocks that lie on the north side of it bore south-east, three miles distant. In this situation, we had forty fathoms water over a bottom of sand and shells. Soon after, on putting over hooks and lines, we caught several halibut. At midnight, being past the rocks, we bore up to the southward; and, at noon, St. Hermogenes bore north, four leagues distant. At this time, the southernmost point of the main land, within or to the westward of St. Hermogenes, lay north half west, distant five leagues. This promontory, which is situated in the latitude of 58° 15′, and in the longitude of 207° 24′ was named, after the day, Cape Whitsunday. A large bay, which lies to the west of it, obtained the name of Whitsuntide Bay. The land on the east side of this bay, of which Cape Whitsunday is the southern point, and Point Banks the northern one, is in all respects like the island of St. Hermogenes; seemingly destitute of wood, and partly free from snow. It was supposed to be covered with a mossy substance, that gave it a brownish cast. There were some reasons to think it was an island. If this be so, the last-mentioned bay is only the straight or passage that separates it from the main land.

Between one and two in the afternoon, the wind, which had been at north-east, shifted at once to the southward. It was unsettled till six, when it fixed at south, which was the very direction of our course; so that we were obliged to ply up the coast. The weather was gloomy, and the air dry, but cold. We stood to the eastward till midnight; then tacked, and stood in for the land; and, between seven and eight in the morning of the 8th, we were within four miles of it, and not more than half a league from some sunken rocks, which bore west south-west. In this situation, we tacked in thirty-five fathoms water, the island of

St. Hermogenes bearing north, 20° E., and the southernmost land in sight, south. In standing in for this coast, we crossed the mouth of Whitsuntide Bay, and saw land all round the bottom of it; so that either the land is connected, or else the points lock in, one behind another. I am more inclined to think that the former is the case; and that the land, east of the bay, is a part of the continent. Some small islands lie on the west of the bay. The sea-coast to the southward of it is rather low, with projecting rocky points, between which are small bays or inlets. There was no wood and but little snow upon the coast; but the mountains, which lie at some distance inland, were wholly covered with the latter. We stood off till noon; then tacked, and stood in for the land. The latitude, at this time, was 57° 52¼′; Cape St. Hermogenes bore north, 30° W., eight leagues distant, and the southernmost part of the coast in sight, the same that was seen before, bore south-west, ten leagues distant. The land here forms a point, which was named Cape Greville. It lies in the latitude of 57° 33′, and in the longitude of 207° 15′; and is distant fifteen leagues from Cape St. Hermogenes, in the direction of south, 17° W.

The three following days, we had almost constant misty weather, with drizzling rain; so that we seldom had a sight of the coast. The wind was south-east by south, and south south-east, a gentle breeze, and the air raw and cold. With this wind and weather, we continued to ply up the coast, making boards of six or eight leagues each. The depth of water was from thirty to fifty-five fathoms, over a coarse, black sandy bottom. The fog clearing up, with the change of the wind to south-west, in the evening of the 12th, we had a sight of the land bearing west, twelve leagues distant. We stood in for it early next morning. At noon we were not above three miles from it; an elevated point, which obtained the name of Cape Barnabas, lying in the latitude of 57° 13′, bore north-east half east, ten miles distant; and the coast extended from north, 42° E. to west south-west. The north-east extreme was lost in a haze; but the point to the south-west, whose elevated summit terminated in two round hills, on that account was called Two-headed Point. This part of the coast, in which are several small bays, is composed of high hills and deep valleys; and in some places we could see the tops of other hills, beyond those that form the coast; which was but little incumbered with snow, but had a very barren appearance. Not a tree or bush was to be seen upon it: and, in general, it had a brownish hue, probably the effect of a mossy covering. I continued to ply to the south-west by west, as the coast trended; and at six in the evening, being midway between Cape Barnabas and Two-headed Point, and two leagues from the shore, the depth of water was sixty-two fathoms. From this station, a low point of land made its appearance beyond Two-headed Point, bearing south, 69° W.; and without it other land, that had the appearance of an island, bore south, 59° W.

At noon, on the 13th, being in latitude 56° 49′, Cape St. Barnabas bore north, 52° E.; Two-headed Point north, 14° W. seven or eight miles distant; and the coast of the continent extended as far as south, 72½° W.; and the land seen the preceding evening, and supposed to be an island, now appeared like two islands. From whatever quarter Two-headed Point was viewed, it had the appearance of being an island; or else it is a peninsula, on each side of which the shore forms a bay. The wind still continued westerly, a gentle breeze, the weather rather dull and cloudy, and the air sharp and dry.

We were well up with the southernmost land next morning, and found it to be an island, which was named Trinity Island. Its greatest extent is six leagues in the direction of east and west. Each end is elevated naked land, and in the middle it is low; so that, at a distance, from some points of view, it assumes the appearance of two islands. It lies in the latitude of 56° 36′, and in the longitude of 205°; and between two and three leagues from the continent; which space is interspersed with small islands and rocks; but there seemed to be good passage enough, and also safe anchorage. At first, we were inclined to think that this was Beering's Foggy Island*; but its situation so near the main does not suit his chart.

At eight in the evening, we stood in for the land, till we were within a league of the above-mentioned small islands; the westernmost part of the continent now in sight being

* *Tamannoi-ostrow*, c'est-à-dire, L'isle Nebuleuse. Muller, p. 261.

a low point facing Trinity Island, and which we called Cape Trinity, now bore west north-west. In this situation, having tacked in fifty-four fathoms water, over a bottom of black sand, we stood over for the island, intending to work up between it and the main. The land to the westward of Two-headed Point is not so mountainous as it is to the north-east of it, nor does the snow lie upon it. There are, however, a good many hills considerably elevated; but they are disjoined by large tracts of flat land that appeared to be perfectly destitute of wood, and very barren. As we were standing over toward the island, we met two men in a small canoe, paddling from it to the main. Far from approaching us, they seemed rather to avoid it. The wind now began to incline to the south; and we had reason to expect that it would soon be at south-east. Experience having taught us that a south-easterly wind was generally, if not always, accompanied by a thick fog, I was afraid to venture through between the island and the continent, lest the passage should not be accomplished before night, or before the thick weather came on, when we should be obliged to anchor, and by that means lose the advantage of a fair wind. These reasons induced me to stretch out to sea; and we passed two or three rocky islets that lie near the east end of Trinity Island. At four in the afternoon, having weathered the island, we tacked, and steered west, southerly, with a fresh gale at south south-east; which, before midnight, veered to the south-east; and was, as usual, attended with misty, drizzling, rainy weather.

By the course we steered all night, I was in hopes of falling in with the continent in the morning. And, doubtless, we should have seen it, had the weather been in the least clear; but the fog prevented. Seeing no land at noon, and the gale increasing, with a thick fog and rain, I steered west north-west, under such sail as we could easily haul the wind with; being fully sensible of the danger of running before a strong gale in a thick fog, in the vicinity of an unknown coast. It was, however, necessary to run some risk when the wind favoured us; for clear weather, we had found, was generally accompanied with winds from the west. Between two and three in the afternoon, land was seen through the fog, bearing north-west, not more than three or four miles distant. Upon this we immediately hauled up south, close to the wind. Soon after the two courses were split, so that we had others to bring to the yards; and several others of our sails received considerable damage. At nine the gale abated; the weather cleared up; and we got sight of the coast again, extending from west by south to north-west, about four or five leagues distant. On sounding, we found a hundred fathoms water, over a muddy bottom. Soon after, the fog returned, and we saw no more of the land all night.

At four next morning, the fog being now dispersed, we found ourselves in a manner surrounded by land; the continent, or what was supposed to be the continent, extending from west south-west to north-east by north; and some elevated land, bearing south-east half south; by estimation eight or nine leagues distant. The north-east extreme of the main was the same point of land that we had fallen in with during the fog; and we named it Foggy Cape. It lies in latitude 56° 31′. At this time, having but little wind all night, a breeze sprung up at north-west. With this we stood to the southward, to make the land, seen in that direction, plainer. At nine o'clock, we found it to be an island of about nine leagues in compass; lying in the latitude of 56° 10′, and in the longitude of 220° 45′; and it is distinguished in our chart by the name of Foggy Island; having reason to believe, from its situation, that it is the same which had that name given to it by Beering. At the same time, three or four islands, lying before a bay, formed by the coast of the main land, bore north by west; a point, with three or four pinnacle rocks upon it, which was called Pinnacle Point, bore north-west by west; and a cluster of small islets, or rocks, lying about nine leagues from the coast south south-east. At noon, when our latitude was 56° 9′, and our longitude 220° 45′, these rocks bore south, 58° E., ten miles distant; Pinnacle Point, north north-west, distant seven leagues; the nearest part of the main land north-west by west, six leagues distant; and the most advanced land to the south-west, which had the appearance of being an island, bore west, a little southerly. In the afternoon, we had little or no wind, so that our progress was inconsiderable. At eight in the evening, the coast extended from south-west to north north-east; the nearest part about eight leagues distant.

On the 17th, the wind was between west and north-west, a gentle breeze, and sometimes

almost calm. The weather was clear, and the air sharp and dry. At noon, the continent extended from south-west to north by east; the nearest part seven leagues distant. A large group of islands lying about the same distance from the continent, extended from south 26° W., to south 52° W. It was calm great part of the 18th; and the weather was clear and pleasant. We availed ourselves of this, by making observations for the longitude and variation. The latter was found to be 21° 27′ E. There can be no doubt that there is a continuation of the continent between Trinity Island and Foggy Cape, which the thick weather prevented us from seeing. For some distance to the south-west of that cape, this country is more broken or rugged than any part we had yet seen, both with respect to the hills themselves and to the coast, which seemed full of creeks, or small inlets, none of which appeared to be of any great depth. Perhaps, upon a closer examination, some of the projecting points between these inlets will be found to be islands. Every part had a very barren aspect; and was covered with snow, from the summits of the highest hills, down to a very small distance from the sea-coast.

Having occasion to send a boat on board the Discovery, one of the people in her shot a very beautiful bird of the hawk kind. It is somewhat less than a duck, and of a black colour, except the fore part of the head, which is white; and from above and behind each eye arises an elegant yellowish-white crest, revolving backward as a ram's horn. The bill and feet are red. It is, perhaps, the *Alca monochora* of Steller, mentioned in the history of Kamtschatka*. I think the first of these birds was seen by us a little to the southward of Cape St. Hermogenes. From that time we generally saw some of them every day, and sometimes in large flocks. Besides these, we daily saw most of the other sea-birds that are commonly found in other northern oceans; such as gulls, shags, puffins, sheerwaters, and sometimes ducks, geese, and swans. And seldom a day passed without seeing seals, whales, and other large fish.

In the afternoon we got a light breeze of wind southerly, which enabled us to steer west for the channel that appeared between the islands and the continent; and at daybreak next morning we were at no great distance from it, and found several other islands within those already seen by us, of various extent, both in height and circuit. But between these last islands and those before seen there seemed to be a clear channel, for which I steered, being afraid to keep the coast of the continent aboard, lest we should mistake some point of it for an island, and by that means be drawn into some inlet, and lose the advantage of a fair wind which at this time blew. I therefore kept along the southernmost chain of islands; and at noon we were in the latitude of 55° 18′, and in the narrowest part of the channel formed by them and those which lie along the continent, where it is about a league and a half or two leagues over. The largest island in this group was now on our left, and is distinguished by the name of Kodiak†, according to the information we afterward received. I left the rest of them without names. I believe them to be the same that Beering calls Schumagin's Islands‡; or those islands which he called by that name to be a part of them, for this group is pretty extensive. We saw islands as far to the southward as an island could be seen. They commence in the longitude of 200° 15′ E., and extend a degree and a half or two degrees to the westward. I cannot be particular, as we could not distinguish all the islands from the coast of the continent. Most of these islands are of a good height, very barren and rugged, abounding with rocks and steep cliffs, and exhibiting other romantic appearances. There are several snug bays and coves about them; streams of fresh water run from their elevated parts; some drift-wood was floating around, but not a tree or bush was to be seen growing on the land. A good deal of snow still lay on many of them; and the parts of the continent which showed themselves between the innermost islands were quite covered with it. At four in the afternoon we had passed all the islands that lay to the southward of us; the southernmost at this time bearing S. 3° E., and the westernmost point of land now in sight, S. 82° W. For this point we steered, and passed between it and two or three elevated rocks that lie about a league to the east of it.

* P. 153, Eng. Trans.

† See an account of Kodiak in Stæhlin's New Northern Archipelago, pp. 30. 39.

‡ See Muller's "Découvertes des Russes," pp. 262. 277.

Some time after we had got through this channel, in which we found forty fathoms water, the Discovery, now two miles astern, fired three guns and brought to, and made the signal to speak with us. This alarmed me not a little; and as no apparent danger had been remarked in the passage through the channel, it was apprehended that some accident, such as springing a leak, must have happened. A boat was immediately sent to her, and in a short time returned with Captain Clerke. I now learned from him that some natives, in three or four canoes, who had been following the ship for some time, at length got under his stern. One of them then made many signs, taking off his cap and bowing, after the manner of Europeans. A rope being handed down from the ship, to this he fastened a small thin wooden case or box; and having delivered this safe, and spoken something, and made some signs, the canoes dropped astern and left the Discovery. No one on board her had any suspicion that the box contained anything till after the departure of the canoes, when it was accidentally opened, and a piece of paper was found folded up carefully, upon which something was written in the Russian language, as was supposed. The date 1778 was prefixed to it; and in the body of the written note there was a reference to the year 1776. Not learned enough to decipher the alphabet of the writer, his numerals marked sufficiently that others had preceded us in visiting this dreary part of the globe, who were united to us by other ties besides those of our common nature; and the hopes of soon meeting with some of the Russian traders, could not but give a sensible satisfaction to those who had, for such a length of time, been conversant with the savages of the Pacific Ocean, and of the continent of North America. Captain Clerke was at first of opinion that some Russians had been shipwrecked here; and that these unfortunate persons, seeing our ships pass, had taken this method to inform us of their situation. Impressed with humane sentiments on such an occasion, he was desirous of our stopping till they might have time to join us. But no such idea occurred to me. It seemed obvious that if this had been the case, it would have been the first step taken by such shipwrecked persons, in order to secure to themselves and to their companions the relief they could not but be solicitous about, to send some of their body off to the ships in the canoes. For this reason, I rather thought that the paper contained a note of information left by some Russian trader who had lately been amongst these islands, to be delivered to the next of their countrymen who should arrive; and that the natives, seeing our ships pass, and supposing us to be Russians, had resolved to bring off the note, thinking it might induce us to stop. Fully convinced of this, I did not stay to inquire any farther into the matter, but made sail and stood away to the westward, along the coast; perhaps I should say along the islands, for we could not pronounce with certainty whether the nearest land within us was continent or islands. If not the latter, the coast here forms some tolerably large and deep bays.

We continued to run all night with a gentle breeze at north-east; and at two o'clock next morning, some breakers were seen within us, at the distance of two miles. Two hours after, others were seen ahead; and, on our larboard bow, and between us and the land, they were innumerable. We did but just clear them by holding a south course. These breakers were occasioned by rocks; some of which were above water. They extend several leagues from the land; and are very dangerous, especially in thick weather, to which this coast seems much subject. At noon we had just got on their outside; and by observation, we were in the latitude of 54° 44′, and in the longitude of 198°. The nearest land being an elevated bluff point, which was called Rock Point, bore north, seven or eight leagues distant; the westernmost part of the main, or what was supposed to be the main, bore N. 80° W.; and a round hill, without which was found to be an island, and was called Halibut-head, bore S. 65° W., thirteen leagues distant. On the 21st at noon, having made but little progress, on account of faint winds and calms, Halibut-head, which lies in the latitude of 54° 27′, and in the longitude of 197°, bore N. 24° W.; and the island on which it is, and called Halibut Island, extended from N. by E., to N. W. by W., two leagues distant. This island is seven or eight leagues in circuit; and except the head, the land of it is low and very barren. There are several small islands near it, all of the same appearance; but there seemed to be a passage between them and the main, two or three leagues broad.

The rocks and breakers before mentioned forced us so far from the continent, that we had

but a distant view of the coast between Rock Point and Halibut Island. Over this and the adjoining islands, we could see the mainland covered with snow; but particularly some hills, whose elevated tops were seen towering above the clouds to a most stupendous height. The most south-westerly of these hills was discovered to have a volcano, which continually threw up vast columns of black smoke. It stands not far from the coast; and in the latitude of 54° 48′, and the longitude of 195° 45′. It is also remarkable from its figure, which is a complete cone; and the volcano is at the very summit. We seldom saw this (or indeed any other of these mountains) wholly clear of clouds. At times both base and summit would be clear; when a narrow cloud, sometimes two or three, one above another, would embrace the middle like a girdle; which, with the column of smoke, rising perpendicularly to a great height out of its top, and spreading before the wind into a tail of vast length, made a very picturesque appearance. It may be worth remarking, that the wind, at the height to which the smoke of this volcano reached, moved sometimes in a direction contrary to what it did at sea, even when it blew a fresh gale.

In the afternoon, having three hours' calm, our people caught upward of a hundred halibuts, some of which weighed a hundred pounds, and none less than twenty pounds. This was a very seasonable refreshment to us. In the height of our fishing, which was in thirty-five fathoms water, and three or four miles from the shore, a small canoe, conducted by one man, came to us from the large island. On approaching the ship, he took off his cap, and bowed, as the other had done who visited the Discovery the preceding day. It was evident that the Russians must have a communication and traffic with these people, not only from their acquired politeness, but from the note above mentioned. But we had now a fresh proof of it, for our present visitor wore a pair of green cloth breeches, and a jacket of black cloth, or stuff, under the gut shirt or frock of his own country. He had nothing to barter, except a grey fox skin, and some fishing implements or harpoons, the heads of the shafts of which, for the length of a foot or more, were neatly made of bone, as thick as a walking-cane, and carved. He had with him a bladder full of something, which we supposed to be oil, for he opened it, took a mouthful, and then fastened it again. His canoe was of the same make with those we had seen before, but rather smaller. He used the double-bladed paddle, as did also those who had visited the Discovery. In his size and features, he exactly resembled those we saw in Prince William's Sound, and in the Great River; but he was quite free from paint of any kind, and had the perforation of his lip made in an oblique direction, without any ornament in it. He did not seem to understand any of the words commonly used by our visitors in the Sound, when repeated to him. But perhaps our faulty pronunciation, rather than his ignorance of the dialect, may be inferred from this.

The weather was cloudy and hazy, with now and then sunshine, till the afternoon of the 22d, when the wind came round to the S. E., and, as usual, brought thick rainy weather. Before the fog came on, no part of the mainland was in sight, except the volcano, and another mountain close by it. I continued to steer W. till seven in the evening, when being apprehensive of falling in with the land in thick weather, we hauled the wind to the southward, till two o'clock next morning, and then bore away again W. We made but little progress, having the wind variable and but little of it, till at last it fixed in the western board, and at five in the afternoon, having a gleam of sunshine, we saw land bearing N. 59° W., appearing in hillocks like islands. At six in the morning of the 24th, we got a sight of the continent, and at nine it was seen extending from N. E. by E., to S. W. by W. half W., the nearest part about four leagues distant. The land to the S. W. proved to be islands, the same that had been seen the preceding evening; but the other was a continuation of the continent, without any islands to obstruct our view of it. In the evening, being about four leagues from the shore, in forty-two fathoms water, having little or no wind, we had recourse to our hooks and lines, but only two or three small cod were caught.

The next morning, we got a breeze easterly, and, what was uncommon with this wind, clear weather, so that we not only saw the volcano, but other mountains both to the E. and W. of it, and all the coast of the mainland under them, much plainer than at any time before. It extended from N. E. by N., to N. W. half W., where it seemed to terminate. Between this point and the islands without it, there appeared a large opening, for which I steered, till we

raised land beyond it. This land, although we did not perceive that it joined the continent, made a passage through the opening very doubtful. It also made it doubtful whether the land which we saw to the S.W. was insular or continental; and if the latter, it was obvious that the opening would be a deep bay or inlet, from which, if once we entered it with an easterly wind, it would not be so easy to get out. Not caring, therefore, to trust too much to appearances, I steered to the southward. Having thus got without all the land in sight, I then steered W., in which direction the islands lay, for such we found this land to be. By eight o'clock we had passed three of them, all of a good height. More of them were now seen to the westward, the south-westernmost part of them bearing W. N. W. The weather in the afternoon became gloomy, and at length turned to a mist, and the wind blew fresh at E. I therefore, at ten at night, hauled the wind to the southward till daybreak, when we resumed our course to the W. Daylight availed us little, for the weather was so thick that we could not see a hundred yards before us; but as the wind was now moderate, I ventured to run. At half-past four, we were alarmed at hearing the sound of breakers on our larboard bow. On heaving the lead, we found twenty-eight fathoms water, and the next cast twenty-five. I immediately brought the ship to, with her head to the northward, and anchored in this last depth, over a bottom of coarse sand, calling the Discovery, she being close to us, to anchor also.

A few hours after, the fog having cleared away a little, it appeared that we had escaped very imminent danger. We found ourselves three quarters of a mile from the N.E. side of an island, which extended from S. by W. half W. to N. by E. half E., each extreme about a league distant. Two elevated rocks, the one bearing S. by E., and the other E. by S., were about half a league each from us, and about the same distance from each other. There were several breakers about them, and yet Providence had, in the dark, conducted the ships through between these rocks, which I should not have ventured in a clear day, and to such an anchoring-place, that I could not have chosen a better. Finding ourselves so near land, I sent a boat to examine what it produced. In the afternoon she returned, and the officer who commanded her reported, that it produced some tolerably good grass and several other small plants, one of which was like purslane, and ate very well, either in soups or as a salad. There was no appearance of shrubs or trees, but on the beach were a few pieces of drift-wood. It was judged to be low water between ten and eleven o'clock; and we found, where we lay at anchor, that the flood-tide came from the E. or S.E.

In the night, the wind blew fresh at S., but was more moderate toward the morning, and the fog partly dispersed. Having weighed at seven o'clock, we steered to the northward, between the island under which we had anchored, and another small one near it. The channel is not above a mile broad; and before we were through it, the wind failed, and we were obliged to anchor in thirty-four fathoms water. We had now land in every direction; that to the S. extended to the S.W., in a ridge of mountains, but our sight could not determine whether it composed one or more islands. We afterward found it to be only one island, and known by the name of Oonalashka. Between it and the land to the N., which had the appearance of being a group of islands, there seemed to be a channel in the direction of N.W. by N. On a point which bore W. from the ship, three quarters of a mile distant, were several natives and their habitations. To this place we saw them tow in two whales, which we supposed they had just killed. A few of them now and then came off to the ships, and bartered a few trifling things with our people; but never remained above a quarter of an hour at a time. On the contrary, they rather seemed shy, and yet we could judge that they were no strangers to vessels, in some degree, like ours. They behaved with a degree of politeness uncommon to savage tribes. At one o'clock in the afternoon, having a light breeze at N.E., and the tide of flood in our favour, we weighed and steered for the channel above-mentioned, in hopes, after we were through, of finding the land trend away to the northward, or, at least, a passage out to sea to the W. For we supposed ourselves, as it really happened, to be amongst islands, and not in an inlet of the continent. We had not been long under sail before the wind veered to the N., which obliged us to ply. The soundings were from forty to twenty-seven fathoms, over a bottom of sand and mud. In the evening, the ebb making against us, we anchored about three leagues from our last

station, with the passage bearing N.W. At daybreak the next morning, we weighed with a light breeze at S., which carried us up the passage, when it was succeeded by variable light airs from all directions; but as there ran a rapid tide in our favour, the Resolution got through before the ebb made. The Discovery was not so fortunate; she was carried back, got into the race, and had some trouble to get clear of it. As soon as we were through, the land on one side was found to trend W. and S.W., and that on the other side to trend N. This gave us great reason to hope that the continent had there taken a new direction, which was much in our favour. Being in want of water, and perceiving that we ran some risk of driving about in a rapid tide, without wind to govern the ship, I stood for a harbour lying on the south side of the passage; but we were very soon driven past it; and to prevent being forced back through the passage, came to an anchor in twenty-eight fathoms water, pretty near the southern shore, out of the reach of the strong tide; and yet, even here, we found it run full five knots and a half in the hour.

While we lay here, several of the natives came off to us, each in a canoe, and bartered a few fishing implements for tobacco. One of them, a young man, overset his canoe, while alongside one of our boats. Our people caught hold of him; but the canoe went adrift, and being picked up by another, was carried ashore. The youth, by this accident, was obliged to come into the ship, and he went down into my cabin upon the first invitation, without expressing the least reluctance or uneasiness. His dress was an upper garment like a shirt, made of the large gut of some sea animal, probably the whale, and an under garment of the same shape, made of the skins of birds dressed with the feathers on, and neatly sewed together, the feathered side being worn next his skin. It was mended or patched with pieces of silk stuff, and his cap was ornamented with two or three sorts of glass beads. His own clothes being wet, I gave him others, in which he dressed himself with as much ease as I could have done. From his behaviour, and that of some others, we were convinced that these people were no strangers to Europeans, and to some of their customs. But there was something in our ships that greatly excited their curiosity; for such as could not come off in canoes, assembled on the neighbouring hills to look at them.

At low water, having weighed and towed the ship into the harbour, we anchored there in nine fathoms water, over a bottom of sand and mud: the Discovery got in soon after. A launch was now sent for water, and a boat to draw the seine, but we caught only four trout and a few other small fish. Soon after we anchored, a native of the island brought on board such another note as had been given to Captain Clerke. He presented it to me; but it was written in the Russian language, which, as already observed, none of us could read. As it could be of no use to me, and might be of consequence to others, I returned it to the bearer, and dismissed him with a few presents, for which he expressed his thanks, by making several low bows as he retired. In walking next day along the shore, I met with a group of natives of both sexes, seated on the grass at a repast consisting of raw fish, which they seemed to eat with as much relish as we should a turbot, served up with the richest sauce. By the evening we had completed our water, and made such observations as the time and weather would permit. I have taken notice of the rapidity of the tide without the harbour, but it was inconsiderable within. It was low water at noon, and high water at half-past six in the evening; and the water rose, upon a perpendicular, three feet four inches; but there were marks of its sometimes rising a foot higher.

Thick fogs and a contrary wind detained us till the 2d of July, which afforded an opportunity of acquiring some knowledge of the ountry and of its inhabitants. The result of our observations will be mentioned in another place. At present I shall only describe the harbour. It is called by the natives Samganoodha, and is situated on the north side of Oonalashka, in the latitude of 53° 55′, in the longitude of 193° 30′; and in the strait or passage that separates this island from those that lie to the north of it, and whose position before the harbour shelters it from the winds that blow from that quarter. It runs in S. by W., about four miles, and is about a mile broad at the entrance, narrowing toward the head, where its breadth is not above a quarter of a mile, and where ships can lie land-locked, in seven, six, and four fathoms water. Great plenty of good water may be easily got, but not a single stick of wood of any size.

CHAPTER VIII.—PROGRESS NORTHWARD AFTER LEAVING OONALASHKA.—THE ISLANDS OONELLA AND ACOOTAN.—OONEEMAK.—SHALLOWNESS OF THE WATER ALONG THE COAST.—BRISTOL BAY.—ROUND ISLAND.—CALM POINT.—CAPE NEWENHAM.—LIEUTENANT WILLIAMSON LANDS, AND HIS REPORT.—BRISTOL BAY, AND ITS EXTENT.—THE SHIPS OBLIGED TO RETURN, ON ACCOUNT OF SHOALS.—NATIVES COME OFF TO THE SHIPS.—DEATH OF MR. ANDERSON; HIS CHARACTER; AND ISLAND NAMED AFTER HIM.—POINT RODNEY.—SLEDGE ISLAND, AND REMARKS ON LANDING THERE.—KING'S ISLAND.—CAPE PRINCE OF WALES, THE WESTERN EXTREME OF AMERICA.—COURSE WESTWARD.—ANCHOR IN A BAY ON THE COAST OF ASIA.

HAVING put to sea with a light breeze, at south south-east, we steered to the north, meeting with nothing to obstruct us in this course; for, as I observed before, the island of Oonalashka, on the one side, trended south-west, and on the other no land was to be seen in a direction more northerly than north-east; the whole of which land was a continuation of the same group of islands which we had fallen in with on the 25th of June. That which lies before Samganoodha, and forms the north-east side of the passage through which we came, is called Oonella, and is about seven leagues in circumference. Another island, to the north-east of it, is called Acootan, which is considerably larger than Oonella, and hath in it some very high mountains, which were covered with snow. It appeared, that we might have gone very safely between these two islands and the continent, the south-west point of which opened off the north-east point of Acootan, in the direction of north, 60° east; and which proved to be the same point of land we had seen when we quitted the coast of the continent, on the 25th of June, to go without the islands. It is called by the people of these parts Ooneemak, and lies in the latitude of 54° 30′, and in the longitude of 192° 30′. Over the cape, which, of itself, is high land, is a round elevated mountain, at this time entirely covered with snow.

At six in the evening, this mountain bore east 2° north, and at eight we had no land in sight. Concluding, therefore, that the coast of the continent had now taken a north-easterly direction, I ventured to steer the same course, till one o'clock next morning, when the watch on deck thought they saw land ahead. Upon this we wore, and stood to the south-west for two hours, and then resumed our course to the east north-east. At six o'clock land was seen ahead, bearing south-east, about five leagues distant. As we advanced, we raised more and more land, all connected, and seemingly in the direction of our course. At noon, it extended from south south-west to east; the nearest part five or six leagues distant. Our latitude at this time was 55° 21′, and our longitude 195° 18′. This coast is on the north-west side of the volcano mountain; so that we must have seen it, if the weather had been tolerably clear. At six in the evening, after having run eight leagues upon an east by north course from noon, we sounded, and found forty-eight fathoms over a bottom of black sand. Being at this time four leagues from the land, the eastern part in sight bore east south-east, and appeared as a high round hummock, seemingly detached from the main.

Having continued to steer east north-east all night, at eight in the morning of the 4th the coast was seen from south south-west, and east by south, and at times we could see high land, covered with snow, behind it. Soon after, it fell calm, and being in thirty fathoms water, we put over hooks and lines, and caught a good number of fine cod-fish. At noon, having now a breeze from the east, and the weather being clear, we found ourselves six leagues from the land, which extended from south by west to east by south. The hummock, seen the preceding evening, bore south-west by south, ten leagues distant. Our latitude was now 55° 50′, and our longitude 197° 3′. A great hollow swell from west south-west assured us that there was no main land near in that direction. I stood to the north till six in the afternoon, when the wind having veered to the south-east, enabled us to steer east north-east. The coast lay in this direction, and at noon the next day was about four leagues distant.

On the 6th and 7th, the wind being northerly, we made but little progress. At eight in the evening of the latter, we were in nineteen fathoms water, and about three or four leagues from the coast, which on the 8th extended from south south-west to east by north, and was

all low land, with a ridge of mountains behind it, covered with snow. It is probable that this low coast extends some distance to the south-west, and that such places as we sometimes took for inlets or bays are only valleys between the mountains. On the morning of the 9th, with a breeze at north-west, we steered east by north, to get nearer the coast. At noon, we were in the latitude of 57° 49′, and in the longitude of 201° 33′, and about two leagues from the land, which extended from south by east to east north-east; being all a low coast, with points shooting out in some places, which, from the deck, appeared like islands; but from the mast-head, low land was seen to connect them. In this situation the depth of water was fifteen fathoms, the bottom a fine black sand.

As we had advanced to the north-east, we had found the depth of water gradually decreasing, and the coast trending more and more northerly. But the ridge of mountains behind it continued to lie in the same direction as those more westerly; so that the extent of the low land between the foot of the mountains and the sea-coast insensibly increased. Both high and low grounds were perfectly destitute of wood, but seemed to be covered with green turf, except the mountains, which were covered with snow. Continuing to steer along the coast with a gentle breeze westerly, the water gradually shoaled from fifteen to ten fathoms, though we were at the distance of eight or ten miles from the shore. At eight in the evening, an elevated mountain, which had been in sight for some time, bore south-east by east, twenty-one leagues distant. Some other mountains, belonging to the same chain, and much farther distant, bore east 3° north. The coast extended as far as north-east half north, where it seemed to terminate in a point, beyond which we hoped and expected that it would take a more easterly direction. But soon after, we discovered low land extending from behind this point, as far as north-west by west, where it was lost in the horizon; and behind it was high land, that appeared in detached hills. Thus the fine prospect we had of getting to the north, vanished in a moment. I stood on till nine o'clock, for so long it was light, and then the point above mentioned bore north-east half east, about three miles distant. Behind this point is a river, the entrance of which seemed to be a mile broad; but I can say nothing as to its depth. The water appeared discoloured, as upon shoals; but a calm would have given it the same aspect. It seemed to have a winding direction, through the great flat that lies between the chain of mountains to the south-east and the hills to the north-west. It must abound with salmon, as we saw many leaping in the sea before the entrance; and some were found in the maws of cod which we had caught. The entrance of this river, distinguished by the name of Bristol River, lies in the latitude of 58° 27′, and in the longitude of 201° 55′.

Having spent the night in making short boards, at daybreak on the morning of the 10th we made sail to the west south-west, with a gentle breeze at north-east. At eleven o'clock we thought the coast to the north-west terminated in a point, bearing north-west by west; and as we had now deepened the water from nine to fourteen fathoms, I steered for the point, ordering the Discovery to keep ahead. But before she had run a mile, she made a signal for shoal water. At that instant we had the depth of seven fathoms; and before we could get the ship's head the other way, had less than five; but the Discovery had less than four. We stood back to the north-east, three or four miles; but finding there was a strong tide or current setting to the west south-west, that is, toward the shoal, we anchored in ten fathoms, over a bottom of fine sand. Two hours after we had anchored, the water had fallen two feet and upward, which proved that it was the tide of ebb that came from the river above-mentioned. We also examined some of the water which we had taken up, and found that it was not half so salt as common sea water. This furnished another proof that we were before a large river.

At four in the afternoon, the wind shifting to south-west, we weighed and stood to the southward, with boats ahead sounding, and passed over the south end of the shoal in six fathoms water. We then got into thirteen and fifteen; in which last depth we anchored at half-past eight; some part of the chain of mountains on the south-east shore, in sight, bearing south-east half south; and the westernmost land on the other shore, north-west. We had, in the course of the day, seen high land, bearing north 60° west, by estimation twelve leagues distant. Having weighed next morning, at two o'clock, with a light breeze

at south-west by west, we plied to windward till nine; when judging the flood-tide to be now made against us, we came to an anchor in twenty-four fathoms. We lay here till one, when the fog, which had prevailed this morning, dispersing, and the tide making in our favour, we weighed and plied to the south-west. In the evening the wind was very variable, and we had some thunder. We had heard none before since our arrival upon the coast; and this was at a great distance. The wind having settled again in the south-west quarter in the morning of the 12th, we stood to the north-west, and at ten saw the continent. At noon it extended from north-east by north, to north north-west, a quarter west; and an elevated hill bore north north-west, ten leagues distant. This proved to be an island, which from its figure obtained the name of Round Island. It lies in the latitude of 58° 37′, and in the longitude of 200° 6′, and seven miles from the continent. In the evening, at nine, having stood to the northward to within three leagues of the shore, we tacked in fourteen fathoms water, the extremities of the coast bearing east south-east half east and west. The wind veering to the north-west enabled us to make a good stretch along-shore, till two o'clock in the morning, when we got all at once into six fathoms water, being at this time two leagues from the shore. After edging off a little, our depth gradually increased, and at noon we had twenty fathoms, when the latitude was 58° 13′, and the longitude 199°. Round Island bore north, 5° east; and the west extreme of the coast north, 16° west, seven leagues distant. It is an elevated point, which obtained the name of Calm Point, from our having calm weather when off it. To the north-west of Round Island are two or three hillocks, that appeared like islands; and it is possible they may be such; for we had but a distant view of the coast in this place.

During the 14th and 15th, our progress was slow, having little wind, and sometimes so thick a fog, that we could not see the length of the ship. The soundings were from fourteen to twenty-six fathoms; and we had tolerable success in fishing, catching cod, and now and then a few flat fish. At five in the morning of the 16th, the fog having cleared up, we found ourselves nearer the land than we expected. Calm Point bore north, 72° east, and a point eight leagues from it, in the direction of west, bore north, 3° east, three miles distant. Between these two points, the coast forms a bay, in some parts of which the land was hardly visible from the mast-head. There is also a bay on the north-west side of this last point, between it and an elevated promontory, which, at this time, bore north, 36° west, sixteen miles distant. At nine, I sent Lieutenant Williamson to this promontory, with orders to land, and see what direction the coast took beyond it, and what the country produced, for from the ships it had but a barren appearance. We found here the flood-tide setting strongly to the north-west along the coast. At noon it was high-water, and we anchored in twenty-four fathoms, four leagues distant from the shore. At five in the afternoon, the tide making in our favour, we weighed, and drove with it; for there was no wind.

Soon after, Mr. Williamson returned, and reported that he had landed on the point, and having climbed the highest hill, found that the farthest part of the coast in sight bore nearly north. He took possession of the country in his Majesty's name, and left on the hill a bottle, in which were inscribed, on a piece of paper, the names of the ships, and the date of the discovery. The promontory, to which he gave the name of Cape Newenham, is a rocky point of tolerable height, situated in the latitude of 58° 42′, and in the longitude of 197° 36′. Over, or within it, are two elevated hills, rising one behind the other. The innermost, or easternmost, is the highest. The country, as far as Mr. Williamson could see, produces neither tree nor shrub; the hills are naked; but on the lower grounds grew grass and other plants, very few of which were in flower. He saw no other animal but a doe and her fawn, and a dead sea-horse, or cow, upon the beach. Of these animals we had lately seen a great many. As the coase takes a northerly direction from Cape Newenham, that Cape fixes the northern limit of the great bay and gulf, lying before the river Bristol, which, in honour of the admiral Earl of Bristol, was named Bristol Bay. Cape Ooneemak is the south limit of this bay, and is distant eighty-two leagues from Cape Newenham, in the direction of south south-west.

About eight in the evening, a light breeze springing up, which fixed at S. S. E., we steered

N. W., and N. N. W., round Cape Newenham, which at noon next day bore S. by E., distant four leagues. At this time the most advanced land to the northward bore N., 30° E.; our depth of water was seventeen fathoms; and the nearest shore 3½ leagues distant. We had but little wind all the afternoon; so that, at ten at night, we had only made three leagues upon a north course. We steered N. by W. till eight the next morning, when, our depth of water decreasing suddenly to five and seven fathoms, we brought to, till a boat from each ship was sent ahead to sound, and then steered north-east after them; and at noon we had deepened the water to seventeen fathoms. At this time Cape Newenham bore S. 9° E., distant eleven or twelve leagues, the north-east extreme of the land in sight N. 66° E., and the nearest shore about four or five leagues distant. Our latitude, by observation, was 59° 16′.

Between this latitude and Cape Newenham the coast is composed of hills and low land, and appeared to form several bays. A little before one o'clock the boats ahead made the signal for meeting with shoal water. It seems they had only two fathoms, and at the same time the ships were in six fathoms. By hauling a little more to the northward, we continued in much the same depth till between five and six o'clock, when the boats meeting with less and less water, I made the signal to the Discovery, she being then ahead, to anchor, which we did soon after. In bringing our ship up, the cable parted at the clinch, which obliged us to come-to with the other anchor. We rode in six fathoms water, a sandy bottom, and about four or five leagues from the main land; Cape Newenham bearing south, seventeen leagues distant. The farthest hills we could see to the north, bore N. E. by E.; but there was low land stretching out from the high land, as far as north by east. Without this was a shoal of sand and stones, that was dry at half ebb.

I had sent the two masters, each in a boat, to sound between this shoal and the coast. On their return, they reported that there was a channel in which they found six and seven fathoms water; but that it was narrow and intricate. At low water we made an attempt to get a hawser round the lost anchor, but did not succeed then. However, being determined not to leave it behind me as long as there was a probability of recovering it, I persevered in my endeavours, and at last succeeded in the evening of the 20th. While we were thus employed, I ordered Captain Clerke to send his master in a boat to look for a passage in the south-west quarter. He did so; but no channel was to be found in that direction; nor did there appear to be any way to get clear of these shoals, but to return by the track which had brought us in. For, although by following the channel we were in, we might probably have got farther down the coast, and though possibly this channel might have led us at last to the north, clear of the shoals, still the attempt would have been attended with vast risk; and if we should not have succeeded, there would have been a considerable loss of time that could ill be spared. These reasons induced me to return by the way in which we came, and so get without the shoals.

A number of lunar observations made by Mr. King and myself, on this and the four preceding days, and all reduced to the ship's present station, gave the longitude		197°	45′	48″
By the time-keeper it was		197	26	48
Our latitude was		59	37	30
Variation by the mean of three compasses	A.M. 23° 34′ 3″	mean 22° 56′ 51″ east.		
	P.M. 22 19 40			

The northernmost part of the coast that we could see from this station I judged to lie in the latitude of 60°. It seemed to form a low point, which obtained the name of Shoal Ness. The tide of flood sets to the north, and the ebb to the south. It rises and falls, upon a perpendicular, five or six feet; and I reckon it to be high water, on the full and change days, at eight o'clock.

Having weighed at three in the morning on the 21st, with a light breeze at N. N. W., we steered back to the southward, having three boats ahead to direct us. But, notwithstanding this precaution, we found more difficulty in returning than we had in advancing; and at last were obliged to anchor, to avoid running upon a shoal, which had only a depth of five feet. While we lay here, twenty-seven men of the country, each in a canoe, came off to the ships, which they approached with great caution; hollowing and opening their arms

as they advanced. This we understood was to express their pacific intentions. At length some approached near enough to receive a few trifles that were thrown to them: this encouraged the rest to venture alongside; and a traffic presently commenced between them and our people, who got dresses of skins, bows, arrows, darts, wooden vessels, &c.; our visitors taking in exchange for these whatever was offered them. They seemed to be the same sort of people that we had of late met with all along this coast; wore the same kind of ornaments in their lips and noses; but were far more dirty, and not so well clothed. They appeared to be wholly unacquainted with people like us: they knew not the use of tobacco; nor was any foreign article seen in their possession, unless a knife may be looked upon as such. This, indeed, was only a piece of common iron fitted in a wooden handle, so as to answer the purpose of a knife. They, however, knew the value and use of this instrument so well, that it seemed to be the only article they wished for. Most of them had their hair shaved, or cut short off, leaving only a few locks behind, or on one side. For a covering for the head they wore a hood of skins, and a bonnet which appeared to be of wood. One part of their dress, which we got from them, was a kind of girdle, very neatly made of skin, with trappings depending from it, and passing between the legs, so as to conceal the adjoining parts. By the use of such a girdle, it should seem that they sometimes go naked, even in this high latitude; for they hardly wear it under their other clothing. The canoes were made of skins, like all the others we had lately seen; only with this difference, that these were broader, and the hole in which the man sits was wider than in any I had before met with. Our boats returning from sounding seemed to alarm them; so that they all left us sooner than probably they would otherwise have done.

It was the 22nd, in the evening, before we got clear of these shoals, and then I durst not venture to steer to the westward in the night, but spent it off Cape Newenham, and at day-break next morning steered to the north-west, ordering the Discovery to lead. Before we had run two leagues, our depth of water decreased to six fathoms. Fearing, if we continued this course, that we should find less and less water, I hauled to the southward, the wind being at east, a fresh breeze. This course brought us gradually into eighteen fathoms; and having that depth, I ventured to steer a little westerly, and afterward west, when we at last found twenty-six fathoms water. On the 24th at noon we were, by observation, in the latitude of 58° 7′, and in the longitude of 194° 22. Three leagues to the westward of this station we had twenty-eight fathoms water, and then steered west north-west, the water gradually deepening to thirty-four fathoms. I would have steered more northerly, but the wind having veered in that direction, I could not. The 25th in the evening, having a very thick fog, and but little wind, we dropped anchor in thirty fathoms water. Our latitude was now 58° 29′, and our longitude 191½° 37′. At six the next morning the weather clearing up a little, we weighed, and a small breeze at east, steered north; our soundings being from twenty-eight to twenty-five fathoms. After running nine leagues upon this course, the wind returned back to the north, which obliged us to steer more westerly.

The weather continued, for the most part, foggy, till toward noon on the 28th, when we had a few hours' clear sunshine; during which we made several lunar observations. The mean result of them, reduced to noon, when the latitude was 59° 55′, gave 190° 6′ longitude; and the time-keeper gave 189° 59′. The variation of the compass was 18° 40′ east. Continuing our westerly course, the water having now deepened to thirty-six fathoms, at four o'clock next morning we discovered land, bearing north-west by west, six leagues distant. We stood toward it till half-past ten, when we tacked in twenty-four fathoms water; being at this time a league from the land, which bore north north-west. It was the south-east extremity, and formed a perpendicular cliff of considerable height; on which account it was called Point Upright, and lies in the latitude of 60° 17′, and in the longitude of 187° 30′ More land was seen to the westward of the point; and, at a clear interval, we saw another elevated portion of land in the direction of west by south; and this seemed to be entirely separated from the other. Here we met with an incredible number of birds, all as the hawk kind before described. We had baffling light winds all the afternoon, so that we made but little progress; and the weather was not clear enough to enable us to determine the extent of the land before us. We supposed it to be one of the many islands laid down by

Mr. Stæhlin in his map of the New Northern Archipelago; and we expected every moment to see more of them.

At four in the afternoon of the 30th, Point Upright bore north-west by north, six leagues distant. About this time a light breeze springing up at north north-west, we stood to the north-east till four o'clock next morning, when the wind veering to the eastward, we tacked and steered to the north-west. Soon after the wind came to the south-east, and we steered north-east by north; which course we continued, with soundings from thirty-five to twenty fathoms, till next day at noon. At this time we were in the latitude of 60° 58′, and in the longitude of 191°. The wind now veering to north-east, I first made a stretch of ten leagues to the north-west; and then, seeing no land in that direction, I stood back to the eastward about fifteen leagues, and met with nothing but pieces of drift-wood. The soundings were from twenty-two to nineteen fathoms. Variable light winds, with showers of rain, prevailed all the 2nd; but fixing in the south-east quarter, in the morning of the 3rd, we resumed our course to the northward. At noon we were, by observation, in the latitude of 62° 34′; our longitude was 192°, and our depth of water sixteen fathoms.

Mr. Anderson, my surgeon, who had been lingering under a consumption for more than twelve months, expired between three and four this afternoon. He was a sensible young man, and an agreeable companion, well skilled in his own profession, and had acquired considerable knowledge of other branches of science. The reader of this Journal will have observed how useful an assistant I had found him in the course of the voyage; and had it pleased God to have spared his life, the public, I make no doubt, might have received from him such communications, on various parts of the natural history of the several places we visited, as would have abundantly shown that he was not unworthy of this commendation*. Soon after he had breathed his last, land was seen to the westward, twelve leagues distant. It was supposed to be an island; and, to perpetuate the memory of the deceased, for whom I had a very great regard, I named it Anderson's Island. The next day I removed Mr. Law, the surgeon of the Discovery, into the Resolution, and appointed Mr. Samuel, the surgeon's first mate of the Resolution, to be surgeon of the Discovery.

On the 4th, at three in the afternoon, land was seen extending from north north-east to north-west. We stood on toward it till four o'clock, when, being four or five miles from it, we tacked; and soon after, the wind falling, we anchored in thirteen fathoms water, over a sandy bottom, being about two leagues from the land, and, by our reckoning, in the latitude of 64° 27′, and in the longitude of 194° 18′. At intervals we could see the coast extending from east to north-west, and a pretty high island, bearing west by north, three leagues distant. The land before us, which we supposed to be the continent of America, appeared low next the sea; but inland it swelled into hills, which rise one behind another to a considerable height. It had a greenish hue, but seemed destitute of wood, and free from snow. While we lay at anchor, we found that the flood-tide came from the east and set to the west, till between ten and eleven o'clock. From that time till two the next morning the stream set to the eastward, and the water fell three feet. The flood ran both stronger and longer than the ebb; from which I concluded, that, besides the tide, there was a westerly current.

At ten in the morning of the 5th, with the wind at south-west, we ran down and anchored between the island and the continent, in seven fathoms water. Soon after, I landed upon the island, and, accompanied by Mr. King and some others of the officers, I hoped to have had from it a view of the coast and sea to the westward; but the fog was so thick in that direction, that the prospect was not more extensive than from the ship. The coast of the continent seemed to take a turn to the northward, at a low point named Point Rodney, which bore from the island north-west half west, three or four leagues distant; but the high land, which took a more northerly direction, was seen a great way farther. This island, which was named Sledge Island, and lies in the latitude of 64° 30′, and in the longitude of 193° 57′, is about four leagues in circuit. The surface of the ground is composed chiefly of large loose stones, that are in many places covered with moss and other vegetables, of

* Mr. Anderson's Journal seems to have been discontinued for about two months before his death; the last date in his MS. being of the 3rd of June.

which there were above twenty or thirty different sorts, and most of them in flower. But I saw neither shrub nor tree, either upon the island or on the continent. On a small low spot near the beach where we landed, was a deal of wild purslane, peas, long-wort, &c.; some of which we took on board for the pot. We saw one fox, a few plovers and some other small birds; and we met with some decayed huts that were partly built below ground. People had lately been on the island; and it is pretty clear that they frequently visit it for some purpose or other. We found, a little way from the shore where we landed, a sledge, which occasioned this name being given to the island. It seemed to be such a one as the Russians in Kamtschatka make use of to convey goods from place to place, over the ice or snow. It was ten feet long, twenty inches broad, and had a kind of rail-work on each side, and was shod with bone. The construction of it was admirable, and all the parts neatly put together; some with wooden pins, but mostly with thongs or lashings of whale-bone, which made me think it was entirely the workmanship of the natives.

At three o'clock the next morning we weighed, and proceeded to the north-westward, with a light southerly breeze. We had an opportunity to observe the sun's meridian altitude for the latitude; and to get altitude, both in the forenoon and afternoon, to obtain the longitude by the time-keeper. As we had but little wind, and variable withal, we advanced but slowly; and, at eight in the evening, finding the ships settle fast toward the land into shoal water, I anchored in seven fathoms, about two leagues from the coast. Sledge Island bore south, 51° east, ten leagues distant; and was seen over the south point of the main land. Soon after we had anchored, the weather, which had been misty, clearing up, we saw high land extending from north, 40° east, to north, 30° west, apparently disjoined from the coast, under which we were at anchor, and seemed to trend away north-east. At the same time an island was seen bearing north 81° west, eight or nine leagues distant. It appeared to have no great extent, and was named King's Island. We rode here till eight o'clock next morning, when we weighed, and stood to the north-west. The weather clearing up toward the evening, we got sight of the north-west land, extending from north by west, to north-west by north, distant about three leagues. We spent the night making short boards, the weather being misty and rainy, with little wind; and between four and five in the morning of the 8th, we had again a sight of the north-west land; and, soon after, on account of a calm, and a current driving us toward the shore, we found it necessary to anchor in twelve fathoms water, about two miles from the coast. Over the western extreme is an elevated peaked hill, situated in latitude 65° 36′, and in longitude 192° 18′. A breeze at north-east springing up at eight o'clock, we weighed, and stood to the south-east, in hopes of finding a passage between the coast on which we had anchored on the 6th in the evening, and this north-west land; but we soon got into seven fathoms water, and discovered low land connecting the two coasts, and the high land behind it. Being now satisfied that the whole was a continued coast, I tacked, and stood away for its north-west part, and came to an anchor under it in seventeen fathoms water. The weather, at this time, was very thick with rain; but, at four next morning, it cleared up, so that we could see the land about us. A high steep rock or island bore west by south; another island to the north of it, and much larger, bore west by north; the peaked hill above mentioned, south-east by east; and the point under it, south, 32° east. Under this hill lies some low land, stretching out toward the north-west, the extreme point of which bore north-east by east, about three miles distant. Over, and beyond it, some high land was seen, supposed to be a continuation of the continent. This point of land, which I named Cape Prince of Wales, is the more remarkable, by being the western extremity of all America hitherto known. It is situated in the latitude of 65° 46′, and in the longitude of 191° 45′. The observations by which both were determined, though made in sight of it, were liable to some small error, on account of the haziness of the weather. We thought we saw some people upon the coast; and probably we were not mistaken, as some elevations, like stages, and others, like huts, were seen at the same place. We saw the same things on the continent within Sledge Island, and on some other parts of the coast.

It was calm till eight o'clock in the morning, when a faint breeze at north springing up,

we weighed; but we had scarcely got our sails set, when it began to blow and rain very hard, with misty weather. The wind and current, being in contrary directions, raised such a sea, that it frequently broke into the ship. We had a few minutes' sunshine at noon; and from the observations then obtained, we fixed the above-mentioned latitude. Having plied to windward till two in the afternoon, with little effect, I bore up for the island we had seen to the westward, proposing to come to an anchor under it till the gale should cease. But on getting to this land, we found it composed of two small islands each not above three or four leagues in circuit; and consequently they could afford us little shelter. Instead of anchoring, therefore, we continued to stretch to the westward; and at eight o'clock, land was seen in that direction, extending from north north-west, to west by south, the nearest part six leagues distant. I stood on till ten, and then made a board to the eastward, in order to spend the night.

At daybreak in the morning of the 10th, we resumed our course to the west for the land we had seen the preceding evening. At eleven minutes after seven, when the longitude by the time-keeper was 189° 24′, it extended from south, 72° west, to north, 41° east. Between the south-west extreme, and a point which bore west, two leagues distant, the shore forms a large bay, in which we anchored at ten o'clock in the forenoon, about two miles from the north shore, in ten fathoms water, over a gravelly bottom. The south point of the bay bore south, 58° west; the north point north, 43° east; the bottom of the bay north, 60° west, two or three leagues distant; and the two islands we had passed the preceding day, north, 72° east, distant fourteen leagues.

CHAPTER IX.—BEHAVIOUR OF THE NATIVES, THE TSCHUTSKI, ON SEEING THE SHIPS.—INTERVIEW WITH SOME OF THEM.—THEIR WEAPONS.—PERSONS.—ORNAMENTS.—CLOTHING.—WINTER AND SUMMER HABITATIONS.—THE SHIPS CROSS THE STRAIT, TO THE COAST OF AMERICA.—PROGRESS NORTHWARD.—CAPE MULGRAVE.—APPEARANCE OF FIELDS OF ICE.—SITUATION OF ICY CAPE.—THE SEA BLOCKED UP WITH ICE.—SEA-HORSES KILLED, AND USED AS PROVISIONS.—THESE ANIMALS DESCRIBED.—DIMENSIONS OF ONE OF THEM.—CAPE LISBURNE.—FRUITLESS ATTEMPTS TO GET THROUGH THE ICE AT A DISTANCE FROM THE COAST.—OBSERVATIONS ON THE FORMATION OF THIS ICE.—ARRIVAL ON THE COAST OF ASIA.—CAPE NORTH.—THE PROSECUTION OF THE VOYAGE DEFERRED TO THE ENSUING YEAR.

As we were standing into this bay, we perceived on the north shore a village, and some people, whom the sight of the ships seemed to have thrown into confusion or fear. We could plainly see persons running up the country with burdens upon their backs. At these habitations, I proposed to land; and accordingly went with three armed boats, accompanied by some of the officers. About thirty or forty men, each armed with a spontoon, a bow, and arrows, stood drawn up on a rising ground close by the village. As we drew near, three of them came down toward the shore, and were so polite as to take off their caps, and to make us low bows. We returned the civility: but this did not inspire them with sufficient confidence to wait for our landing; for the moment we put the boats ashore, they retired. I followed them alone without anything in my hand; and by signs and gestures prevailed on them to stop, and receive some trifling presents. In return for these, they gave me two fox-skins, and a couple of sea-horse teeth. I cannot say whether they or I made the first present; for it appeared to me, that they had brought down with them these things for this very purpose; and that they would have given them to me, even though I had made no return. They seemed very fearful and cautious; expressing their desire by signs that no more of our people should be permitted to come up. On my laying my hand on the shoulder of one of them, he started back several paces. In proportion as I advanced, they retreated backward; always in the attitude of being ready to make use of their spears; while those on the rising ground stood ready to support them with their arrows. Insensibly, myself, and two or three of my companions, got in amongst them. A few beads, distributed to those about us, soon created a kind of confidence; so that

they were not alarmed when a few more of our people joined us; and, by degrees, a sort of traffic between us commenced. In exchange for knives, beads, tobacco, and other articles, they gave us some of their clothing, and a few arrows. But nothing that we had to offer could induce them to part with a spear, or a bow. These they had in constant readiness, never once quitting them, except at one time, when four or five persons laid theirs down, while they gave us a song and a dance. And even then, they placed them in such a manner, that they could lay hold of them in an instant; and for their security, they desired us to sit down.

The arrows were pointed either with bone or stone, but very few of them had barbs; and some had a round blunt point. What use these may be applied to I cannot say; unless it be to kill small animals without damaging the skin. The bows were such as we had seen on the American coast, and like those used by the Esquimaux. The spears, or spontoons, were of iron or steel, and of European or Asiatic workmanship; in which no little pains had been taken to ornament them with carving, and inlayings of brass and of a white metal. Those who stood ready with bows and arrows in their hands, had a spear slung over their shoulder by a leathern strap. A leathern quiver, slung over their left shoulder, contained arrows; and some of these quivers were extremely beautiful; being made of red leather, on which was very neat embroidery, and other ornaments. Several other things, and in particular their clothing, showed that they were possessed of a degree of ingenuity, far surpassing what one could expect to find amongst so northern a people. All the Americans we had seen since our arrival on that coast, were rather low of stature, with round, chubby faces, and high cheek-bones. The people we now were amongst, far from resembling them, had long visages, and were stout and well made. In short, they appeared to be a quite different nation. We saw neither women nor children of either sex; nor any aged, except one man, who was bald-headed; and he was the only one who carried no arms. The others seemed to be picked men, and rather under than above the middle age. The old man had a black mark across his face, which I did not see in any others. All of them had their ears bored; and some had glass beads hanging to them. These were the only fixed ornaments we saw about them; for they wear none to their lips. This is another thing in which they differ from the Americans we had lately seen.

THE TSCHUTSKI.

Their clothing consisted of a cap, a frock, a pair of breeches, a pair of boots, and a pair of gloves, all made of leather, or the skins of deer, dogs, seals, &c., and extremely well dressed; some with the hair or fur on, but others without it. The caps were made to fit the head

very close; and besides these caps, which most of them wore, we got from them some hoods, made of the skins of dogs, that were large enough to cover both head and shoulders. Their hair seemed to be black; but their heads were either shaved, or the hair cut close off; and none of them wore any beard. Of the few articles which they got from us, knives and tobacco were what they valued most.

We found the village composed both of their summer and their winter habitations. The latter are exactly like a vault, the floor of which is sunk a little below the surface of the earth. One of them which I examined was of an oval form, about twenty feet long, and twelve or more high. The framing was composed of wood, and the ribs of whales, disposed in a judicious manner, and bound together with smaller materials of the same sort. Over this framing is laid a covering of strong coarse grass; and that again is covered with earth; so that, on the outside, the house looks like a little hillock, supported by a wall of stone, three or four feet high, which is built round the two sides, and one end. At the other end the earth is raised sloping, to walk up to the entrance, which is by a hole in the top of the roof over that end. The floor was boarded, and under it a kind of cellar, in which I saw nothing but water. And at the end of each house was a vaulted room, which I took to be a store-room. These store-rooms communicated with the house by a dark passage; and with the open air, by a hole in the roof, which was even with the ground one walked upon; but they cannot be said to be wholly under ground; for one end reached to the edge of the hill, along which they were made, and which was built up with stone. Over it stood a kind of sentry-box, or tower, composed of the large bones of large fish. The summer huts were pretty large and circular, being brought to a point at the top. The framing was of slight poles and bones, covered with the skins of sea-animals. I examined the inside of one. There was a fire-place just within the door, where lay a few wooden vessels, all very dirty. Their bed-places were close to the side, and took up about half the circuit. Some privacy seemed to be observed; for there were several partitions made with skins. The bed and bedding were of deer-skins; and most of them were dry and clean. About the habitations were erected several stages, ten or twelve feet high; such as we had observed on some parts of the American coast. They were wholly composed of bones; and seemed intended for drying their fish and skins, which were thus placed beyond the reach of their dogs, of which they had a great many. These dogs are of the fox kind, rather large, and of different colours, with long soft hair like wool. They are, probably, used in drawing their sledges in winter. For sledges they have, as I saw a good many laid up in one of the winter huts. It is also not improbable that dogs may constitute a part of their food. Several lay dead that had been killed that morning.

The canoes of these people are of the same sort with those of the northern Americans; some, both of the large and of the small ones, being seen lying in a creek under the village. By the large fish-bones, and of their sea-animals, it appeared that the sea supplied them with the greatest part of their subsistence. The country appeared to be exceedingly barren; yielding neither tree nor shrub, that we could see. At some distance westward, we observed a ridge of mountains covered with snow that had lately fallen.

At first we supposed this land to be a part of the island of Alaschka, laid down in Mr. Stæhlin's map, before mentioned. But from the figure of the coast, the situation of the opposite shore of America, and from the longitude, we soon began to think that it was, more probably, the country of the Tschutski, or the eastern extremity of Asia, explored by Beering in 1728. But to have admitted this without farther examination, I must have pronounced Mr. Stæhlin's map, and his account of the New Northern Archipelago, to be either exceeding erroneous, even in latitude, or else to be a mere fiction; a judgment which I had no right to pass upon a publication so respectably vouched, without producing the clearest proofs.

After a stay of between two and three hours with these people, we returned to our ships, and soon after, the wind veering to the south, we weighed anchor, stood out of the bay, and steered to the north-east, between the coast and the two islands. The next day, at noon, the former extended from S. 80° W., to N. 34° W.; the latter bore 43° W.; and the peaked mountain, over Cape Prince of Wales, bore S. 36° E.; with land extending from it as far as S. 75° E. The latitude of the ship was 66° 5¼′; the longitude 191° 19′; our depth of water

twenty-eight fathoms; and our position nearly in the middle of the channel between the two coasts, each being seven leagues distant. From this station we steered east, in order to get nearer the American coast. In this course the water shoaled gradually, and there being little wind, and all our endeavours to increase our depth failing, I was obliged at last to drop anchor in six fathoms; the only remedy we had left to prevent the ships driving into less. The nearest part of the western land bore W., twelve leagues distant; the peaked hill over Cape Prince of Wales, S. 16° W.; and the northernmost part of the American continent in sight E. S. E., the nearest part about four leagues distant. After we had anchored, I sent a boat to sound, and the water was found to shoal gradually toward the land. While we lay at anchor, which was from six to nine in the evening, we found little or no current; nor could we perceive that the water either rose or fell.

A breeze of wind springing up north, we weighed and stood to the westward, which course soon brought us into deep water; and, during the 12th, we plied to the north, both coasts being in sight; but we kept nearest to that of America. At four in the afternoon of the 13th, a breeze springing up at south, I steered N. E. by N., till four o'clock next morning, when, seeing no land, we directed our course E. by N.; and between nine and ten, land, supposed to be a continuation of the continent, appeared. It extended from east by south to east by north; and, soon after, we saw more land, bearing N. by E. Coming pretty suddenly into thirteen fathoms water, at two in the afternoon we made a trip off till four, when we stood in again for the land; which was seen, soon after, extending from north to south-east; the nearest part three or four leagues distant. The coast here forms a point, named Point Mulgrave, which lies in the latitude of 67° 45′; and in the longitude of 194° 51′. The land appeared very low next the sea; but, a little back, it rises into hills of a moderate height. The whole was free from snow; and to appearance destitute of wood. I now tacked, and bore away N. W. by W.; but soon after, thick weather with rain coming on, and the wind increasing, I hauled more to the west.

Next morning, at two o'clock, the wind veered to S. W. by S., and blew a strong gale, which abated at noon; and the sun shining out, we found ourselves, by observation, in the latitude of 68° 18′. I now steered N. E. till six o'clock the next morning, when I steered two points more easterly. In this run we met with several sea-horses, and flights of birds; some like land-larks, and others seen no bigger than hedge-sparrows. Some shags were also seen; so that we judged ourselves to be not far from the land. But as we had a thick fog, we could not expect to see any; and as the wind blew strong, it was not prudent to continue a course which was most likely to bring us to it. From the noon of this day to six o'clock in the morning of the following, I steered E. by N.; which course brought us into sixteen fathoms water. I now steered N. E. by E., thinking by this course to deepen our water. But, in the space of six leagues, it shoaled to eleven fathoms; which made me think it proper to haul close to the wind, that now blew at west. Toward noon, both sun and moon were seen clearly at intervals, and we got some flying observations for the longitude; which, reduced to noon, when the latitude was 70° 33′, gave 197° 41′. The time-keeper, for the same time, gave 198°; and the variation was 35° 1′ 22″ E. We had afterward reason to believe that the observed longitude was within a very few miles of the truth.

Some time before noon we perceived a brightness in the northern horizon, like that reflected from ice, commonly called the blink. It was little noticed, from a supposition that it was improbable we should meet with ice so soon. And yet the sharpness of the air, and gloominess of the weather, for two or three days past, seemed to indicate some sudden change. About an hour after, the sight of a large field of ice left us no longer in doubt about the cause of the brightness of the horizon. At half past two, we tacked, close to the edge of the ice, in twenty-two fathoms water, being then in the latitude of 70° 41′; not being able to stand on any farther. For the ice was quite impenetrable, and extended from west by south to east by north, as far as the eye could reach. Here were abundance of sea-horses; some in the water, but far more upon the ice. I had the thoughts of hoisting out the boats to kill some; but the wind freshening, I gave up the design, and continued to ply to the southward, or rather to the westward; for the wind came from that quarter. We gained nothing; for on the 18th at noon our latitude was 70° 44′; and we were near five leagues farther to the

eastward. We were, at this time, close to the edge of the ice, which was as compact as a wall, and seemed to be ten or twelve feet high at least. But farther north, it appeared much higher. Its surface was extremely rugged, and here and there we saw upon it pools of water.

We now stood to the southward, and, after running six leagues, shoaled the water to seven fathoms; but it soon deepened to nine fathoms. At this time the weather, which had been hazy, clearing up a little, we saw land extending from south to south-east by east, about three or four miles distant. The eastern extreme forms a point, which was much encumbered with ice; for which reason it obtained the name of Icy Cape. Its latitude is 79° 29′, and its longitude 198° 20′. The other extreme of the land was lost in the horizon; so that there can be no doubt of its being a continuation of the American continent. The Discovery being about a mile astern, and to leeward, found less water than we did, and tacking on that account, I was obliged to tack also, to prevent separation. Our situation was now more and more critical. We were in shoal water upon a lee shore; and the main body of the ice to windward, driving down upon us. It was evident that if we remained much longer between it and the land, it would force us ashore, unless it should happen to take the ground before us. It seemed nearly to join the land to leeward; and the only direction that was open was to the south-west. After making a short board to the northward, I made the signal for the Discovery to tack, and tacked myself at the same time. The wind proved rather favourable, so that we lay up south-west, and south-west by west.

At eight in the morning of the 19th, the wind veering back to west, I tacked to the northward; and at noon the latitude was 70° 6′, and the longitude 196° 42′. In this situation we had a good deal of drift-ice about us; and the main ice was about two leagues to the north. At half past one we got in with the edge of it. It was not so compact as that which we had seen to the northward; but it was too close, and in too large pieces, to attempt forcing the ships through it. On the ice lay a prodigious number of sea-horses; and as we were in want of fresh provisions, the boats from each ship were sent to get some. By seven o'clock in the evening, we had received on board the Resolution nine of these animals, which, till now, we had supposed to be sea-cows, so that we were not a little disappointed, especially some of the seamen, who, for the novelty of the thing, had been feasting their eyes for some days past. Nor would they have been disappointed now, nor have known the difference, if we had not happened to have one or two on board, who had been in Greenland, and declared what animals these were, and that no one ever ate of them. But notwithstanding this, we lived upon them as long as they lasted; and there were few on board who did not prefer them to our salt meat.

The fat at first is as sweet as marrow; but in a few days it grows rancid, unless it be salted, in which state it will keep much longer. The lean flesh is coarse, black, and has rather a strong taste, and the heart is nearly as well tasted as that of a bullock. The fat when melted yields a good deal of oil, which burns very well in lamps, and their hides, which are very thick, were very useful about our rigging. The teeth, or tusks, of most of them were at this time very small, even some of the largest and oldest of these animals had them not exceeding six inches in length. From this we concluded that they had lately shed their old teeth. They lie in herds of many hundreds upon the ice, huddling one over the other like swine, and roar or bray very loud; so that in the night, or in foggy weather, they gave us notice of the vicinity of the ice, before we could see it. We never found the whole herd asleep, some being always upon the watch. These, on the approach of the boat, would wake those next to them, and the alarm being thus gradually communicated, the whole herd would be awake presently. But they were seldom in a hurry to get away, till after they had been once fired at. Then they would tumble one over the other into the sea, in the utmost confusion. And if we did not, at the first discharge, kill those we fired at, we generally lost them, though mortally wounded. They did not appear to us to be that dangerous animal some authors have described, not even when attacked. They are rather more so to appearance than in reality. Vast numbers of them would follow, and come close up to the boats; but the flash of a musket in the pan, or even the bare pointing of one

at them, would send them down in an instant. The female will defend the young one to the very last, and at the expense of her own life, whether in the water or upon the ice. Nor will the young one quit the dam, though she be dead, so that, if you kill one, you are sure of the other. The dam, when in the water, holds the young one between her fore-fins.

Mr. Pennant, in his "Synopsis Quadr.," p. 335, has given a very good description of this animal, under the name of Arctic Walrus; but I have nowhere seen a good drawing of one. Why they should be called sea-horses is hard to say, unless the word be a corruption of the Russian name Morse; for they have not the least resemblance of a horse. This is, without doubt, the same animal that is found in the Gulf of St. Laurence, and there called sea-cow. It is certainly more like a cow than a horse, but this likeness consists in nothing but the snout. In short, it is an animal like a seal, but incomparably larger. The dimensions and weight of one, which was none of the largest, were as follow:

		Ft.	In.
Length from the snout to the tail		9	4
Length of the neck, from the snout to the shoulder-bone		2	6
Height of the shoulder		5	0
Length of the fins.	Fore	2	4
	Hind	2	6
Breadth of the fins.	Fore	1	2½
	Hind	2	0
Snout.	Breadth	0	5¼
	Depth	1	3
Circumference of the neck close to the ears		2	7
Circumference of the body at the shoulder		7	10
Circumference near the hind fins		5	6
From the snout to the eyes		0	7
Weight of the carcase, without the head, skin, or entrails	854 lbs.		
Head	41½		
Skin	205		

I could not find out what these animals feed upon. There was nothing in the maws of those we killed*.

It is worth observing, that, for some days before this date, we had frequently seen flocks of ducks flying to the southward. They were of two sorts, the one much larger than the other. The largest were of a brown colour; and, of the small sort, either the duck or drake was black and white, and the other brown. Some said they saw geese also. Does not this indicate that there must be land to the north, where these birds find shelter in the proper season, to breed, and from whence they were now returning to a warmer climate?

By the time we had got our sea-horses on board we were, in a manner, surrounded with the ice, and had no way left to clear it but by standing to the southward, which was done till three o'clock next morning, with a gentle breeze westerly, and for the most part thick, foggy, weather. The soundings were from twelve to fifteen fathoms. We then tacked and stood to the N. till ten o'clock, when the wind veering to the northward, we directed our course to the W.S.W. and W. At two in the afternoon we fell in with the main ice, along the edge of which we kept, being partly directed by the roaring of the sea-horses; for we had a very thick fog. Thus we continued sailing till near midnight, when we got in amongst the loose ice, and heard the surge of the sea upon the main ice.

The fog being very thick, and the wind easterly, I now hauled to the southward; and at ten o'clock the next morning, the fog clearing away, we saw the continent of America, extending from S. by E. to E. by S.; and at noon from S. W. half S. to E., the nearest part five leagues distant. At this time we were in the latitude of 69° 32′, and in the longitude of 195° 48′; and as the main ice was at no great distance from us, it is evident, that it now covered a part of the sea which, but a few days before, had been clear; and that it extended farther to the S. than where we first fell in with it. It must not be understood

* In Griffiths' "Animal Kingdom, by Cuvier," we are told that, "Some say these animals eat the shell-fish at the bottom of the sea. Others assert that they only eat sea-weed, with large leaves, and are not carnivorous. The form of the molar teeth would indicate the morse to be omnivorous; but its stomach, like that of the seal, simple and membranous, would show that it lived in the same way as these animals." The seal feeds on fish, which, after an imperfect mastication, it swallows entire.—Ed.

that I supposed any part of this ice which we had seen to be fixed; on the contrary, I am well assured that the whole was a moveable mass. Having but little wind, in the afternoon I sent the master in a boat to try if there was any current; but he found none. I continued to steer in for the American land, until eight o'clock, in order to get a nearer view of it, and to look for a harbour, but seeing nothing like one, I stood again to the N., with a light breeze westerly. At this time the coast extended from S.W. to E., the nearest part four or five leagues distant. The southern extreme seemed to form a point, which was named Cape Lisburne. It lies in the latitude of 69° 5′, and in the longitude of 194° 42′, and appeared to be pretty high land, even down to the sea. But there may be low land under it, which we might not see, being not less than ten leagues from it. Everywhere else, as we advanced northward, we had found a low coast, from which the land rises to a middle height. The coast now before us was without snow, except in one or two places, and had a greenish hue. But we could not perceive any wood upon it.

On the 22nd, the wind was southerly, and the weather mostly foggy, with some intervals of sunshine. At eight in the evening it fell calm, which continued till midnight, when we heard the surge of the sea against the ice, and had several loose pieces about us. A light breeze now sprang up at N.E., and as the fog was very thick I steered to the southward, to clear the ice. At eight o'clock next morning the fog dispersed, and I hauled to the westward. For finding that I could not get to the N. near the coast, on account of the ice, I resolved to try what could be done at a distance from it; and as the wind seemed to be settled at N., I thought it a good opportunity. As we advanced to the W., the water deepened gradually to twenty-eight fathoms, which was the most we had. With the northerly wind the air was raw, sharp and cold; and we had fogs, sunshine, showers of snow and sleet, by turns. At ten in the morning of the 26th, we fell in with the ice. At noon it extended from N.W. to E. by N., and appeared to be thick and compact. At this time, we were, by observation, in the latitude of 69° 36′, and in the longitude of 184°, so that it now appeared we had no better prospect of getting to the N. here, than nearer the shore.

I continued to stand to the westward, till five in the afternoon, when we were in a manner embayed by the ice, which appeared high and very close in the N.W. and N.E. quarters, with a great deal of loose ice about the edge of the main field. At this time we had baffling light winds, but it soon fixed at S., and increased to a fresh gale, with showers of rain. We got the tack aboard, and stretched to the eastward; this being the only direction in which the sea was clear of ice. At four in the morning of the 27th, we tacked and stood to the W., and at seven in the evening we were close in with the edge of the ice, which lay E.N.E. and W.S.W., as far each way as the eye could reach. Having but little wind, I went with the boats to examine the state of the ice. I found it consisting of loose pieces of various extent, and so close together, that I could hardly enter the outer edge with a boat; and it was as impossible for the ships to enter it, as if it had been so many rocks. I took particular notice that it was all pure transparent ice, except the upper surface, which was a little porous. It appeared to be entirely composed of frozen snow, and to have been all formed at sea. For setting aside the improbability, or rather impossibility, of such huge masses floating out of rivers, in which there is hardly water for a boat, none of the productions of the land were found incorporated or fixed in it; which must have unavoidably been the case, had it been formed in rivers, either great or small. The pieces of ice that formed the outer edge of the field, were from forty to fifty yards in extent to four or five; and I judged that the larger pieces reached thirty feet or more under the surface of the water. It also appeared to me very improbable that this ice could have been the production of the preceding winter alone; I should suppose it rather to have been the production of a great many winters. Nor was it less improbable, according to my judgment, that the little that remained of the summer could destroy the tenth part of what now subsisted of this mass, for the sun had already exerted upon it the full influence of his rays. Indeed I am of opinion that the sun contributes very little toward reducing these great masses. For although that luminary is a considerable while above the horizon, it seldom shines out for more than a few hours at a time, and is not seen for several days in succession. It is the wind, or rather the waves raised by the wind, that bring

down the bulk of these enormous masses, by grinding one piece against another, and by undermining and washing away those parts that lie exposed to the surge of the sea. This was evident from our observing that the upper surface of many pieces had been partly washed away, while the base or under part remained firm for several fathoms round that which appeared above water, exactly like a shoal round an elevated rock. We measured the depth of water upon one, and found it to be fifteen feet, so that the ships might have sailed over it. If I had not measured this depth, I should not have believed that there was a sufficient weight of ice above the surface, to have sunk the other so much below it. Thus it may happen, that more ice is destroyed in one stormy season than is formed in several winters, and an endless accumulation is prevented. But that there is always a remaining store every one who has been upon the spot will conclude, and none but closet-studying philosophers will dispute.

A thick fog, which came on while I was thus employed with the boats, hastened me aboard rather sooner than I could have wished, with one sea-horse to each ship. We had killed more, but could not wait to bring them with us. The number of these animals on all the ice that we had seen is almost incredible. We spent the night standing off and on, amongst the drift ice; and at nine o'clock the next morning, the fog having partly dispersed, boats from each ship were sent for sea-horses. For, by this time, our people began to relish them, and those we had procured before were all consumed. At noon, our latitude was 69° 17′, our longitude 183°; the variation, by the morning azimuths, 25° 55′ E.; and the depth of water twenty-five fathoms. At two o'clock, having got on board as much marine beef as was thought necessary, and the wind freshening at S.S.E., we took on board the boats, and stretched to the S.W.; but not being able to weather the ice upon this tack, or to go through it, we made a board to the E., till eight o'clock, then resumed our course to the S.W., and before midnight were obliged to tack again, on account of the ice. Soon after, the wind shifted to the N.W., blowing a stiff gale, and we stretched to the S.W., close hauled.

In the morning of the 29th, we saw the main ice to the northward, and not long after, land bearing south-west by west. Presently after this, more land showed itself, bearing west. It showed itself in two hills like islands, but afterward the whole appeared connected. As we approached the land, the depth of water decreased very fast; so that at noon, when we tacked, we had only eight fathoms; being three miles from the coast, which extended from south, 30° east, to north, 60° west. This last extreme terminated in a bluff point, being one of the hills above mentioned. The weather at this time was very hazy, with drizzling rain; but soon after, it cleared; especially to the southward, westward, and northward. This enabled us to have a pretty good view of the coast; which, in every respect, is like the opposite one of America; that is, low land next the sea, with elevated land farther back. It was perfectly destitute of wood, and even snow; but was, probably, covered with a mossy substance, that gave it a brownish cast. In the low ground lying between the high land and the sea, was a lake, extending to the south-east, farther than we could see. As we stood off, the westernmost of the two hills before mentioned came open off the bluff point, in the direction of north-west. It had the appearance of being an island; but it might be joined to the other by low land, though we did not see it. And if so, there is a two-fold point, with a bay between them. This point, which is steep and rocky, was named Cape North. Its situation is nearly in the latitude of 68° 56′, and in the longitude of 180° 51′. The coast beyond it must take a very westerly direction; for we could see no land to the northward of it, though the horizon was there pretty clear. Being desirous of seeing more of the coast to the westward, we tacked again, at two o'clock in the afternoon, thinking we could weather Cape North. But finding we could not, the wind freshening, a thick fog coming on, with much snow, and being fearful of the ice coming down upon us, I gave up the design I had formed of plying to the westward, and stood off shore again.

The season was now so far advanced, and the time when the frost is expected to set in so near at hand, that I did not think it consistent with prudence, to make any farther attempts to find a passage into the Atlantic this year, in any direction; so little was the prospect of succeeding. My attention was now directed toward finding out some place where we might

supply ourselves with wood and water; and the object uppermost in my thoughts was, how I should spend the winter, so as to make some improvements in geography and navigation, and, at the same time, be in a condition to return to the north, in farther search of a passage, the ensuing summer.

CHAPTER X.—RETURN FROM CAPE NORTH, ALONG THE COAST OF ASIA.—VIEWS OF THE COUNTRY.—BURNEY'S ISLAND.—CAPE SERDZE KAMEN, THE NORTHERN LIMIT OF BEERING'S VOYAGE.—PASS THE EAST CAPE OF ASIA.—DESCRIPTION AND SITUATION OF IT.—OBSERVATIONS ON MULLER.—THE TSCHUTSKI.—BAY OF ST. LAURENCE.—TWO OTHER BAYS, AND HABITATIONS OF THE NATIVES.—BEERING'S CAPE TSCHUKOTSKOI.—BEERING'S POSITION OF THIS COAST ACCURATE.—ISLAND OF ST. LAURENCE.—PASS TO THE AMERICAN COAST.—CAPE DARBY.—BALD HEAD.—CAPE DENBIGH ON A PENINSULA.—BESBOROUGH ISLAND.—WOOD AND WATER PROCURED.—VISITS FROM THE NATIVES.—THEIR PERSONS AND HABITATIONS.—PRODUCE OF THE COUNTRY.—MARKS THAT THE PENINSULA HAD FORMERLY BEEN SURROUNDED BY THE SEA.—LIEUTENANT KING'S REPORT.—NORTON SOUND.—LUNAR OBSERVATIONS THERE.—STÆHLIN'S MAP PROVED TO BE ERRONEOUS.—PLAN OF FUTURE OPERATIONS.

After having stood off till we got into eighteen fathoms water, I bore up to the eastward, along the coast, which, by this time, it was pretty certain, could only be the continent of Asia. As the wind blew fresh, with a very heavy fall of snow, and a thick mist, it was necessary to proceed with great caution. I therefore brought-to for a few hours in the night. At daybreak on the 30th we made sail, and steered such a course as I thought would bring us in with the land; being in a great measure guided by the lead; for the weather was as thick as ever, and it snowed incessantly. At ten we got sight of the coast, bearing south-west, four miles distant; and presently after, having shoaled the water to seven fathoms, we hauled off. At this time, a very low point, or spit, bore south-south-west, four miles distant; to the east of which there appeared to be a narrow channel, leading into some water that we saw over the point. Probably, the lake before mentioned communicates here with the sea. At noon, the mist dispersing for a short interval, we had a tolerably good view of the coast, which extended from south-east to north-west by west. Some parts appeared higher than others; but in general it was very low, with high land farther up the country. The whole was now covered with snow, which had lately fallen, quite down to the sea. I continued to range along the coast, at two leagues distance, till ten at night, when we hauled off; but we resumed our course next morning soon after daybreak, when we got sight of the coast again, extending from west to south-east by south. At eight, the eastern part bore south, and proved to be an island; which at noon bore south-west half south, four or five miles distant. It is about four or five miles in circuit, of a middling height, with a steep rocky coast, situated about three leagues from the main, in the latitude of 67° 45′, and distinguished in the chart by the name of Burney's Island.

The inland country hereabout is full of hills; some of which are of a considerable height. The land was covered with snow, except a few spots upon the sea-coast, which still continued low, but less so than farther westward. For the two preceding days, the main height of the mercury in the thermometer had been very little above the freezing point, and often below it; so that the water in the vessels upon the deck was frequently covered with a sheet of ice. I continued to steer south-south-east, nearly in the direction of the coast, till five in the afternoon, when land was seen bearing south, 50° east, which we presently found to be a continuation of the coast, and hauled up for it. Being abreast of the eastern land, at ten at night, and in doubts of weathering it, we tacked and made a board to the westward, till past one the next morning, when we stood again to the east, and found that it was as much as we could do to keep our distance from the coast, the wind being exceedingly unsettled, varying continually from north to north-east. At half an hour past eight, the eastern extreme above mentioned bore south by east, six or seven miles distant. At the same time, a head-land appeared in sight, bearing east by south, half south; and, soon

after, we could trace the whole coast lying between them, and a small island at some distance from it.

The coast seemed to form several rocky points, connected by a low shore, without the least appearance of a harbour. At some distance from the sea, the low land appeared to swell into a number of hills. The highest of these were covered with snow; and, in other respects, the whole country seemed naked. At seven in the evening, two points of land, at some distance beyond the eastern head, opened off it in the direction of south, 37° east. I was now well assured of what I had believed before, that this was the country of the Tschutski, or the north-east coast of Asia; and that thus far Beering proceeded in 1728; that is, to this head which Muller says is called Serdze Kamen, on account of a rock upon it, shaped like a heart. But I conceive, that Mr. Muller's knowledge of the geography of these parts is very imperfect. There are many elevated rocks upon this cape, and possibly some one or other of them may have the shape of a heart. It is a pretty lofty promontory, with a steep rocky cliff facing the sea; and lies in the latitude of 67° 3′, and in the longitude of 188° 11′. To the eastward of it the coast is high and bold; but to the westward it is low, and trends north-north-west, and north-west by west; which is nearly its direction all the way to Cape North. The soundings are everywhere the same at the same distance from the shore, which is also the case on the opposite shore of America. The greatest depth we found in ranging along it was twenty-three fathoms. And, in the night, or in foggy weather, the soundings are no bad guide in sailing along either of these shores.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 2nd, the most advanced land to the south-east, bore south, 25° east; and from this point of view had the appearance of being an island. But the thick snow-showers, which succeeded one another pretty fast, and settled upon the land, hid great part of the coast at this time from our sight. Soon after, the sun, whose face we had not seen for near five days, broke out at the intervals between the showers; and, in some measure, freed the coast from the fog, so that we had a sight of it, and found the whole to be connected. The wind still continued at north, the air was cold, and the mercury in the thermometer never rose above 35°, and was sometimes as low as 30°. At noon, the observed latitude was 66° 37′. Cape Serdze Kamen bore north, 52° west, thirteen leagues distant; the southernmost point of land in sight south, 41° east; the nearest part of the coast two leagues distant, and our depth of water twenty-two fathoms. We had now fair weather and sunshine; and as we ranged along the coast, at the distance of four miles, we saw several of the inhabitants, and some of their habitations, which looked like little hillocks of earth. In the evening we passed the Eastern Cape, or the point above mentioned; from which the coast changes its direction, and trends south-west. It is the same point of land which we had passed on the 11th of August. They who believed implicitly in Mr. Stæhlin's map, then thought it the east point of his island Alaschka; but we had by this time satisfied ourselves, that it is no other than the eastern promontory of Asia; and probably the proper Tschukotskoi Noss, though the promontory to which Beering gave that name, is farther to the south-west.

Though Mr. Muller, in his map of the Russian Discoveries, places the Tschukotskoi Noss nearly in 75° of latitude, and extends it somewhat to the eastward of this cape, it appears to me, that he had no good authority for so doing. Indeed his own accounts, or rather Deshneff's*, of the distance between the Noss and the river Anadir cannot be reconciled with this very northerly position. But as I hope to visit these parts again, I shall leave the discussion of this point till then. In the mean time, I must conclude, as Beering did before me, that this is the most eastern point of Asia. It is a peninsula of considerable height, joined to the continent by a very low, and, to appearance, narrow neck of land. It shows a steep rocky cliff next the sea; and off the very point are some rocks like spires. It is situated in the latitude of 66° 6′, and in the longitude of 190° 22′; and is distant from Cape Prince of Wales, on the American coast, thirteen leagues, in the direction of north, 53° west. The land about this promontory is composed of hills and valleys. The former

* "Avec le vent le plus favorable, on peut aller par mer de cette pointe (des Tschuktschis) jusqu'à l'Anadir en trois fois 24 heures; et par terre le chemin ne peut guère être plus long." Muller, p. 13.

terminate at the sea in steep rocky points, and the latter in low shores. The hills seemed to be naked rocks; but the valleys had a greenish hue, but destitute of tree or shrub.

After passing the cape, I steered south-west half west, for the northern point of St. Laurence Bay, in which we had anchored on the 10th of last month. We reached it by eight o'clock next morning, and saw some of the inhabitants at the place where I had seen them before, as well as several others on the opposite side of the bay. None of them, however, attempted to come off to us; which seemed a little extraordinary, as the weather was favourable enough; and those whom we had lately visited had no reason that I know of to dislike our company. These people must be the Tschutski; a nation that, at the time Mr. Muller wrote, the Russians had not been able to conquer. And, from the whole of their conduct with us, it appears that they have not, as yet, brought them under subjection; though it is obvious that they must have a trade with the Russians, either directly, or by means of some neighbouring nation; as we cannot otherwise account for their being in possession of the spontoons, in particular, of which we took notice.

This Bay of St. Laurence* is, at least, five leagues broad at the entrance, and four leagues deep, narrowing toward the bottom, where it appeared to be tolerably well sheltered from the sea-winds, provided there be sufficient depth of water for ships. I did not wait to examine it, although I was very desirous of finding a harbour in those parts, to which I might resort next spring. But I wanted one where wood might be got, and I knew that none was to be found here. From the south point of this bay, which lies in the latitude of 65° 30′, the coast trends west by south, for about nine leagues, and there forms a deep bay, or river; or else the land there is so low that we could not see it.

At one in the afternoon, in the direction of our course, we saw what was first taken for a rock; but it proved to be a dead whale, which some natives of the Asiatic coast had killed, and were towing ashore. They seemed to conceal themselves behind the fish, to avoid being seen by us. This was unnecessary; for we pursued our course without taking any notice of them. At day-break on the 4th, I hauled to the north-west, in order to get a nearer view of the inlet seen the preceding day; but the wind soon after veering to that direction, I gave up the design; and, steering to the southward along the coast, passed two bays, each about two leagues deep. The northernmost lies before a hill, which is remarkable by being rounder than any other upon the coast. And there is an island lying before the other. It may be doubted, whether there be a sufficient depth for ships in either of these bays, as we always met with shoal water when we edged in for the shore. The country here is exceedingly hilly and naked. In several places on the low ground, next the sea, were the dwellings of the natives; and near all of them were erected stages of bones, such as before described. These may be seen at a great distance, on account of their whiteness.

At noon the latitude was 64° 38′, and the longitude 188° 15′; the southernmost point of the main in sight bore south 48° W., and the nearest shore about three or four leagues distant. By this time the wind had veered again to the north, and blew a gentle breeze. The weather was clear, and the air cold. I did not follow the direction of the coast, as I found that it took a westerly direction toward the Gulf of Anadir, into which I had no inducement to go, but steered to the southward, in order to get a sight of the island of St. Laurence, discovered by Beering, which accordingly showed itself; and at eight o'clock in the evening, it bore south 20° E., by estimation eleven leagues distant. At the same time the southernmost point of the main land bore south 83° W., distant twelve leagues. I take this point to be the point which Beering calls the east point of Suchotski, or Cape Tschukotskoi; a name which he gave it, and with propriety, because it was from this part of the coast that the natives came off to him, who called themselves of the nation of the Tschutski. I make its latitude to be 64° 13′, and its longitude 186° 36′. In justice to the memory of Beering, I must say that he has delineated the coast very well, and fixed the latitude and longitude of the points better than could be expected from the methods he had to go by. This judgment is not formed from Mr. Muller's account of the voyage, or the chart prefixed to

* Captain Cook gives it this name, having anchored in it on St. Laurence's day, August 10. It is remarkable, that Beering sailed past this very place on the 10th of August, 1728; on which account, the neighbouring island was named by him after the same Saint.

his book, but from Dr. Campbell's account of it in his edition of Harris's Collection*, and a map thereto annexed, which is both more circumstantial and accurate than that of Mr. Muller.

The more I was convinced of my being now upon the coast of Asia, the more I was at a loss to reconcile Mr. Stæhlin's map of the New Northern Archipelago with my observations; and I had no way to account for the great difference, but by supposing that I had mistaken some part of what he calls the island of Alaschka for the American continent, and had missed the channel that separates them. Admitting even this, there would still have been a considerable difference. It was with me a matter of some consequence to clear up this point the present season, that I might have but one object in view the next. And, as these northern isles are represented by him as abounding with wood, I was in hopes, if I should find them, of getting a supply of that article, which we now began to be in great want of on board. With these views, I steered over for the American coast; and at five in the afternoon the next day, saw land bearing three quarters east, which we took to be Anderson's Island, or some other land near it, and therefore did not wait to examine it. On the 6th, at four in the morning, we got sight of the American coast near Sledge Island; and at six the same evening this island bore north 6° E., ten leagues distant; and the easternmost land in sight N. 49° E. If any part of what I had supposed to be American coast could possibly be the island of Alaschka, it was that now before us; and in that case, I must have missed the channel between it and the main, by steering to the west instead of the east after we first fell in with it. I was not, therefore, at a loss where to go, in order to clear up these doubts.

At eight in the evening of the 7th, we had got close in with the land. Sledge Island bearing N. 85° W., eight or nine leagues distant; and the eastern part of the coast N. 70° E., with high land in the direction of east by north, seemingly at a great distance beyond the point. At this time we saw a light ashore, and two canoes filled with people coming off toward us. I brought-to, that they might have time to come up. But it was to no purpose, for, resisting all the signs of friendship we could exhibit, they kept at the distance of a quarter of a mile; so that we left them, and pursued our course along the coast. At one in the morning of the 8th, finding the water shoal pretty fast, we dropped anchor in ten fathoms, where we lay until daylight, and then resumed our course along the coast, which we found to trend east, and east half south. At seven in the evening we were abreast of a point lying in the latitude of 64° 21′, and in the longitude of 197°; beyond which the coast takes a more northerly direction. At eight, this point, which obtained the name of Cape Darby, bore S. 62° W.; the northernmost land in sight, N. 32° E.; and the nearest shore three miles distant. In this situation we anchored, in thirteen fathoms' water, over a muddy bottom.

Next morning, at daybreak, we weighed and sailed along the coast. Two islands, as we supposed them to be, were at this time seen; the one bearing S. 70° E., and the other E. Soon after, we found ourselves upon a coast covered with wood; an agreeable sight, to which of late we had not been accustomed. As we advanced to the north, we raised land in the direction of north-east half north; which proved to be a continuation of the coast we were upon. We also saw high land over the islands, seemingly at a good distance beyond them. This was thought to be the continent, and the other land the island of Alaschka. But it was already doubtful whether we should find a passage between them, for the water shoaled insensibly as we advanced farther to the north. In this situation two boats were sent to sound before the ships; and I ordered the Discovery to lead, keeping nearly in the mid-channel, between the coast on our larboard and the northernmost island on our starboard. Thus we proceeded till three in the afternoon; when, having passed the island, we had not more than three fathoms and a half of water, and the Resolution at one time brought the mud up from the bottom. More water was not to be found in any part of the channel; for, with the ships and boats, we had tried it from side to side. I therefore thought it high time to return, especially as the wind was in such a quarter that we must ply back. But

* Vol. ii. p. 1016, &c.

what I dreaded most was the wind increasing and raising the sea into waves, so as to put the ships in danger of striking. At this time a headland on the west shore, which is distinguished by the name of Bald Head, bore north by west, one league distant. The coast beyond it extended as far north-east by north, where it seemed to end in a point, behind which the coast of the high land, seen over the islands, stretched itself; and some thought they could trace where it joined. On the west side of Bald Head the shore forms a bay, in the bottom of which is a low beach, where we saw a number of huts or habitations of the natives.

Having continued to ply back all night, by daybreak the next morning we had got into six fathoms' water. At nine o'clock, being about a league from the west shore, I took two boats and landed attended by Mr. King, to seek wood and water. We landed where the coast projects out into a bluff head, composed of perpendicular strata of a rock of a dark blue colour, mixed with quartz and glimmer. There joins to the beach a narrow border of land, now covered with long grass, and where we met with some angelica. Beyond this the ground rises abruptly. At the top of this elevation we found a heath, abounding with a variety of berries; and further on the country was level, and thinly covered with small spruce trees, and birch and willows no bigger than broom stuff. We observed tracks of deer and foxes on the beach, on which also lay a great quantity of drift-wood; and there was no want of fresh water. I returned on board with an intention to bring the ships to an anchor here; but the wind then veering to north-east, which blew rather on this shore, I stretched over to the opposite one, in the expectation of finding wood there also, and anchored at eight o'clock in the evening, under the south end of the northernmost island, so we then supposed it to be; but, next morning we found it to be a peninsula, united to the continent by a low neck of land, on each side of which the coast forms a bay. We plied into the southernmost, and about noon anchored in five fathoms' water, over a bottom of mud; the point of the peninsula, which obtained the name of Cape Denbigh, bearing N. 68° W., three miles distant.

Several people were seen upon the peninsula; and one man came off in a small canoe. I gave him a knife and a few beads, with which he seemed well pleased. Having made signs to him to bring us something to eat, he immediately left us, and paddled toward the shore. But meeting another man coming off, who happened to have two dried salmon, he got them from him; and on returning to the ship, would give them to nobody but me. Some of our people thought that he asked for me under the name of *Capitane;* but in this they were probably mistaken. He knew who had given him the knife and beads, but I do not see how he could know that I was the captain. Others of the natives soon after came off, and exchanged a few dry fish for such trifles as they could get, or we had to give them. They were most desirous of knives; and they had no dislike to tobacco.

After dinner Lieutenant Gore was sent to the peninsula, to see if wood and water were there to be got; or rather water, for the whole beach round the bay seemed to be covered with drift-wood. At the same time a boat was sent from each ship, to sound round the bay; and at three in the afternoon, the wind freshening at north-east, we weighed, in order to work farther in. But it was soon found to be impossible, on account of the shoals, which extended quite round the bay, to the distance of two or three miles from the shore; as the officers who had been sent to sound reported. We therefore kept standing off and on with the ships, waiting for Mr. Gore, who returned about eight o'clock, with the launch laden with wood. He reported that there was but little fresh water, and that wood was difficult to be got at, by reason of the boats grounding at some distance from the beach. This being the case, I stood back to the other shore; and at eight o'clock the next morning, sent all the boats, and a party of men with an officer, to get wood from the place where I had landed two days before. We continued, for a while, to stand on and off with the ships; but at length came to an anchor in one-fourth less than five fathoms, half a league from the coast, the south point of which bore south, 26° W.; and Bald Head north, 60° E., nine leagues distant. Cape Denbigh bore south 72° E., twenty-six miles distant; and the island under the east shore, to the southward of Cape Denbigh, named Besborough Island, south 52° E fifteen leagues distant.

As this was a very open road, and consequently not a safe station, I resolved not to wait to complete water, as that would require some time, but only to supply the ships with wood, and then to go in search of a more convenient place for the other article. We took off the drift-wood that lay upon the beach; and as the wind blew along-shore, the boats could sail both ways, which enabled us to make great despatch. In the afternoon I went ashore, and walked a little into the country; which, where there was no wood, was covered with heath and other plants, some of which produce berries in abundance. All the berries were ripe; the hurtle-berries too much so; and hardly a single plant was in flower. The under-wood, such as birch, willows, and alders, rendered it very troublesome walking among the trees, which were all spruce, and none of them above six or eight inches in diameter. But we found some lying upon the beach more than twice this size. All the drift-wood in these northern parts was fir. I saw not a stick of any other sort.

Next day a family of the natives came near to the place where we were taking off wood. I know not how many there were at first; but I saw only the husband, the wife, and their child; and a fourth person, who bore the human shape, and that was all, for he was the most deformed cripple I had ever seen or heard of. The other man was almost blind; and neither he nor his wife were such good-looking people as we have sometimes seen amongst the natives of this coast. The under lips of both were bored; and they had in their possession some such glass beads as I had met with before amongst their neighbours. But iron was their beloved article; for four knives, which we had made out of an old iron hoop, I got from them near four hundred pounds weight of fish, which they had caught on this or the preceding day. Some were trout, and the rest were, in size and taste, somewhat between a mullet and a herring. I gave the child, who was a girl, a few beads; on which the mother burst into tears, then the father, then the cripple, and at last, to complete the concert, the girl herself. But this music continued not long.* Before night we had got the ships amply supplied with wood, and had carried on board about twelve tons of water to each.

On the 14th, a party of men were sent on shore to cut brooms, which we were in want of, and the branches of spruce-trees for brewing beer. Toward noon everybody was taken on board; for the wind freshening, had raised such a surf on the beach, that the boats could not continue to land without great difficulty. Some doubts being still entertained whether the coast we were now upon belonged to an island, or the American continent, and the shallowness of the water putting it out of our power to determine this with our ships, I sent Lieutenant King, with two boats under his command, to make such searches as might leave no room for a variety of opinions on the subject †. Next day the ships removed over

* Captain King has communicated the following account of his interview with the same family. "On the 12th, while I attended the wooding party, a canoe full of natives approached us; and, beckoning them to land, an elderly man and woman came on shore. I gave this woman a small knife, making her understand that I would give her a much larger one for some fish. She made signs to me to follow her. I had proceeded with them about a mile, when the man, in crossing a stony beach, fell down and cut his foot very much. This made me stop; upon which the woman pointed to the man's eyes, which I observed were covered with a thick white film. He afterward kept close to his wife, who apprised him of the obstacles in his way. The woman had a little child on her back, covered with the hood of her jacket; and which I took for a bundle, till I heard it cry. At about two miles' distance we came to their open skin-boat, which was turned on its side, the convex part toward the wind, and served for their house. I was now made to perform a singular operation on the man's eyes. First, I was directed to hold my breath; afterward, to breathe on the diseased eyes; and next, to spit on them. The woman then took both my hands, and pressing them to his stomach, held them there for some time, while she related some calamitous history of her family, pointing sometimes to her husband, sometimes to a frightful cripple belonging to the family, and sometimes to her child. I purchased all the fish they had, consisting of a very fine salmon, salmon-trout, and mullet; which were delivered most faithfully to the man I sent for them. The man was about five feet two inches high, and well made; his colour of a light copper; his hair black and short, and with little beard. He had two holes in his under lip, but no ornaments in them. The woman was short and squat, with a plump round face; wore a deer-skin jacket, with a large hood; and had on wide boots. The teeth of both were black, and seemed as if they had been filed down level with the gums. The woman was punctured from the lip to the chin."

† Captain King has been so good as to communicate his instructions on this occasion, and the particulars of the fatigue he underwent in carrying them into execution:

"You are to proceed to the northward as far as the extreme point we saw on Wednesday last, or a little further, if you think it necessary; land there, and endeavour, from the heights, to discover whether the land you are then upon, supposed to be the island of Alaschka, is really an island, or joins to the land on the east, supposed to be the continent of America. If the former, you are to satisfy yourself with the depth of water in

to the bay, which is on the south-east side of Cape Denbigh, where we anchored in the afternoon. Soon after, a few of the natives came off in their small canoes, and bartered some dried salmon for such trifles as our people had to give them.

At daybreak, on the 16th, nine men, each in his canoe, paid us a visit. They approached the ship with some caution; and evidently came with no other view than to gratify their curiosity. They drew up abreast of each other, under our stern, and gave us a song; while one of their number beat upon a kind of drum, and another made a thousand antic motions with his hands and body. There was, however, nothing savage, either in the song or in the gestures that accompanied it. None of us could perceive any difference between these people, either as to their size or features, and those whom we had met with on every other part of the coast, King George's Sound excepted. Their clothing, which consisted principally of deer-skins, was made after the same fashion; and they observed the custom of boring their under lips, and fixing ornaments to them. The dwellings of these people were seated close to the beach. They consist simply of a sloping roof, without any side-walls, composed of logs, and covered with grass and earth. The floor is also laid with logs; the entrance is at one end; the fire-place just within it; and a small hole is made near the door to let out the smoke.

After breakfast, a party of men were sent to the peninsula for brooms and spruce. At the same time half the remainder of the people in each ship had leave to go and pick berries. These returned on board at noon, when the other half went on the same errand. The berries to be got here were wild currant-berries, hurtle-berries, partridge-berries, and heath-berries. I also went ashore myself, and walked over part of the peninsula. In several places there was very good grass; and I hardly saw a spot on which some vegetable was not growing. The low land which connects this peninsula with the continent is full of narrow creeks, and abounds with ponds of water, some of which were already frozen over. There were a great many geese and bustards, but so shy that it was not possible to get within musket-shot of them. We also met with some snipes; and on the high ground were partridges of two sorts. Where there was any wood, mosquitoes were in plenty. Some of the officers, who travelled farther than I did, met with a few of the natives of both sexes, who treated them with civility. It appeared to me that this peninsula must have been an island in remote times; for there were marks of the sea having flowed over the isthmus. And, even now, it appeared to be kept out by a bank of sand, stones, and

the channel between them, and which way the flood-tide comes. But if you find the two lands connected, lose no time in sounding; but make the best of your way back to the ship, which you will find at anchor near the point of land we anchored under on Friday last. If you perceive any likelihood of a change of weather for the worse, you are, in that case, to return to the ship, although you have not performed the service you are sent upon. And, at any rate, you are not to remain longer upon it than four or five days; but the sooner it is done the better. If any unforeseen or unavoidable accident should force the ships off the coast, so that they cannot return at a reasonable time, the rendezvous is at the harbour of Samganoodha; that is, the place where we last completed our water.

"To Lieutenant King." "James Cook."

"Our cutter being hoisted out, and the signal made for the Discovery's, at eight at night, on the 14th, we set out. It was a little unlucky that the boats' crews had been much fatigued during the whole day in bringing things from the shore. They pulled stoutly, without rest or intermission, toward the land, till one o'clock in the morning of the 15th. I wanted much to have got close to it, to have had the advantage of the wind, which had very regularly, in the evening, blown from the land, and in the day-time down the sound, from the N.N.E., and was contrary to our course; but the men were, at this time, too much fatigued to press them farther. We therefore set our sails, and stood across the bay, which the coast forms to the west of Bald Head, and steered for it. But, as I expected, by three o'clock, the wind headed us; and as it was in vain to endeavour to fetch Bald Head with our sails, we again took to the oars. The Discovery's boat (being a heavy king's-built cutter, while ours was one from Deal) had, in the night-time, detained us very much, and now we soon pulled out of sight of her; nor would I wait, being in great hopes to reach the extreme point that was in sight, time enough to ascend the heights before dark, as the weather was at this time remarkably clear and fine; and we could see to a great distance. By two o'clock we had got within two miles of Bald Head, under the lee of the high land, and in smooth water; but at the moment our object was nearly attained, all the men, but two, were so overcome with fatigue and sleep, that my utmost endeavours to make them put on were ineffectual. They, at length, dropped their oars, quite exhausted, and fell asleep in the bottom of the boat. Indeed, considering that they had set out fatigued, and had now been sixteen hours, out of the eighteen since they left the ship, pulling in a poppling sea, it was no wonder that their strength and spirits should be worn out for want of sleep and refreshments. The two gentlemen who were with me, and myself, were now obliged to lay hold of the oars, and by a little after three, we landed between the Bald Head and a projecting point to the eastward."

wood, thrown up by the waves. By this bank it was evident that the land was here encroaching upon the sea, and it was easy to trace its gradual formation.

About seven in the evening, Mr. King returned from his expedition, and reported that he proceeded with the boats about three or four leagues farther than the ships had been able to go; that he then landed on the west side; that from the heights, he could see the two coasts join, and the inlet to terminate in a small river or creek, before which were banks of sand or mud, and everywhere shoal water. The land too was low and swampy for some distance to the northward; then it swelled into hills, and the complete junction of those on each side of the inlet was easily traced. From the elevated spot on which Mr. King surveyed the Sound, he could distinguish many extensive valleys, with rivers running through them, well wooded, and bounded by hills of a gentle ascent and moderate height. One of these rivers to the north-west appeared to be considerable; and, from its direction, he was inclined to think that it emptied itself into the sea at the head of the bay. Some of his people, who penetrated beyond this into the country, found the trees larger, the farther they advanced.

In honour of Sir Fletcher Norton*, Speaker of the House of Commons, and Mr. King's near relation, I named this inlet Norton's Sound. It extends to the northward as far as latitude of 64° 55′. The bay, in which we were now at anchor, lies on the south-east side of it, and is called by the natives Chacktoole. It is but an indifferent station, being exposed to the south and south-west winds. Nor is there a harbour in all this Sound. But we were so fortunate as to have the wind from the north and north-east all the time, with remarkably fine weather. This gave us an opportunity to make no less than seventy-seven sets of lunar observations, between the 6th and 17th inclusive. The mean result of these made the longitude of the anchoring-place, on the west side of the Sound, to be

	197°	13′
Latitude	64	31
Variation of the compass	25	45 east.
Dip of the needle	76	25

Of the tides it was observed, that the night-flood rose about two or three feet, and that the day-flood was hardly perceivable.

Having now fully satisfied myself that Mr. Stæhlin's map must be erroneous, and having restored the American continent to that space which he had occupied with his imaginary island of Alaschka, it was high time to think of leaving these northern regions, and to retire to some place during the winter, where I might procure refreshments for my people, and a small supply of provisions. Petropaulowska, or the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, in Kamtschatka, did not appear likely to furnish either the one or the other, for so large a number of men. I had, besides, other reasons for not repairing thither at this time. The first, and on which all the others depended, was the great dislike I had to lie inactive for six or seven months; which would have been the necessary consequence of wintering in any of these northern parts. No place was so conveniently within our reach, where we could expect to have our wants supplied, as the Sandwich Islands. To them, therefore, I determined to proceed. But before this could be carried into execution, a supply of water was necessary. With this view, I resolved to search the American coast for a harbour, by proceeding along it to the southward, and thus endeavour to connect the survey of this part of it with that lying immediately to the north of Cape Newenham. If I failed in finding a harbour there, my plan was then to proceed to Samganoodha, which was fixed upon as our place of rendezvous, in case of separation.

* Afterwards Lord Grantley.

CHAPTER XI.—DISCOVERIES AFTER LEAVING NORTON SOUND.—STUART'S ISLAND.—CAPE STEPHENS.—POINT SHALLOW-WATER.—SHOALS ON THE AMERICAN COAST.—CLERKE'S ISLAND.—GORE'S ISLAND.—PINNACLE ISLAND.—ARRIVAL AT OONALASHKA.—INTERCOURSE WITH THE NATIVES AND RUSSIAN TRADERS.—CHARTS OF THE RUSSIAN DISCOVERIES, COMMUNICATED BY MR. ISMYLOFF.—THEIR ERRORS POINTED OUT.—SITUATION OF THE ISLANDS VISITED BY THE RUSSIANS.—ACCOUNT OF THEIR SETTLEMENT AT OONALASHKA.—OF THE NATIVES OF THE ISLAND.—THEIR PERSONS.—DRESS.—ORNAMENTS.—FOOD.—HOUSES, AND DOMESTIC UTENSILS.—MANUFACTURES.—MANNER OF PRODUCING FIRE.—CANOES.—FISHING AND HUNTING IMPLEMENTS.—FISHES AND SEA ANIMALS.—SEA AND WATER FOWLS, AND LAND BIRDS.—LAND ANIMALS AND VEGETABLES.—MANNER OF BURYING THEIR DEAD.—RESEMBLANCE OF THE NATIVES ON THIS SIDE OF AMERICA TO THE GREENLANDERS AND ESQUIMAUX.—TIDES.—OBSERVATIONS FOR DETERMINING THE LONGITUDE OF OONALASHKA.

HAVING weighed, on the 17th, in the morning, with a light breeze at east, we steered to the southward, and attempted to pass within Besborough Island; but though it lies six or seven miles from the continent, were prevented by meeting with shoal water. As we had but little wind all the day, it was dark before we passed the island; and the night was spent under an easy sail. We resumed our course, at daybreak on the 18th, along the coast. At noon we had no more than five fathoms' water. At this time the latitude was 63° 37'. Besborough Island now bore N. 42° E.; the southernmost land in sight, which proved also to be an island, S. 66° W.; the passage between it and the main S. 40° W.; and the nearest land about two miles distant. I continued to steer for this passage, until the boats, which were ahead, made the signal for having no more than three fathoms' water. On this we hauled without the island, and made the signal for the Resolution's boat to keep between the ships and the shore.

This island, which obtained the name of Stuart's Island, lies in the latitude of 63° 35', and seventeen leagues from Cape Denbigh, in the direction of S., 27° W. It is six or seven leagues in circuit. Some parts of it are of a middling height, but in general it is low, with some rocks lying off the western part. The coast of the continent is, for the most part, low land; but we saw high land up the country. It forms a point opposite the island, which was named Cape Stephens, and lies in latitude 63° 33', and in longitude 197° 41'. Some drift-wood was seen upon the shores, both of the island and of the continent; but not a tree was perceived growing upon either. One might anchor, upon occasion, between the N. E. side of this island and the continent, in the depth of five fathoms, sheltered from westerly, southerly, and easterly winds. But this station would be wholly exposed to the northerly winds, the land, in that direction, being at too great a distance to afford any security. Before we reached Stuart's Island, we passed two small islands, lying between us and the main, and as we ranged along the coast, several people appeared upon the shore, and, by signs, seemed to invite us to approach them.

As soon as we were without the island, we steered S. by W., for the southernmost point of the continent in sight, till eight o'clock in the evening, when, having shoaled the water from six fathoms to less than four, I tacked, and stood to the northward, into five fathoms, and then spent the night lying off and on. At the time we tacked, the southernmost point of land, the same which is mentioned above, and was named Point Shallow Water, bore S. ½ E., seven leagues distant. We resumed our course to the southward at daybreak next morning; but shoal water obliged us to haul more to the westward. At length we got so far advanced upon the bank that we could not hold a N. N. W. course, meeting sometimes with only four fathoms. The wind blowing fresh at E. N. E., it was high time to look for deep water, and to quit a coast upon which we could no longer navigate with any degree of safety. I therefore hauled the wind to the northward, and gradually deepened the water to eight fathoms. At the time we hauled the wind, we were at least twelve leagues from the continent, and nine to the westward of Stuart's Island. No land was seen to the southward of Point Shallow Water, which I judge to lie in the latitude of 63°. So that between this latitude and Shoal Ness, in latitude 60°, the coast is entirely unexplored. Probably it is

accessible only to boats or very small vessels; or, at least, if there be channels for larger vessels, it would require some time to find them; and I am of opinion that they must be looked for near the coast. From the mast-head, the sea within us appeared to be checkered with shoals; the water was very much discoloured and muddy, and considerably fresher than at any of the places where we had lately anchored. From this I inferred that a considerable river runs into the sea in this unknown part.

As soon as we got into eight fathoms' water, I steered to the westward, and afterward more southerly, for the land discovered on the 5th, which, at noon the next day, bore S. W. by W., ten or eleven leagues distant. At this time we had a fresh gale at N., with showers of hail and snow at intervals, and a pretty high sea, so that we got clear of the shoals but just in time. As I now found that the land before us lay too far to the westward to be Anderson's Island, I named it Clerke's Island. It lies in the latitude of 63° 15′, and in the longitude of 190° 30′. It seemed to be a pretty large island, in which are four or more hills, all connected by low ground; so that at a distance it looks like a group of islands. Near its east part lies a small island, remarkable by having upon it three elevated rocks. Not only the greater island, but this small spot was inhabited. We got up to the northern point of Clerke's Island about six o'clock, and having ranged along its coast till dark, brought-to during the night. At daybreak, next morning, we stood in again for the coast, and continued to range along it, in search of a harbour, till noon; when, seeing no likelihood of succeeding, I left it, and steered S. S. W., for the land which we had discovered on the 29th of July, having a fresh gale at N., with showers of sleet and snow. I remarked that as soon as we opened the channel which separates the two continents, cloudy weather, with snow showers, immediately commenced; whereas all the time that we were in Norton Sound, we had, with the same wind, clear weather. Might not this be occasioned by the mountains to the north of that place attracting the vapours, and hindering them to proceed any further?

At daybreak in the morning of the 23d, the land above-mentioned appeared in sight, bearing S. W., six or seven leagues distant. From this point of view, it resembled a group of islands, but it proved to be but one, of thirty miles in extent, in the direction of N. W. and S. E.; the S. E. end being Cape Upright, already taken notice of. The island is but narrow, especially at the low necks of land that connect the hills. I afterward found that it was wholly unknown to the Russians; and therefore considering it as a discovery of our own, I named it Gore's Island. It appeared to be barren, and without inhabitants; at least we saw none; nor did we see so many birds about it as when we first discovered it. But we saw some sea-otters, an animal which we had not met with to the north of this latitude. Four leagues from Cape Upright, in the direction of S., 72° W., lies a small island, whose elevated summit terminates in several pinnacle rocks. On this account it was named Pinnacle Island. At two in the afternoon, after passing Cape Upright, I steered S. E. by S., for Samganoodha, with a gentle breeze at N. N. W., being resolved to spend no more time in searching for a harbour amongst islands, which I now began to suspect had no existence; at least not in the latitude and longitude where modern map-makers have thought proper to place them. In the evening of the 24th, the wind veered to S. W. and S., and increased to a fresh gale. We continued to stretch to the eastward till eight o'clock in the morning of the 25th, when, in the latitude of 58° 32′, and in the longitude of 191° 10′, we tacked and stood to the west, and soon after, the gale increasing, we were reduced to two courses, and close-reefed main top-sails. Not long after, the Resolution sprung a leak, under the starboard futtock, which filled the spirit-room with water, before it was discovered; and it was so considerable as to keep one pump constantly employed. We durst not put the ship upon the other tack, for fear of getting upon the shoals that lie to the north-west of Cape Newenham; but continued standing to the west till six in the evening of the 26th, when we wore and stood to the eastward, and then the leak no longer troubled us. This proved that it was above the water-line, which was no small satisfaction. The gale was now over; but the wind remained at S. and S. W. for some days longer.

At length, on the 2nd of October at daybreak, we saw the island of Oonalashka, bearing S. E. But as this was to us a new point of view, and the land was obscured by a thick

haze, we were not sure of our situation till noon, when the observed latitude determined it. As all the harbours were alike to me, provided they were equally safe and convenient, I hauled into a bay that lies ten miles to the westward of Samganoodha, known by the name of Egoochshac; but we found very deep water, so that we were glad to get out again. The natives, many of whom lived here, visited us at different times, bringing with them dried salmon and other fish, which they exchange with the seamen for tobacco. But a few days before, every ounce of tobacco that was in the ship had been distributed among them; and the quantity was not half sufficient to answer their demands. Notwithstanding this, so improvident a creature is an English sailor, that they were as profuse in making their bargains, as if we had now arrived at a port in Virginia; by which means, in less than eight-and-forty hours, the value of this article of barter was lowered above a thousand per cent.

At one o'clock in the afternoon of the 3rd, we anchored in Samganoodha Harbour; and the next morning the carpenters of both ships were set to work to rip off the sheathing of and under the wale, on the starboard side abaft. Many of the seams were found quite open, so that it was no wonder that so much water had found its way into the ship. While we lay here, we cleared the fish and spirit rooms, and the after-hold; disposing things in such a manner that, in case we should happen to have any more leaks of the same nature, the water might find its way to the pumps. And besides this work, and completing our water, we cleared the fore-hold to the very bottom, and took in a quantity of ballast.

The vegetables which we had met with when we were here before, were now mostly in a state of decay; so that we were not a little benefited by the great quantities of berries everywhere found ashore. In order to avail ourselves as much as possible of this useful refreshment, one-third of the people, by turns, had leave to go and pick them. Considerable quantities of them were also procured from the natives. If there were any seeds of the scurvy in either ship, these berries, and the use of spruce-beer, which they had to drink every other day, effectually eradicated them. We also got plenty of fish, at first mostly salmon, both fresh and dried, which the natives brought us. Some of the fresh salmon was in high perfection, but there was one sort, which we called hook-nosed, from the figure of its head, that was but indifferent. We drew the seine several times, at the head of the bay, and caught a good many salmon trout, and once a halibut that weighed two hundred and fifty-four pounds. The fishery failing, we had recourse to hooks and lines. A boat was sent out every morning, and seldom returned without eight or ten halibut, which was more than sufficient to serve all our people; the halibut were excellent, and there were few who did prefer them to salmon. Thus we not only procured a supply of fish for present consumption, but had some to carry with us to sea. This enabled us to make considerable saving of our provisions, which was an object of no small importance.

On the 8th, I received, by the hands of an Oonalashka man named Derramoushk, a very singular present, considering the place. It was a rye loaf, or rather a pie made in the form of a loaf, for it enclosed some salmon, highly seasoned with pepper. This man had the like present for Captain Clerke, and a note for each of us, written in a character which none of us could read. It was natural to suppose that this present was from some Russians now in our neighbourhood, and therefore we sent, by the same hand, to these our unknown friends, a few bottles of rum, wine, and porter, which we thought would be as acceptable as anything we had besides; and we soon knew that in this we were not mistaken. I also sent, along with Derramoushk, Corporal Lediard* of the marines, an intelligent

* This Lediard, or Ledyard, as the name is properly spelt, is the same who afterwards distinguished himself by a most adventurous journey across Siberia, with the intention of passing Beering's Straits, and afterwards making his way over the continent of America. His main object in attempting this arduous expedition was the establishment of a fur trade between the western coast of America and China. He had nearly succeeded in traversing Siberia, when he was seized by order of the Empress, and rapidly conveyed into Poland, where he was turned adrift, with orders never to set foot again in Russia. Jealousy on the part of the Russian Fur Company caused the Empress to treat in this harsh manner a traveller on whom she had at first bestowed favour and assistance. Ledyard fought his way to London, where he met a kind friend in Sir Joseph Banks, at whose recommendation he was engaged by the

man, in order to gain some farther information, with orders, that if he met with any Russians he should endeavour to make them understand that we were English, the friends and allies of their nation.

On the 10th Lediard returned with three Russian seamen, or furriers, who, with some others, resided at Egoochshac, where they had a dwelling-house, some store-houses, and a sloop of about thirty tons burthen. One of these men was either master or mate of this vessel, another of them wrote a very good hand and understood figures, and they were all three well behaved, intelligent men, and very ready to give me all the information I could desire; but for want of an interpreter we had some difficulty to understand each other. They appeared to have a thorough knowledge of the attempts that had been made by their countrymen to navigate the Frozen Ocean, and of the discoveries which had been made from Kamtschatka, by Beering, Tscherikoff, and Spangenberg; but they seemed to know no more of Lieutenant Syndo*, or Synd, than his name. Nor had they the least idea what part of the world Mr. Stæhlin's map referred to, when it was laid before them. When I pointed out Kamtschatka, and some other known places upon that map, they asked whether I had seen the islands there laid down, and on my answering in the negative, one of them put his finger upon a part of this map where a number of islands was represented, and said, that he had cruised there for land, but never could find any. I then laid before them my own chart, and found that they were strangers to every part of the American coast, except what lies opposite this island. One of these men said that he had been with Beering in his American voyage, but must then have been very young, for he had not now, at the distance of thirty-seven years, the appearance of being aged. Never was there greater respect paid to the memory of any distinguished person, than by these men to that of Beering. The trade in which they are engaged is very beneficial, and its being undertaken and extended to the eastward of Kamtschatka, was the immediate consequence of the second voyage of that able navigator, whose misfortunes proved to be the source of much private advantage to individuals, and of public utility to the Russian nation. And yet, if his distresses had not accidentally carried him to die in the island which bears his name, and from whence the miserable remnant of his ship's crew brought back sufficient specimens of its valuable furs, probably the Russians never would have undertaken any future voyages which could lead them to make discoveries in this sea, toward the coast of America. Indeed, after his time government seems to have paid less attention to this, and we owe what discoveries have been since made principally to the enterprising spirit of private traders, encouraged, however, by the superintending care of the court of Petersburg. The three Russians having remained with me all night, visited Captain Clerke next morning, and then left us, very well satisfied with the reception they had met with, promising to return in a few days, and to bring with them a chart of the islands lying between Oonalashka and Kamtschatka.

On the 15th, in the evening, while Mr. Webber and I were at a village at a small distance from Samganoodha, a Russian landed there, who, I found, was the principal person amongst his countrymen in this and the neighbouring islands. His name was Erasim Gregorioff Sin Ismyloff. He arrived in a canoe carrying three persons, attended by twenty or thirty other canoes, each conducted by one man. I took notice, that the first thing they did after landing, was to make a small tent for Ismyloff, of materials which they brought with them; and then they made others for themselves of their canoes and paddles, which they covered with grass, so that the people of the village were at no trouble to find them lodging. Ismyloff having invited us into his tent, set before us some dried salmon and

African Association to make researches in Africa, but his career was cut short by death, which overtook him at , just as he was about to set out for Sennaar. Ledyard was an American by birth, and was originally destined for the ministry, for which function he studied at Hartford College, on its first establishment by Dr. Whelock. But his adventurous spirit kept him ever restless, and led him into strange vicissitudes. He kept a journal during his voyage with Cook, to which we shall have occasion to refer in noticing the melancholy catastrophe which took place at the Sandwich Islands. His memoirs have been written by his countryman, Mr. Jared Sparks, and present the picture of a mind of great originality, and the most untiring energy.—Ed.

* See the little that is known of Synd's voyage, accompanied with a chart, in Mr. Coxe's Russian Discoveries, p. 300.

berries, which, I was satisfied, was the best cheer he had. He appeared to be a sensible intelligent man, and I felt no small mortification in not being able to converse with him, unless by signs, assisted by figures, and other characters, which, however, were a very great help. I desired to see him on board the next day, and accordingly he came, with all his attendants. Indeed, he had moved into our neighbourhood for the express purpose of waiting upon us. I was in hopes to have had by him the chart which his three countrymen had promised; but I was disappointed. However, he assured me I should have it; and he kept his word. I found that he was very well acquainted with the geography of these parts, and with all the discoveries that had been made in them by the Russians. On seeing the modern maps, he at once pointed out their errors. He told me he had accompanied Lieutenant Syndo, or Synd as he called him, in his expedition to the north; and, according to his account, they did not proceed farther than the Tschukotskoi Nos, or rather than the bay of St. Laurence, for he pointed on our chart to the very place where I landed. From thence, he said, they went to an island in latitude 63°, upon which they did not land, nor could he tell me its name. But I should guess it to be the same to which I gave the name of Clerke's Island. To what place Synd went after that, or in what manner he spent the two years, during which, as Ismyloff said, his researches lasted, he either could not or would not inform us. Perhaps he did not comprehend our inquiries about this, and yet, in almost every other thing, we could make him understand us. This created a suspicion that he had not really been in that expedition, notwithstanding his assertion.

Both Ismyloff and the others affirmed, that they knew nothing of the continent of America to the northward; and that neither Lieutenant Synd, nor any other Russian had ever seen it of late. They call it by the same name which Mr. Stæhlin gives to his great island, that is, Alaschka. Stachtan Nitada, as it is called in the modern maps, is a name quite unknown to these people, natives of the islands as well as Russians; but both of them know it by the name of America. From what we could gather from Ismyloff and his countrymen, the Russians have made several attempts to get a footing upon that part of this continent that lies contiguous to Oonalashka and the adjoining islands, but have always been repulsed by the natives, whom they describe as a very treacherous people. They mentioned two or three captains, or chief men, who had been murdered by them; and some of the Russians showed us wounds which they said they had received there.

Some other information, which we got from Ismyloff, is worth recording, whether true or false. He told us, that in the year 1773, an expedition had been made into the Frozen Sea in sledges, over the ice, to three large islands that lie opposite the mouth of the river Kovyma. We were in some doubt whether he did not mean the same expedition of which Muller gives an account*, and yet he wrote down the year, and marked the islands on the chart. But a voyage which he himself had performed engaged our attention more than any other. He said, that on the 12th of May, 1771, he sailed from Bolscheretzk, in a Russian vessel, to one of the Kurile islands, named Marcekan, in the latitude of 47°, where there is a harbour and a Russian settlement. From this island he proceeded to Japan, where he seems to have made but a short stay. For when the Japanese came to know that he and his companions were Christians, they made signs for them to be gone, but did not, so far as we could understand him, offer any insult or force. From Japan he got to Canton, and from thence to France, in a French ship. From France, he travelled to Petersburg; and was afterward sent out again to Kamtschatka. What became of the vessel in which he first embarked, we could not learn, nor what was the principal object of the voyage. His not being able to speak one word of French, made this story a little suspicious. He did not even know the name of any one of the most common things that must have been in use every day, while he was on board the ship and in France. And yet

* The latest expedition of this kind, taken notice of by Muller, was in 1724. But in justice to Mr. Ismyloff, it may be proper to mention, which is done on the authority of a MS., communicated by Mr. Pennant, and the substance of which has been published by Mr. Coxe, that, so late as 1768, the governor of Siberia sent three young officers over the ice in sledges, to the islands opposite the mouth of the Kovyma. There seems no reason for not supposing, that a subsequent expedition of this sort might also be undertaken in 1773. Mr. Coxe, p. 324, places the expedition on sledges in 1764; but Mr. Pennant's MS. may be depended upon.

he seemed clear as to the times of his arriving at the different places, and of his leaving them, which he put down in writing.

The next morning he would fain have made me a present of a sea-otter skin, which he said was worth eighty roubles at Kamtschatka. However, I thought proper to decline it; but I accepted of some dried fish, and several baskets of the lily or saranne root, which is described at large in the History of Kamtschatka *. In the afternoon, Mr. Ismyloff, after dining with Captain Clerke, left us with all his retinue, promising to return in a few days. Accordingly, on the 19th, he made us another visit, and brought with him the charts before mentioned, which he allowed me to copy; and the contents of which furnish matter for the following observations.

There were two of them, both manuscripts, and bearing every mark of authenticity. The first comprehended the Penshinskian Sea; the coast of Tartary, as low as the latitude of 41°; the Kurile Islands; and the peninsula of Kamtschatka. Since this map had been made, Wawseelee Irkechoff, Captain of the fleet, explored, in 1758, the coast of Tartary from Okotsk, and the river Amur, to Japan, or 41° of latitude. Mr. Ismyloff also informed us, that great part of the sea-coast of the peninsula of Kamtschatka had been corrected by himself; and described the instrument he made use of, which must have been a theodolite. He also informed us, that there were only two harbours fit for shipping on all the east coast of Kamtschatka, viz., the bay of Awatska and the river Olutora, in the bottom of the gulf of the same name; that there was not a single harbour upon its west coast; and that Yamsk was the only one on all the west side of the Penshinskian Sea, except Okotsk, till we come to the river Amur. The Kurile islands afford only one harbour; and that is on the north-east side of Marcekan, in the latitude of 47½°; where, as I have before observed, the Russians have a settlement.

The second chart was to me the most interesting, for it comprehended all the discoveries made by the Russians to the eastward of Kamtschatka, toward America, which, if we exclude the voyage of Beering and Tscherikoff, will amount to little or nothing. The part of the American coast with which the latter fell in is marked in this chart, between the latitude of 58° and 58½°, and 75° of longitude from Okotsk, or 218½° from Greenwich; and the place where the former anchored in 59½° of latitude, and 63½° of longitude from Okotsk, or 207° from Greenwich. To say nothing of the longitude, which may be erroneous from many causes, the latitude of the coast discovered by these two navigators, especially the part of it discovered by Tscherikoff, differs considerably from the account published by Mr. Muller, and his chart. Indeed, whether Muller's chart, or this now produced by Mr. Ismyloff, be most erroneous in this respect, it may be hard to determine, though it is not now a point worth discussing. But the islands that lie dispersed between 52° and 55° of latitude, in the space between Kamtschatka and America, deserve some notice. According to Mr. Ismyloff's account, neither the number nor the situation of these islands is well ascertained. He struck out about one-third of them, assuring me they had no existence; and he altered the situation of others considerably, which, he said, was necessary, from his own observations. And there was no reason to doubt about this. As these islands lie all nearly under the same parallel, different navigators, being misled by their different reckonings, might easily mistake one island, or group of islands, for another; and fancy they had made a new discovery, when they had only found old ones in a different position from that assigned to them by their former visitors.

The islands of St. Macarius, St. Stephen, St. Theodore, St. Abraham, Seduction Island, and some others, which are to be found in Mr. Muller's chart, had no place in this now produced to us; nay, both Mr. Ismyloff, and the others assured me, that they had been several times sought for in vain. And yet it is difficult to believe, how Mr. Muller, from whom subsequent map-makers have adopted them, could place them in his chart without some authority. Relying, however, on the testimony of these people, whom I thought competent witnesses, I have left them out of my chart; and made such corrections amongst the other islands as I was told was necessary. I found there was wanting another correction; for the

* English translation, p. 83, 84.

difference of longitude, between the Bay of Awatska, and the harbour of Samganoodha, according to astronomical observations made at these two places, is greater, by five degrees and a half, than it is by the chart. This error I have supposed to be infused throughout the whole, though it may not be so in reality. There was also an error in the latitude of some places; but this hardly exceeded a quarter of a degree.

I shall now give some account of the islands; beginning with those that lie nearest to Kamtschatka, and reckoning the longitude from the harbour of Petropaulowska, in the Bay of Awatska. The first is Beering's Island, in 55° of latitude, and 6° of longitude. Ten leagues from the south end of this, in the direction of east by south, or east south-east, lies Maidenoi Ostroff or the Copper Island. The next island is, Atakou, laid down in 52° 45′ of latitude, and in 15° or 16° of longitude. This island is about eighteen leagues in extent, in the direction of east and west; and seems to be the same land which Beering fell in with, and named Mount St. John. But there are no islands about it, except two inconsiderable ones, lying three or four leagues from the east end, in the direction of east north-east. We next come to a group, consisting of six or more islands; two of which, Atghka and Amluk are tolerably large; and in each of them is a good harbour. The middle of this group lies in the latitude of 52° 30′, and 28° of longitude from Awatska; and its extent, east and west, is four degrees. These are the isles that Mr. Ismyloff said were to be removed four degrees to the east, which is here done. And in the situation they have in my chart, was a group, consisting of ten small islands, which, I was told, were wholly to be struck out; and also two islands lying between them and the group to which Oonalashka belongs. In the place of these two, an island called Amoghta (which in the chart was situated in the latitude of 51° 45′, and 4° of longitude to the west) was brought.

Nothing more need be said to show how erroneous the situation of many of these islands may be; and for which I am in nowise accountable. But the position of the largest group, of which Oonalashka is one of the principal islands, and the only one in which there is a harbour, is not liable to any such errors. Most of these islands were seen by us; and consequently their latitude and longitude were pretty exactly determined; particularly the harbour of Samganoodha in Oonalashka, which must be looked upon as a fixed point. This group of islands may be said to extend as far as Halibut Isles, which are forty leagues from Oonalashka toward the east north-east. Within these isles, a passage was marked in Ismyloff' chart, communicating with Bristol Bay; which converts about fifteen leagues of the coast, that I had supposed to belong to the continent, into an island, distinguished by the name of Ooneemak. This passage might easily escape us, as we were informed that it is very narrow, shallow, and only to be navigated through with boats, or very small vessels.

It appeared by the chart, as well as by the testimony of Ismyloff and the other Russians, that this is as far as their countrymen have made any discoveries, or have extended themselves, since Beering's time. They all said, that no Russians had settled themselves so far to the east as the place where the natives gave the note to Captain Clerke; which Mr. Ismyloff, to whom I delivered it, on perusing it, said, had been written at Oomanak. It was, however, from him that we got the name of Kodiak*, the largest of Schumagin's Islands: for it had no name upon the chart produced by him. The names of all the other islands were taken from it, and we wrote them down as pronounced by him. He said, they were all such as the natives themselves called their islands by; but if so, some of the names seem to have been strangely altered. It is worth observing, that no names were put to the islands which Ismyloff told us were to be struck out of the chart; and I considered this as some confirmation that they have not existence. I have already observed, that the American continent is here called, by the Russians, as well as by the islanders, Alaschka; which name, though it properly belong only to the country adjoining to Ooneemak, is used by them when speaking of the American continent in general, which they know perfectly well to be a great land.

This is all the information I got from these people, relating to the geography of this part of the world; and I have reason to believe that this was all the information they were able

* A Russian ship had been at Kodiack, in 1776; as appears from a MS. obligingly communicated by Mr. Pennant

to give. For they assured me, over and over again, that they knew of no other islands, besides those which were laid down upon this chart; and that no Russian had ever seen any part of the continent of America to the northward, except that which lies opposite the country of the Tschutskis. If Mr. Stæhlin was not grossly imposed upon, what could induce him to publish a map, so singularly erroneous; and in which many of these islands are jumbled together in regular confusion, without the least regard to truth? And yet, he is pleased to call it "a very accurate map"*. Indeed, it is a map to which the most illiterate of his illiterate sea-faring countrymen would have been ashamed to have set his name.

Mr. Ismyloff remained with us till the 21st, in the evening, when he took his final leave. To his care I entrusted a letter to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty; in which was inclosed a chart of all the northern coasts I had visited. He said there would be an opportunity of sending it to Kamtschatka, or Okotsk, the ensuing spring; and that it would be at Petersburg the following winter. He gave me a letter to Major Behm, Governor of Kamtschatka, who resides at Bolscheretsk; and another to the commanding officer at Petropaulowska. Mr. Ismyloff seemed to have abilities that might entitle him to a higher station in life, than that in which we found him. He was tolerably well versed in astronomy, and in the most useful branches of the mathematics. I made him a present of a Hadley's octant; and though, probably, it was the first he had ever seen, he made himself acquainted, in a very short time, with most of the uses to which that instrument can be applied.

In the morning of the 22nd, we made an attempt to get to sea, with the wind at south-east, which miscarried. The following afternoon, we were visited by one Jacob Ivanhovitch Soposnicoff, a Russian, who commanded a boat, or small vessel, at Oomanak. This man had a great share of modesty; and would drink no strong liquor, of which the rest of his countrymen, whom we had met with here, were immoderately fond. He seemed to know more accurately what supplies could be got at the harbour of Petropaulowska, and the price of the different articles, than Mr. Ismyloff. But, by all accounts, everything we should want at that place was very scarce, and bore a high price. Flour, for instance, was from three to five roubles the pood †; and deer, from three to five roubles each. This man told us that he was to be at Petropaulowska in May next; and, as I understood, was to have the charge of my letter. He seemed to be exceedingly desirous of having some token from me to carry to Major Behm; and, to gratify him, I sent a small spying-glass.

After we became acquainted with these Russians, some of our gentlemen, at different times, visited their settlement on the island; where they always met with a hearty welcome. This settlement consisted of a dwelling-house, and two store-houses. And, besides the Russians, there was a number of the Kamtschadales, and of the natives, as servants, or slaves, to the former. Some others of the natives, who seemed independent of the Russians, lived at the same place. Such of them as belonged to the Russians were all males; and they are taken, or perhaps purchased, from their parents when young. There were, at this time, about twenty of these, who could be looked upon in no other light than as children. They all live in the same house; the Russians at the upper end, the Kamtschadales in the middle; and the natives at the lower end; where is fixed a large boiler for preparing their food, which consists chiefly of what the sea produces, with the addition of wild roots and berries. There is little difference between the first and last table, besides what is produced by cookery, in which the Russians have the art to make indifferent things palatable. I have eat whale's flesh of their dressing, which I thought very good; and they made a kind of pan-pudding of salmon roe, beaten up fine, and fried, that is no bad succedaneum for bread. They may, now and then, taste real bread, or have a dish in which flour is an ingredient; but this can only be an occasional luxury. If we except the juice of berries, which they sip at their meals, they have no other liquor besides pure water: and it seems to be very happy for them that they have nothing stronger.

As the island supplies them with food, so it does, in a great measure, with clothing. This consists chiefly of skins, and is, perhaps, the best they could have. The upper garment is made like our waggoner's frock, and reaches as low as the knee Besides this, they wear a

* Stæhlin's New Northern Archipelago, p. 15.

† 36lb.

waistcoat or two, a pair of breeches; a fur cap; and a pair of boots, the soles and upper leathers of which are of Russian leather; but the legs are made of some kind of strong gut. Their two chiefs, Ismyloff and Ivanovitch, wore each a calico frock; and they, as well as some others, had shirts, which were of silk. These, perhaps, were the only part of their dress not made amongst themselves. There are Russians settled upon all the principal islands between Oonalashka and Kamtschatka, for the sole purpose of collecting furs. Their great object is the sea beaver or otter. I never heard them inquire after any other animal; though those, whose skins are of inferior value, are also made part of their cargoes. I never thought to ask how long they have had a settlement upon Oonalashka, and the neighbouring isles; but, to judge from the great subjection the natives are under, this cannot be of a very late date*. All these furriers are relieved, from time to time, by others. Those we met with arrived here from Okotsk, in 1776, and are to return in 1781; so that their stay at the island will be four years at least.

It is now time to give some account of the native inhabitants. To all appearance, they are the most peaceable, inoffensive people, I ever met with. And, as to honesty, they might serve as a pattern to the most civilized nation upon earth. But from what I saw of their neighbours, with whom the Russians have no connexion, I doubt whether this was their original disposition; and rather think that it has been the consequence of their present state of subjection. Indeed, if some of our gentlemen did not misunderstand the Russians, they had been obliged to make some severe examples†, before they could bring the islanders into any order. If there were severities inflicted at first, the best apology for them is, that they have produced the happiest consequences; and, at present, the greatest harmony subsists between the two nations. The natives have their own chiefs in each island, and seem to enjoy liberty and property unmolested. But whether or no they are tributaries to the Russians, we could never find out. There was some reason to think that they are. These people are rather low of stature, but plump and well shaped; with rather short necks; swarthy chubby faces; black eyes; small beards; and long, straight, black hair; which the men wear loose behind, and cut before, but the women tie up in a bunch. Their dress has been occasionally mentioned. Both sexes wear the same in fashion; the only difference is in the materials. The women's frock is made of seal-skin; and that of the men, of the skins of birds; both reaching below the knee. This is the whole dress of the women. But, over the frock, the men wear another made of gut, which resists water; and has a hood to it, which draws over the head. Some of them wear boots; and all of them have a kind of oval-snouted cap, made of wood, with a rim to admit the head. These caps are dyed with green and other colours; and round the upper part of the rim, are stuck the long bristles of some sea-animal, on which are strung glass beads; and on the front is a small image or two made of bone.

CAP OF THE NATIVES.

They make use of no paint; but the women puncture their faces slightly; and both men and women bore the under lip, to which they fix pieces of bone. But it is as uncommon at Oonalashka to see a man with this ornament, as to see a woman without it. Some fix beads to the upper lip, under the nostrils, and all of them hang ornaments in their ears. Their food consists of fish, sea-animals, birds, roots, and berries; and even of sea-weed. They dry large quantities of fish in summer, which they lay up in small huts for winter use; and, probably, they preserve roots and berries for the same time of scarcity. They eat almost every thing raw. Boiling and broiling were the only methods of cookery that I saw them make use of; and the first was probably learnt from the Russians. Some have got little

* The Russians began to frequent Oonalashka in 1762. See Coxe's Russian Discoveries, ch. viii. p. 80.
† See the particulars of hostilities between the Russians and natives, in Coxe, as cited above.

brass kettles; and those who have not, make one of a flat stone, with sides of clay, not unlike a standing pye.

I was once present when the chief of Oonalashka made his dinner of the raw head of a large halibut just caught. Before any was given to the chief, two of his servants ate the gills, without any other dressing, besides squeezing out the slime. This done, one of them cut off the head of the fish, took it to the sea and washed it; then came with it, and sat down by the chief; first pulling up some grass, upon a part of which the head was laid, and the rest was strewed before the chief. He then cut large pieces off the cheeks, and laid these within the reach of the great man, who swallowed them with as much satisfaction as we should do raw oysters. When he had done, the remains of the head were cut in pieces, and given to the attendants, who tore off the meat with their teeth, and gnawed the bones like so many dogs.

As those people use no paint, they are not so dirty in their persons as the savages who thus besmear themselves; but they are full as lousy and filthy in their houses. Their method of building is as follows: They dig in the ground an oblong square pit, the length of which seldom exceeds fifty feet, and the breadth twenty; but in general the dimensions are smaller. Over this excavation, they form the roof of wood which the sea throws ashore. This roof is covered first with grass, and then with earth; so that the outward appearance is like a dunghill. In the middle of the roof, toward each end, is left a square opening, by which the light is admitted; one of these openings being for this purpose only, and the other being

INTERIOR OF A HUT OF OONALASHKA.

also used to go in and out by, with the help of a ladder, or rather a post, with steps cut in it*. In some houses there is another entrance below; but this is not common. Round the sides and ends of the huts, the families (for several are lodged together) have their separate apartments, where they sleep, and sit at work; not upon benches, but in a kind of concave trench, which is dug all round the inside of the house, and covered with mats; so

* Mr. Coxe's description of the habitations of the natives of Oonalashka, and the other Fox Islands, in general, agrees with Captain Cook's. See Russian Discoveries, p. 149. See also Histoire des différents Peuples soumis à la Domination des Russes, par M. Levesque, tom. i. p. 41.

that this part is kept tolerably decent But the middle of the house, which is common to all the families, is far otherwise. For, although it be covered with dry grass, it is a receptacle for dirt of every kind, and the place for the urine trough; the stench of which is not mended by raw hides, or leather, being almost continually steeped in it. Behind and over the trench are placed the few effects they are possessed of; such as their clothing, mats, and skins.

Their household furniture consists of bowls, spoons, buckets, piggins, or cans, matted baskets, and perhaps a Russian kettle or pot. All these utensils are very neatly made, and well formed; and yet we saw no other tools among them but the knife and the hatchet; that is, a small flat piece of iron, made like an adze, by fitting it into a crooked wooden handle. These were the only instruments we met with there, made of iron. For although the Russians live amongst them, we found much less of this metal in their possession than we had met with in the possession of other tribes on the American continent, who had never seen, nor perhaps had any intercourse with the Russians. Probably a few beads, a little tobacco and snuff, purchase all they have to spare. There are few, if any of them, that do not both smoke and chew tobacco, and take snuff; a luxury that bids fair to keep them always poor. They do not seem to wish for more iron, or to want any other instruments, except sewing-needles, their own being made of bone. With these they not only sew their canoes, and make their clothes, but also very curious embroidery. Instead of thread, they use the fibres of sinews, which they split to the thickness which each sort of work requires. All sewing is performed by the women. They are tailors, shoemakers, and boat-builders, or boat-coverers; for the men, most probably, construct the frame of wood over which the skins are sewed. They make mats and baskets of grass, that are both beautiful and strong. Indeed there is a neatness and perfection in most of their work that shows they neither want ingenuity nor perseverance.

I saw not a fire-place in any one of their houses. They are lighted as well as heated by lamps, which are simple, and yet answer the purpose very well. They are made of a flat stone, hollowed on one side like a plate, and about the same size, or rather larger. In the hollow part they put the oil, mixed with a little dry grass, which serves the purpose of a wick. Both men and women frequently warm their bodies over one of these lamps, by placing it between their legs, under their garments, and sitting thus over it for a few minutes. They produce fire by collision and by attrition; the former by striking two stones one against another; on one of which a good deal of brimstone is first rubbed. The latter method is with two pieces of wood; one of which is a stick of about eighteen inches in length, and the other a flat piece. The pointed end of the stick they press upon the other, whirling it nimbly round as a drill; thus producing fire in a few minutes. This method is common in many parts of the world. It is practised by the Kamtschadales, by these people, by the Greenlanders, by the Brazilians, by the Otaheiteans, by the New Hollanders; and probably by many other nations. Yet some learned and ingenious men have founded an argument on this custom to prove, that this and that nation are of the same extraction. But accidental agreement, in a few particular instances, will not authorise such a conclusion; nor will a disagrement, either in manners or customs, between two different nations, of course prove that they are of different extraction. I could support this opinion by many instances besides the one just mentioned.

No such thing as an offensive or even defensive weapon was seen amongst the natives of Oonalashka. We cannot suppose that the Russians found them in such a defenceless state; it is more probable that for their own security they have disarmed them. Political reasons too may have induced the Russians not to allow these islanders to have any large canoes; for it is difficult to believe they had none such originally, as we found them amongst all their neighbours. However we saw none here but one or two belonging to the Russians. The canoes made use of by the natives are the smallest we had anywhere seen upon the American coast; though built after the same manner, with some little difference in the construction. The stern of these terminates a little abruptly; the head is forked; the upper point of the fork projecting without the under one, which is even with the surface of the water. Why they should thus construct them is difficult to conceive; for the fork is apt to catch

h is common to
ss, it is a recep-
of which is not
Behind and over
clothing, mats,

or cans, matted
eatly made, and
nd the hatchet;
crooked wooden
. For although
possession than
, who had never
v beads, a little
of them, that do
air to keep them
her instruments,
ot only sew their
of thread, they
f work requires.
nd boat-builders,
l over which the
utiful and strong.
hey neither want

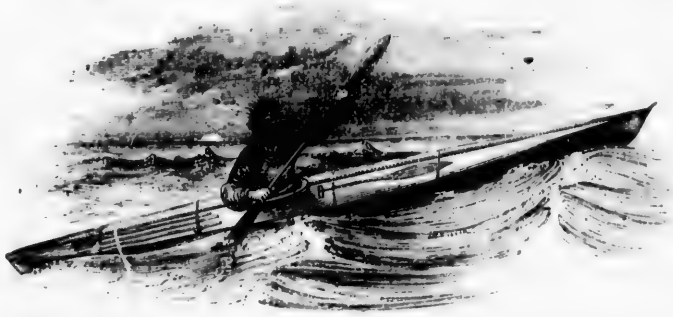
vell as heated by
e made of a flat
larger. In the
the purpose of a
these lamps, by
ver it for a few
riking two stones
bed. The latter
eighteen inches in
ss upon the other,
This method is
, by these people,
Hollanders; and
have founded an
e extraction. But
a conclusion; nor
nations, of course
by many instances

nongst the natives
such a defenceless
l them. Political
to have any large
und them amongst
g to the Russians.
ere seen upon the
ference in the con-
forked; the upper
urface of the water.
fork is apt to catch

CHINESE GIRLS.

CHINESE MERCHANTS.

hold of everything that comes in the way; to prevent which they fix a piece of small stick from point to point. In other respects their canoes are built after the manner of those used by the Greenlanders and Esquimaux; the framing being of slender laths, and the covering of seal-skins. They are about twelve feet long; a foot and a half broad in the middle; and twelve or fourteen inches deep. Upon occasion they can carry two persons; one of whom is stretched at full length in the canoe; and the other sits in the seat, or round hole, which is nearly in the middle. Round this hole is a rim or hoop of wood, about which is sewed gut skin, that can be drawn together, or opened like a purse, with leathern thongs fitted to the outer edge. The man seats himself in this place, draws the skin tight round his body over his gut frock, and brings the ends of the thongs, or purse-string, over the shoulder to keep it in its place. The sleeves of his frock are tied round his wrists; and it being close round his neck, and the hood drawn over his head, where it is confined by his cap, water can scarcely penetrate either to his body or into the canoe. If any should, however, insinuate itself, the boatman carries a piece of spunge, with which he dries it up. He uses the double-bladed paddle, which is held with both hands in the middle, striking the water with a quick regular motion, first on one side and then on the other. By this means the canoe is impelled at a great rate, and in a direction as straight as a line can be drawn. In sailing from Egooschshak to Samganoodha, two or three canoes kept way with the ship, though she was going at the rate of seven miles an hour.



FISHING CANOE OF OONALASHKA.

Their fishing and hunting implements lie ready upon the canoes, under straps fixed for the purpose. They are all made in great perfection of wood and bone; and differ very little from those used by the Greenlanders, as they are described by Crantz. The only difference is in the point of the missile dart; which, in some we saw here, is not above an inch long; whereas Crantz says that those of the Greenlanders are a foot and a half in length. Indeed these darts, as well as some other of their instruments, are so curious that they deserve a particular description; but as many of them were brought away on board the ships, this can be done at any time, if thought necessary. These people are very expert in striking fish, both in the sea and in rivers. They also make use of hooks and lines, nets and weirs. The hooks are composed of bone, and the lines of sinews.

The fishes, which are common to other northern seas, are found here; such as whales, grampusses, porpoises, sword-fish, halibut, cod, salmon, trout, soles, flat-fish; several other sorts of small fish; and there may be many more that we had no opportunity of seeing. Halibut and salmon seem to be in the greatest plenty; and on them the inhabitants of these isles subsist chiefly; at least they were the only sort of fish, except a few cod, which we observed to be laid up for their winter store. To the north of 60°, the sea is, in a manner, destitute of small fish of every kind; but then whales are more numerous. Seals, and that whole tribe of sea-animals, are not so numerous as in many other seas. Nor can this be thought strange, since there is hardly any part of the coast, on either continent, nor any of

the islands lying between them, that is not inhabited, and whose inhabitants hunt these animals for their food and clothing. Sea-horses are, indeed, in prodigious numbers about the ice; and the sea-otter is, I believe, nowhere found but in this sea. We sometimes saw an animal with a head like a seal's, that blew after the manner of whales. It was larger than a seal, and its colour was white, with some dark spots. Probably this was the sea-cow, or *manati*.

I think I may venture to assert, that sea and water-fowls are neither in such numbers, nor in such variety, as with us in the northern parts of the Atlantic Ocean. There are some, however, here that I do not remember to have seen anywhere else; particularly the *Alca monochroa* of Steller, before-mentioned; and a black and white duck, which I conceive to be different from the stone-duck described by Krasheninikoff *. All the other birds seen by us are mentioned by this author, except some that we met with near the ice; and most, if not all of these, are described by Martin in his voyage to Greenland. It is a little extraordinary that penguins, which are common in many parts of the world, should not be found in this sea. Albatrosses too are so very scarce, that I cannot help thinking that this is not their proper climate. The few land-birds that we met with are the same with those in Europe; but there may be many others which we had no opportunity of knowing. A very beautiful bird was shot in the woods at Norton Sound, which, I am told, is sometimes found in England, and known by the name of chatterer. Our people met with other small birds there, but in no great variety and abundance; such as the wood-pecker, the bull-finch, the yellow-finch, and a small bird called a tit-mouse.

As our excursions and observations were confined wholly to the sea-coast, it is not to be expected that we could know much of the animals or vegetables of the country. Except mosquitoes, there are few other insects, or reptiles, that I saw, but lizards. There are no deer upon Oonalashka, nor upon any other of the islands. Nor have they any domestic animals, not even dogs. Foxes and weasels were the only quadrupeds we saw; but they told us that they had hares also, and the *marmottas* mentioned by Krasheninikoff †. Hence it is evident that the sea and rivers supply the greatest share of food to the inhabitants. They are also obliged to the sea for all the wood made use of for building, and other necessary purposes; for not a stick grows upon any of the islands, nor upon the adjacent coast of the continent. The learned tell us, that the seeds of plants are, by various means, conveyed from one part of the world to another; even to islands in the midst of great oceans, and far remote from any other land. How comes it to pass that there are no trees growing on this part of the continent of America, nor any other of the islands lying near it? They are certainly as well situated for receiving seeds, by all the various ways I have heard of, as any of those coasts that abound in wood. May not nature have denied to some soil the power of raising trees without the assistance of art? As to the drift-wood upon the shores of the islands, I have no doubt that it comes from America. For although there may be none on the neighbouring coast, enough may grow farther up the country, which torrents in the spring may break loose, and bring down to the sea. And not a little may be conveyed from the woody coasts, though they lie at a greater distance.

There are a great variety of plants at Oonalashka; and most of them were in flower the latter end of June. Several of them are such as we find in Europe, and in other parts of America, particularly in Newfoundland; and others of them, which are also met with in Kamtschatka, are eat by the natives both there and here. Of these Krasheninikoff has given us descriptions. The principal one is the *sarenne*, or lily-root; which is about the size of a root of garlic, round, made up of a number of small cloves, and grains like groats. When boiled, it is somewhat like saloop; the taste is not disagreeable, and we found means to make some good dishes with it. It does not seem to be in great plenty, for we got none but what Ismyloff gave us.

We must reckon amongst the food of the natives some other wild roots; the stalk of a plant resembling *angelica*, and berries of several different sorts; such as bramble-berries, cran-berries, hurtle-berries, heath-berries, a small red berry which, in Newfoundland, is

* History of Kamtschatka. Eng. Trans., p. 160. † History of Kamtschatka, p. 99.

called partridge-berry; and another brown berry, unknown to us. This has somewhat of the taste of a sloe, but is unlike it in every other respect. It is very astringent, if eaten in any quantity. Brandy might be distilled from it. Captain Clerke attempted to preserve some; but they fermented, and became as strong as if they had been steeped in spirits. There were a few other plants which we found serviceable, but are not made use of by either Russians or natives; such as wild purslain, pea-tops, a kind of scurvy-grass, cresses, and some others. All these we found very palatable, dressed either in soups or in salads. On the low ground, and in the valleys, is plenty of grass, which grows very thick, and to a great length. I am of opinion that cattle might subsist at Oonalashka all the year round, without being housed. And the soil, in many places, seemed capable of producing grain, roots, and vegetables. But at present, the Russian traders and the natives seem satisfied with what nature brings forth.

Native sulphur was seen amongst the inhabitants of the island; but I had no opportunity of learning where they got it. We found also ochre; a stone that gives a purple colour, and another that gives a very good green. It may be doubted whether this last is known. In its natural state, it is of a greyish-green colour, coarse and heavy. It easily dissolves in oil; but when put into water, it entirely loses its properties. It seemed to be scarce in Oonalashka; but we were told that it was in greater plenty on the island of Oonemak. As to the stones about the shore and hills, I saw nothing in them that was uncommon.

The people of Oonalashka bury their dead on the summits of hills, and raise a little hillock over the grave. In a walk into the country, one of the natives who attended me pointed out several of these receptacles of the dead. There was one of them by the side of the road leading from the harbour to the village, over which was raised a heap of stones. It was observed, that every one who passed it, added one to it. I saw in the country several stone hillocks that seemed to have been raised by art. Many of them were apparently of great antiquity. What their notions are of the Deity, and of a future state, I know not. I am equally unacquainted with their diversions; nothing having been seen that could give us an insight into either.

They are remarkably cheerful and friendly amongst each other, and always behaved with great civility to us. The Russians told us, that they never had any connexions with their women, because they were not Christians. Our people were not so scrupulous; and some of them had reason to repent that the females of Oonalashka encouraged their addresses without any reserve, for their health suffered by a distemper that is not unknown here. The natives of this island are also subject to the cancer, or a complaint like it, which those whom it attacks are very careful to conceal. They do not seem to be long-lived. I nowhere saw a person, man or woman, whom I could suppose to be sixty years of age, and but very few who appeared to be above fifty. Probably their hard way of living may be the means of shortening their days.

I have frequently had occasion to mention, from the time of our arrival in Prince William's Sound, how remarkably the natives on this north-west side of America resemble the Greenlanders and Esquimaux, in various particulars of person, dress, weapons, canoes, and the like. However, I was much less struck with this than with the affinity which we found subsisting between the dialects of the Greenlanders and Esquimaux, and those of Norton's Sound and Oonalashka. This will appear from a table of corresponding words, which I put together, and will be inserted in the course of this work*. It must be observed, however, with regard to the words which we collected on this side of America, that too much stress is not to be laid upon their being accurately represented; for after Mr. Anderson's death, we had few who took much pains about such matters, and I have frequently found, that the same words written down by two or more persons, from the mouth of the same native, on being compared together, differed not a little. But still enough is certain to warrant this judgment, that there is great reason to believe that all these nations are of the same extraction; and if so, there can be little doubt of there being a northern communication of some sort by sea, between this west side of America and the east side, through Baffin's Bay;

* It will be found amongst other vocabularies, at the end of the volume.

which communication, however, may be effectually shut up against ships, by ice and other impediments. Such, at least, was my opinion at this time.

I shall now quit these northern regions with a few particulars relative to the tides and currents upon the coast, and an account of the astronomical observations made by us in Samganoodha Harbour. The tide is nowhere considerable but in the great river*. The flood comes from the south or south-east, everywhere following the direction of the coast to the north-westward. Between Norton Sound and Cape Prince of Wales, we found a current setting to the north-west, particularly off the cape, and within Sledge Island. But this current extended only a little way from the coast; nor was it either consistent or uniform. To the north of Cape Prince of Wales, we found neither tide nor current, either on the American or on the Asiatic coast, though several times looked for. This gave rise to an opinion, entertained by some on board our ships, that the two coasts were connected either by land or by ice; which opinion received some strength by our never having any hollow waves from the north, and by our seeing ice almost the whole way across.

The following are the results of the several observations made ashore during our stay in the harbour of Samganoodha.

The latitude, by the mean of several observed meridian altitudes of the sun	53°	5	0″
The longitude { By the mean of twenty sets of lunar observations, with the sun east of the moon	193	47	45
The longitude { By the mean of fourteen sets, with the sun and stars west of the moon	193	11	45
The mean of these	193	29	45
The longitude assumed	193	30	0
By the mean of equal altitudes of the sun, taken on the 12th, 14th, 17th, and 21st, the timekeeper was found to be losing on mean time 8″, 8 each day; and on the last of these days, was too slow for mean time 13h 46m 43s, 98. Hence the timekeeper must have been too slow on the 4th, the day after our arrival, by 13h 41m 36s, 62; and the longitude, by Greenwich rate, will be 13h 23m 53s, 8	200	58	27
By King George's (or Nootka) Sound rate, 12h 56m 40s, 4	194	10	6
The 30th June, the timekeeper, by the same rate, gave	193	12	0
The error of the timekeeper at that time was	0	18	0 W.
At this time its error was	0	39	54 E.
The error of the timekeeper between our leaving Samganoodha and our return to it again, was	0	57	54
On the 12th of Oct. the variation A.M. 20° 17′ 2″ } Mean	19	59	15 E.
By the mean of three compasses P.M. 19 41 27 } Mean			

Dip of the { Unmarked end / Marked end } Dipping { 68° 45′ / 69 55 } face east; Face West { 69° 30′ / 69 17′ }

Mean of the dip of the north end of the needle	69	23	30

* Cook's River.

CHAPTER XII.—DEPARTURE FROM OONALASHKA, AND FUTURE VIEWS.—THE ISLAND AMOGHTA.—SITUATION OF A REMARKABLE ROCK.—THE STRAIT BETWEEN OONALASHKA AND OONELLA REPASSED.—PROGRESS TO THE SOUTH.—MELANCHOLY ACCIDENT ON BOARD THE DISCOVERY.—MOWEE, ONE OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS, DISCOVERED.—INTERCOURSE WITH THE NATIVES.—VISIT FROM TERREEOBOO.—ANOTHER ISLAND CALLED OWHYHEE, DISCOVERED.—THE SHIPS PLY TO WINDWARD TO GET ROUND IT.—AN ECLIPSE OF THE MOON OBSERVED.—THE CREW REFUSE TO DRINK SUGAR-CANE BEER.—CORDAGE DEFICIENT IN STRENGTH.—COMMENDATION OF THE NATIVES OF OWHYHEE.—THE RESOLUTION GETS TO WINDWARD OF THE ISLAND.—HER PROGRESS DOWN THE SOUTH-EAST COAST.—VIEWS OF THE COUNTRY, AND VISITS FROM THE NATIVES.—THE DISCOVERY JOINS.—SLOW PROGRESS WESTWARD.—KARAKAKOOA BAY EXAMINED BY MR. BLIGH.—VAST CONCOURSE OF THE NATIVES.—THE SHIPS ANCHOR IN THE BAY.

In the morning of Monday the 26th, we put to sea from Samganoodha Harbour, and as the wind was southerly, stood away to the westward. My intention was now to proceed to Sandwich Islands, there to spend a few of the winter months, in case we should meet with the necessary refreshments, and then to direct our course to Kamtschatka, so as to endeavour to be there by the middle of May, the ensuing summer. In consequence of this resolution, I gave Captain Clerke orders how to proceed in case of separation; appointing Sandwich Islands for the first place of rendezvous, and the harbour of Petropaulowska, in Kamtschatka, for the second.

Soon after we were out of the harbour, the wind veered to the S.E. and E.S.E., which, by the evening, carried us as far as the western part of Oonalashka, where we got the wind at S. With this we stretched to the westward, till seven o'clock the next morning, when we were, and stood to the E. The wind, by this time, had increased in such a manner as to reduce us to our three courses. It blew in very heavy squalls attended with rain, hail, and snow. At nine o'clock in the morning of the 28th, the island of Oonalashka bore S.E., four leagues distant. We then wore and stood to the westward. The strength of the gale was now over, and toward evening, the little wind that blew insensibly veered round to the E., where it continued but a short time before it got to N.E., and increased to a very hard gale with rain. I steered first to the southward, and as the wind inclined to the N. and N.W., I steered more westerly.

On the 29th, at half-past six in the morning, we saw land extending from E. by S. to S. by W., supposed to be the island Amoghta. At eight, finding that we could not weather the island, as the wind had now veered to the westward, I gave over plying, and bore away for Oonalashka, with a view of going to the northward and eastward of that island, not daring to attempt a passage to the S. E. of it, in so hard a gale of wind. At the time we bore away, the land extended from E. by S. ½ S. to S. S. W., four leagues distant. The longitude by the time keeper was 191° 17′, and the latitude 53° 38′. This will give a very different situation to this island from that assigned to it upon the Russian map. But it must be remembered, that this is one of the islands which Mr. Ismyloff said was wrongly placed. Indeed it is a doubt if this be Amoghta*; for after Ismyloff had made the correction, no land appeared upon the map in this latitude; but as I have observed before, we must not look for accuracy in this chart. At eleven o'clock, as we were steering to the N. E., we discovered an elevated rock, like a tower, bearing N. N. E. ½ E., four leagues distant. It lies in the latitude of 53° 57′, and in the longitude of 191° 2′, and hath no place in the Russian map †. We must have passed very near it in the night. We could judge of

* On the chart of Krenitzen's and Levasheff's voyage, in 1768 and 1769, which we find in Mr. Coxe's book, p. 251, an island called Amuckta is laid down, not very far from the place assigned to Amoghta by Captain Cook. The chart also agrees with Captain Cook's, as to the general position of this group of islands. The singularly indented shores of the island of Oonalashka are represented in both charts much alike; these circumstances are worth attending to, as the more modern Russian maps of this archipelago are so wonderfully erroneous.

† Though this rock had no place in the Russian map produced by Ismyloff, it has a place in the chart of Krenitzen's and Levasheff's voyage, above referred to.

its steepness from this circumstance, that the sea, which now ran very high, broke no where but against it. At three in the afternoon, after getting a sight of Oonalashka, we shortened sail, and hauled the wind, not having time to get through the passage before night. At day break the next morning, we bore away under courses, and close-reefed top-sails, having a very hard gale at W. N. W., with heavy squalls, attended with snow. At noon, we were in the middle of the strait, between Oonalashka and Oonella, the harbour of Samganoodha bearing S. S. E., one league distant. At three in the afternoon, being through the strait and clear of the isles, Cape Providence bearing W. S. W., two or three leagues distant, we steered to the southward, under double-reefed top-sails and courses, with the wind at W. N. W., a strong gale, and fair weather.

On Monday the 2d of November, the wind veered to the southward, and before night blew a violent storm, which obliged us to bring to. The Discovery fired several guns, which we answered, but without knowing on what occasion they were fired. At eight o'clock, we lost sight of her, and did not see her again till eight the next morning. At ten, she joined us; and, as the height of the gale was now over, and the wind had veered back to W. N. W., we made sail, and resumed our course to the southward. The 6th, in the evening, being in the latitude of 42° 12', and in the longitude of 201° 26', the variation was 17° 15' E. The next morning, our latitude being 41° 20', and our longitude 202°, a shag, or cormorant, flew several times round the ship. As these birds are seldom, if ever, known to fly far out of sight of land, I judged that some was not far distant. However, we could see none. In the afternoon, there being but little wind, Captain Clerke came on board, and informed me of a melancholy accident that happened on board his ship, the second night after we left Samganoodha. The main tack gave way, killed one man, and wounded the boatswain and two or three more. In addition to this misfortune, I now learned, that on the evening of the 3d, his sails and rigging received considerable damage; and that the guns which he fired were the signal to bring to. On the 8th, the wind was at north; a gentle breeze, with clear weather. On the 9th, in the latitude of 39½°, we had eight hours calm. This was succeeded by the wind from the south, attended with fair weather. Availing ourselves of this, as many of our people as could handle a needle were set to work to repair the sails; and the carpenters were employed to put the boats in order.

On the 12th at noon, being then in the latitude of 38° 14', and in the longitude of 206° 17', the wind returned back to the northward; and on the 15th, in the latitude of 33° 30', it veered to the east. At this time, we saw a tropic bird, and a dolphin; the first that we had observed during the passage. On the 17th, the wind veered to the southward, where it continued till the afternoon of the 9th, when a squall of wind and rain brought it at once round by the west to the north. This was in the latitude of 32° 26', and in the longitude of 207° 30'. The wind presently increased to a very strong gale, attended with rain, so as to bring us under double-reefed top-sails. In lowering down the main-top-sail to reef it, the wind tore it quite out of the foot-rope; and it was split in several other parts. This sail had only been brought to the yard the day before, after having had a repair. The next morning, we got another top-sail to the yard. This gale proved to be the forerunner of the trade-wind, which, in latitude 25°, veered to east, and east south-east.

I continued to steer to the southward, till daylight in the morning of the 25th, at which time we were in the latitude of 20° 55'. I now spread the ships, and steered to the west. In the evening, we joined; and at midnight brought to. At daybreak, next morning, land was seen extending from south south-east to west. We made sail, and stood for it. At eight, it extended from south-east half south, to west; the nearest part two leagues distant. It was supposed that we saw the extent of the land to the east, but not to the west. We were now satisfied, that the group of the Sandwich Islands had been only imperfectly discovered; as those of them which we had visited in our progress northward, all lie to the leeward of our present station. In the country was an elevated saddle hill, whose summit appeared above the clouds. From this hill the land fell in a gentle slope, and terminated in a steep, rocky coast, against which the sea broke in a dreadful surf. Finding that we could not weather the island, I bore up, and ranged along the coast to the westward. It was not long before we saw people on several parts of the shore, and some houses and plantations.

The country seemed to be both well wooded and watered; and running streams were seen falling into the sea in various places.

As it was of the last importance to procure a supply of provisions at these islands; and experience having taught me that I could have no chance to succeed in this, if a free trade with the natives were to be allowed; that is, if it were left to every man's discretion to trade for what he pleased, and in the manner he pleased; for this substantial reason, I now published an order, prohibiting all persons from trading, except such as should be appointed by me and Captain Clerke; and even these were enjoined to trade only for provisions and refreshments. Women were also forbidden to be admitted into the ships, except under certain restrictions. But the evil I meant to prevent, by this regulation, I soon found, had already got amongst them.

At noon, the coast extended from S. 81° E. to N. 56° W.; a low flat, like an isthmus, bore S. 42° W.; the nearest shore three or four miles distant; the latitude was 20° 59′, and the longitude 203° 50′. Seeing some canoes coming off to us, I brought to. As soon as they got alongside, many of the people who conducted them came into the ship, without the least hesitation. We found them to be of the same nation with the inhabitants of the islands more to leeward, which we had already visited; and, if we did not mistake them, they knew of our having been there. Indeed, it rather appeared too evident; for these people had got amongst them the venereal distemper; and, as yet, I knew of no other way of its reaching them, but by an intercourse with their neighbours since our leaving them.

We got from our visitors a quantity of cuttle-fish, for nails and pieces of iron. They brought very little fruit and roots; but told us that they had plenty of them on their island, as also hogs and fowls. In the evening, the horizon being clear to the westward, we judged the westernmost land in sight to be an island, separated from that off which we now were. Having no doubt that the people would return to the ships next day, with the produce of their country, I kept plying off all night, and in the morning stood close in-shore. At first, only a few of the natives visited us; but toward noon, we had the company of a good many, who brought with them bread-fruit, potatoes, tarro, or eddy roots, a few plantains, and small pigs; all of which they exchanged for nails and iron tools. Indeed, we had nothing else to give them. We continued trading with them till four o'clock in the afternoon, when, having disposed of all their cargoes, and not seeming inclined to fetch more, we made sail, and stood off-shore.

While we were lying to, though the wind blew fresh, I observed that the ships drifted to the east. Consequently, there must have been a current setting in that direction. This encouraged me to ply to windward, with a view to get round the east end of the island, and so have the whole lee-side before us. In the afternoon of the 30th, being off the north-east end of the island, several canoes came off to the ships. Most of these belonged to a chief named Terreeoboo, who came in one of them. He made me a present of two or three small pigs; and we got, by barter, from the other people, a little fish. After a stay of about two hours, they all left us, except six or eight of their company, who chose to remain on board. A double-sailing canoe came, soon after, to attend upon them; which we towed astern all night. In the evening, we discovered another island to windward, which the natives call Owhyhee. The name of that off which we had been for some days, we were also told, is Mowee.

On the 1st of December, at eight in the morning, Owhyhee extended from south 22° E. to S. 12° W.; and Mowee from N. 41° to N. 83° W. Finding that we could fetch Owhyhee, I stood for it; and our visitors from Mowee not choosing to accompany us, embarked in their canoe, and went ashore. At seven in the evening, we were close up with the north side of Owhyhee; where we spent the night, standing off and on. In the morning of the 2d, we were surprised to see the summits of the mountains on Owhyhee covered with snow. They did not appear to be of any extraordinary height; and yet, in some places, the snow seemed to be of a considerable depth, and to have lain there some time. As we drew near the shore, some of the natives came off to us. They were a little shy at first; but we soon enticed some of them on board; and at last prevailed upon them to return to the island, and bring off what we wanted. Soon after these reached the shore,

we had company enough; and few coming empty-handed, we got a tolerable supply of small pigs, fruit, and roots. We continued trading with them till six in the evening; when we made sail, and stood off, with a view of plying to windward round the island.

In the evening of the 4th, we observed an eclipse of the moon. Mr. King made use of a night-telescope, a circular aperture being placed at the object end, about one-third of the size of the common aperture. I observed with the telescope of one of Ramsden's sextants; which, I think, answers this purpose as well as any other. The following times are the means, as observed by us both:—

6h 3′ 25″ beginning of the eclipse 8h 27′ 25″ end of the eclipse .	Longitude	204° 40′ 45″ 204° 25′ 15″
Mean		204° 35′ 0″

The penumbra was visible, at least ten minutes before the beginning, and after the end of the eclipse. I measured the uneclipsed part of the moon, with one of Ramsden's sextants, several times before, at, and after the middle of the eclipse; but did not get the time of the middle so near as might have been effected by this method. Indeed these observations were made only as an experiment, without aiming at much nicety. I also measured mostly one way; whereas I ought to have brought alternately the reflected and direct images to contrary sides, with respect to each other; reading the numbers off the quadrant, in one case, to the left of the beginning of the divisions; and in the other case, to the right hand of the same. It is evident, that half the sum of these two numbers must be the true measurement, independent of the error of the quadrant; and this is the method that I would recommend. But I am well assured, that it might have been observed much nearer; and that this method may be useful when neither the beginning nor end of an eclipse can be observed, which may often happen.

Immediately after the eclipse was over, we observed the distance of each limb of the moon from Pollux and Arietis; the one being to the east, and the other to the west. An opportunity to observe, under all these circumstances, seldom happens; but when it does, it ought not to be omitted; as, in this case, the local errors to which these observations are liable destroy each other; which, in all other cases, would require the observations of a whole moon. The following are the results of these observations:

Myself with	Arietis 204° 22′ 7″ Pollux 204° 20′ 4″	mean 204° 21′ 5′
Mr. King with	Arietis 204° 27′ 45″ Pollux 204° 9′ 12″	mean 204° 18′ 29″
Mean of the two means . . .		204° 19′ 47″
The time-keeper, at 4h 30′, to which time all the lunar observations are reduced		204° 4′ 45″

The current which I have mentioned, as setting to the eastward, had now ceased; for we gained but little by plying. On the 6th, in the evening, being about five leagues farther up the coast, and near the shore, we had some traffic with the natives. But, as it had furnished only a trifling supply, I stood in again the next morning, when we had a considerable number of visitors; and we lay to, trading with them till two in the afternoon. By that time, we had procured pork, fruit, and roots, sufficient for four or five days. We then made sail, and continued to ply to windward.

Having procured a quantity of sugar-cane, and having, upon a trial, made but a few days before, found that a strong decoction of it produced a very palatable beer, I ordered some more to be brewed for our general use. But when the cask was now broached, not one of my crew would even so much as taste it. As I had no motive in preparing this beverage, but to save our spirit for a colder climate, I gave myself no trouble, either by exerting authority, or by having recourse to persuasion, to prevail upon them to drink it; knowing that there was no danger of the scurvy, so long as we could get a plentiful supply of other vegetables. But that I might not be disappointed

in my views, I gave orders that no grog should be served in either ship. I myself, and the officers, continued to make use of this sugar-cane beer, whenever we could get materials for brewing it. A few hops, of which we had some on board, improved it much. It has the taste of new malt beer; and I believe no one will doubt of its being very wholesome. And yet my inconsiderate crew alleged that it was injurious to their health. They had no better reason to support a resolution, which they took on our first arrival in King George's Sound, not to drink the spruce-beer made there. But, whether from a consideration that it was not the first time of their being required to use that liquor, or from some other reason, they did not attempt to carry their purpose into actual execution; and I had never heard of it till now, when they renewed their ignorant opposition to my best endeavours to serve them. Every innovation whatever, on board a ship, though ever so much to the advantage of seamen, is sure to meet with their highest disapprobation. Both portable soup and sour krout were, at first, condemned as stuff unfit for human beings. Few commanders have introduced into their ships more novelties, as useful varieties of food and drink, than I have done. Indeed few commanders have had the same opportunities of trying such experiments, or been driven to the same necessity of trying them. It has, however, been in a great measure owing to various little deviations from established practice, that I have been able to preserve my people, generally speaking, from that dreadful distemper, the scurvy, which has perhaps destroyed more of our sailors, in their peaceful voyages, than have fallen by the enemy in military expeditions.

I kept at some distance from the coast till the 13th, when I stood in again, six leagues farther to windward than we had as yet reached; and, after having some trade with the natives who visited us, returned to sea. I should have got near the shore again on the 15th, for a supply of fruit or roots, but the wind happening to be at south-east by south, and south south-east, I thought this a good time to stretch to the eastward, in order to get round, or at least to get a sight of the south-east end of the island. The wind continued at south-east by south most part of the 16th. It was variable between south and east on the 17th; and on the 18th it was continually veering from one quarter to another, blowing sometimes in hard squalls, and at other times calm, with thunder, lightning, and rain. In the afternoon, we had the wind westerly for a few hours; but in the evening it shifted to east by south, and we stood to the southward, close hauled, under an easy sail, as the Discovery was at some distance astern. At this time the south-east point of the island bore south-west by south, about five leagues distant; and I made no doubt that I should be able to weather it. But at one o'clock next morning it fell calm, and we were left to the mercy of a north-easterly swell, which impelled us fast toward the land; so that, long before daybreak we saw lights upon the shore, which was not more than a league distant. The night was dark, with thunder, lightning, and rain.

At three o'clock the calm was succeeded by a breeze from the south by east, blowing in squalls, with rain. We stood to the north-east, thinking it the best tack to clear the coast; but if it had been daylight we should have chosen the other. At daybreak, the coast was seen extending from north by west to south-west by west, a dreadful surf breaking upon the shore, which was not more than half a league distant. It was evident that we had been in the most imminent danger. Nor were we yet in safety, the wind veering more easterly; so that, for some time, we did but just keep our distance from the coast. What made our situation more alarming, was the leach-rope of the main-top-sail giving way; which was the occasion of the sail's being rent in two; and the two top-gallant sails gave way in the same manner, though not half worn out. By taking a favourable opportunity, we soon got others to the yards; and then we left the land astern. The Discovery, by being at some distance to the north, was never near the land; nor did we see her till eight o'clock.

On this occasion, I cannot help observing, that I have always found that the bolt-ropes to our sails have not been of sufficient strength or substance. This, at different times, has been the source of infinite trouble and vexation; and of much expense of canvas, ruined by their giving way. I wish, also, that I did not think there is room for remarking, that the cordage and canvas, and indeed all the other stores made use of in the navy, are not

of equal goodness with those in general used in the merchant-service. It seems to be a very prevalent opinion amongst naval officers of all ranks, that the king's stores are better than any others, and that no ships are so well fitted out as those of the navy. Undoubtedly they are in the right as to the quantity, but, I fear, not as to the quality, of the stores. This, indeed, is seldom tried; for things are generally condemned, or converted to some other use, by such time as they are half worn out. It is only on such voyages as ours that we have an opportunity of making the trial; as our situation makes it necessary to wear everything to the very utmost*.

As soon as daylight appeared, the natives ashore displayed a large white flag, which we conceived to be a signal of peace and friendship. Some of them ventured out after us; but the wind freshening, and it not being safe to wait, they were soon left astern. In the afternoon, after making another attempt to weather the eastern extreme, which failed, I gave it up, and ran down to the Discovery. Indeed, it was of no consequence to get round the island; for we had seen its extent to the south-east, which was the thing I aimed at; and according to the information which we had got from the natives, there is no other island to the windward of this. However, as we were so near the south end of it, and as the least shift of wind in our favour would serve to carry us round, I did not wholly give up the idea of weathering it, and therefore continued to ply.

On the 20th, at noon, this south-east point bore south, three leagues distant; the snowy hills west north-west; and we were about four miles from the nearest shore. In the afternoon, some of the natives came in their canoes, bringing with them a few pigs and plantains. The latter were very acceptable, having had no vegetables for some days; but the supply we now received was so inconsiderable, being barely sufficient for one day, that I stood in again the next morning, till within three or four miles of the land, where we were met by a number of canoes laden with provisions. We brought to, and continued trading with the people in them till four in the afternoon; when, having got a pretty good supply, we made sail, and stretched off to the northward. I had never met with a behaviour so free from reserve and suspicion, in my intercourse with any tribes of savages, as we experienced in the people of this island. It was very common for them to send up into the ship the several articles they brought off for barter; afterward, they would come in themselves, and make their bargains on the quarter-deck. The people of Otaheite, even after our repeated visits, do not care to put so much confidence in us. I infer from this, that those of Owhyhee must be more faithful in their dealings with one another than the inhabitants of Otaheite are. For if little faith were observed amongst themselves, they would not be so ready to trust strangers. It is also to be observed, to their honour, that they had never once attempted to cheat us in exchanges, nor to commit a theft. They understand trading as well as most people, and seemed to comprehend clearly the reason of our plying upon the coast. For, though they brought off provisions in great plenty, particularly pigs, yet they kept up their price; and, rather than dispose of them for less than they thought they were worth, would take them ashore again.

On the 22d, at eight in the morning, we tacked to the southward, with a fresh breeze at east by north. At noon, the latitude was 20° 28′ 30″; and the snowy peak bore south-west half south. We had a good view of it the preceding day, and the quantity of snow seemed to have increased, and to extend lower down the hill. I stood to the south-east till midnight, then tacked to the north till four in the morning, when we returned to the south-east tack; and, as the wind was at north-east by east, we had hopes of weathering the island. We should have succeeded, if the wind had not died away, and left us to the mercy of a great swell, which carried us fast toward the land, which was not two leagues distant. At length, we got our head off, and some light puffs of wind, which came with showers of

* Captain Cook may, in part, be right in his comparison of some cordage used in the king's service, with what is used in that of the merchants; especially in time of war, when part of the cordage wanted in the navy is, from necessity, made by contract. But it is well known, that there is no better cordage than what is made in the king's yards. This explanation of the preceding paragraph has been subjoined on the authority of a naval officer of distinguished rank, and great professional ability, who has, at the same time, recommended it as a necessary precaution, that ships fitted out on voyages of discovery should be furnished with no cordage but what is made in the king's yards; and, indeed, that every article of their stores of every kind, should be the best that can be made.

rain, put us out of danger. While we lay, as it were, becalmed, several of the islanders came off with hogs, fowls, fruit, and roots. Out of one canoe we got a goose; which was about the size of a Muscovy duck. Its plumage was dark grey, and the bill and legs black.

At four in the afternoon, after purchasing everything that the natives had brought off, which was full as much as we had occasion for, we made sail, and stretched to the north, with the wind at E.N.E. At midnight we tacked, and stood to the S.E. Upon a supposition that the Discovery would see us tack, the signal was omitted; but she did not see us, as we afterward found, and continued standing to the north; for, at daylight next morning, she was not in sight. At this time, the weather being hazy, we could not see far; so that it was possible the Discovery might be following us; and being past the north-east part of the island, I was tempted to stand on, till, by the wind veering to N.E., we could not weather the land upon the other tack. Consequently we could not stand to the north to join or look for the Discovery. At noon we were, by observation, in the latitude of 19° 55′, and in the longitude of 205° 3′; the S.E. point of the island bore S. by E. a quarter E., six leagues distant; the other extreme bore N., 60° W.; and we were two leagues from the nearest shore. At six in the evening, the southernmost extreme of the island bore S.W., the nearest shore seven or eight miles distant; so that we had now succeeded in getting to the windward of the island, which we had aimed at with so much perseverance. The Discovery, however, was not yet to be seen. But the wind, as we had it, being very favourable for her to follow us, I concluded that it would not be long before she joined us. I therefore kept cruising off this south-east point of the island, which lies in the latitude of 19° 34′, and in the longitude of 205° 6′, till I was satisfied that Captain Clerke could not join me here. I now conjectured that he had not been able to weather the north-east part of the island, and had gone to leeward in order to meet me that way.

As I generally kept from five to ten leagues from the land, no canoes, except one, came off to us till the 28th, when we were visited by a dozen or fourteen. The people who conducted them brought, as usual, the produce of the island. I was very sorry that they had taken the trouble to come so far. For we could not trade with them, our old stock not being as yet consumed; and we had found, by late experience, that the hogs could not be kept alive, nor the roots preserved from putrefaction, many days. However, I intended not to leave this part of the island before I got a supply; as it would not be easy to return to it again, in case it should be found necessary. We began to be in want on the 30th; and I would have stood in near the shore, but was prevented by a calm; but a breeze springing up, at midnight, from S. and S.W., we were enabled to stand in for the land at daybreak. At ten o'clock in the morning, we were met by the islanders with fruit and roots; but in all the canoes were only three small pigs. Our not having bought those which had been lately brought off, may be supposed to be the reason of this very scanty supply. We brought-to for the purposes of trade; but soon after our marketing was interrupted by a very hard rain; and, besides, we were rather too far from the shore. Nor durst I go nearer; for I could not depend upon the wind's remaining where it was for a moment; the swell also being high, and setting obliquely upon the shore, against which it broke in a frightful surf. In the evening the weather mended; the night was clear, and it was spent in making short boards.

Before daybreak, the atmosphere was again loaded with heavy clouds; and the new year was ushered in with very hard rain, which continued, at intervals, till past ten o'clock. The wind was southerly; a light breeze, with some calms. When the rain ceased, the sky cleared, and the breeze freshened. Being at this time about five miles from the land, several canoes arrived with fruit and roots; and, at last, some hogs were brought off. We lay-to, trading with them till three o'clock in the afternoon; when, having a tolerable supply, we made sail, with a view of proceeding to the N.W. or lee-side of the island, to look for the Discovery. It was necessary, however, the wind being at S., to stretch first to the eastward, till midnight, when the wind came more favourable, and we went upon the other tack. For several days past, both wind and weather had been exceedingly unsettled; and there fell a great deal of rain. The three following days were spent in running down the

south-east side of the island. For during the nights we stood off and on; and part of each day was employed in lying-to, in order to furnish an opportunity to the natives of trading with us. They sometimes came on board, while we were five leagues from the shore. But whether from a fear of losing their goods in the sea, or from the uncertainty of a market, they never brought much with them. The principal article procured was salt, which was extremely good.

On the 5th, in the morning, we passed the south point of the island, which lies in the latitude of 18° 54′; and beyond it we found the coast to trend N. 60° W. On this point stands a pretty large village, the inhabitants of which thronged off to the ship with hogs and women. It was not possible to keep the latter from coming on board; and no women I ever met with were less reserved. Indeed it appeared to me that they visited us with no other view than to make a surrender of their persons. As I had now got a quantity of salt, I purchased no hogs but such as were fit for salting; refusing all that were under size. However, we could seldom get any above fifty or sixty pounds weight. It was happy for us that we still had some vegetables on board; for we now received few such productions. Indeed this part of the country, from its appearance, did not seem capable of affording them. Marks of its having been laid waste by the explosion of a volcano, everywhere presented themselves; and though we had as yet seen nothing like one upon the island, the devastation that it had made, in this neighbourhood, was visible to the naked eye. This part of the coast is sheltered from the reigning winds; but we could find no bottom to anchor upon; a line of an hundred and sixty fathoms not reaching it, within the distance of half a mile from the shore. The islanders having all left us toward the evening, we ran a few miles down the coast; and then spent the night standing off and on.

The next morning the natives visited us again, bringing with them the same articles of commerce as before. Being now near the shore, I sent Mr. Bligh, the master, in a boat, to sound the coast, with orders to land, and to look for fresh water. Upon his return, he reported that, at two cables' length from the shore, he had found no soundings with a line of one hundred and sixty fathoms; that, when he landed, he found no stream or spring, but only rain-water, deposited in holes upon the rocks; and even that was brackish, from the spray of the sea; and that the surface of the country was entirely composed of slags and ashes, with a few plants here and there interspersed. Between ten and eleven we saw with pleasure the Discovery coming round the south point of the island; and, at one in the afternoon, she joined us. Captain Clerke then coming on board, informed me that he had cruised four or five days where we were separated, and then plied round the east side of the island; but that, meeting with unfavourable winds, he had been carried to some distance from the coast. He had one of the islanders on board all this time, who had remained there from choice, and had refused to quit the ship, though opportunities had offered.

Having spent the night standing off and on, we stood in again the next morning; and when we were about a league from the shore, many of the natives visited us. At noon the observed latitude was 19° 1′, and the longitude, by the timekeeper, was 203° 26′; the island extending from S. 74° E., to N. 13° W.; the nearest part two leagues distant. At daybreak, on the 8th, we found that the currents, during the night, which we spent in plying, had carried us back considerably to windward, so that we were now off the south-west point of the island. There we brought to, in order to give the natives an opportunity of trading with us. At noon our observed latitude was 19° 1′, and our longitude, by the timekeeper, was 203° 13′; the south-west point of the island bearing N. 30° E., two miles distant. We spent the night as usual, standing off and on. It happened that four men and ten women who had come on board the preceding day, still remained with us. As I did not like the company of the latter, I stood in-shore toward noon, principally with a view to get them out of the ship; and some canoes coming off, I took that opportunity of sending away our guests.

We had light airs from N.W. and S.W., and calms, till eleven in the morning of the 10th, when the wind freshened at W.N.W., which, with a strong current setting to the S.E., so much retarded us, that in the evening, between seven and eight o'clock, the south point of the island bore N., 10¼° W., four leagues distant. The south snowy hill now bore

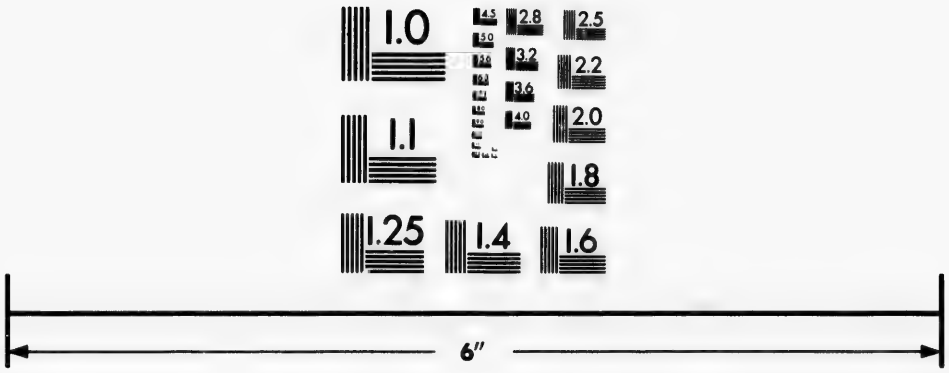
N. 1½° E. At four in the morning of the 11th, the wind having fixed at W., I stood in for the land, in order to get some refreshments. As we dr[illegible] near the shore, the natives began to come off. We lay-to, or stood on and off, trading wi[illegible] them all the day; but got a very scanty supply at last. Many canoes visited us, whose people had not a single thing to barter; which convinced us that this part of the island must be very poor, and that we had already got all that they could spare. We spent the 12th plying off and on, with a fresh gale at west. A mile from the shore, and to the north-east of the south point of the island, having tried soundings, we found ground at fifty-five fathoms' depth; the bottom a fine sand. At five in the evening we sto[illegible] the S.W., with the wind at W.N.W.; and soon after midnight we had a calm.

At eight o'clock next morning, having got a small breeze at S.S.E., we steered to the N.N.W., in for the land. Soon after a few canoes came alongside with some hogs, but without any vegetables, which articles we most wanted. We had now made some progress; for, at noon, the south point of the island bore S. 86½° E.; the S.W. point N. 13° W.; the nearest shore two leagues distant; latitude, by observation, 18° 56′, and our longitude, by the timekeeper, 203° 40′. We had got the length of the south-west point of the island in the evening; but the wind now veering to the westward and northward, during the night we lost all that we had gained. Next morning, being still off the south-west point of the island, some canoes came off; but they brought nothing that we were in want of. We had now neither fruit nor roots, and were under a necessity of making use of some of our sea-provisions. At length some canoes from the northward brought us a small supply of hogs and roots. We had variable light airs, next to a calm, the following day, till five in the afternoon, when a small breeze at E.N.E. springing up, we were at last enabled to steer along-shore to the northward. The weather being fine, we had plenty of company this day, and abundance of everything. Many of our visitors remained with us on board all night, and we towed their canoes astern.

At daybreak on the 16th, seeing the appearance of a bay, I sent Mr. Bligh, with a boat from each ship to examine it, being at this time three leagues off. Canoes now began to arrive from all parts; so that before ten o'clock there were not fewer than a thousand about the two ships, most of them crowded with people, and well laden with hogs and other productions of the island. We had the most satisfying proof of their friendly intentions; for we did not see a single person who had with him a weapon of any sort. Trade and curiosity alone had brought them off. Among such numbers as we had, at times, on board, it is no wonder that some should betray a thievish disposition. One of our visitors took out of the ship a boat's rudder. He was discovered, but too late to recover it. I thought this a good opportunity to show these people the use of fire-arms; and two or three muskets, and as many four-pounders, were fired over the canoe which carried off the rudder. As it was not intended that any of the shot should take effect, the surrounding multitude of natives seemed rather more surprised than frightened. In the evening Mr. Bligh returned, and reported that he had found a bay in which was good anchorage, and fresh water, in a situation tolerably easy to be come at. Into this bay I resolved to carry the ships, there to refit, and supply ourselves with every refreshment that the place could afford. As night approached, the greater part of our visitors retired to the shore; but numbers of them requested our permission to sleep on board. Curiosity was not the only motive, at least with some; for the next morning several things were missing, which determined me not to entertain so many another night.

At eleven o'clock in the forenoon we anchored in the bay (which is called by the natives Karakakooa), in thirteen fathoms' water, over a sandy bottom, and about a quarter of a mile from the north-east shore. In this situation, the south point of the bay bore south by west, and the north point west half north. We moored with the stream-anchor and cable to the northward, unbent the sails, and struck the yards and topmasts. The ships continued to be much crowded with natives, and were surrounded by a multitude of canoes. I had nowhere, in the course of my voyages, seen so numerous a body of people assembled at one place. For besides those who had come off to us in canoes, all the shore of the bay was covered with spectators, and many hundreds were swimming round the ships like shoals of fish. We

IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)



Photographic
Sciences
Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

2.8
2.5
3.2
2.2
3.6
2.0
4.0
1.8
1.1
1.0

As we had now sailed near forty leagues to the westward, along the edge of the ice, without seeing any opening, or a clear sea to the northward beyond it, and had therefore no prospect of advancing farther north for the present, Captain Clerke resolved to bear away to the south by east, (the only quarter that was clear) and to wait till the season was more advanced, before he made any farther efforts to penetrate through the ice. The intermediate time he proposed to spend in examining the bay of St. Laurence, and the coast to the southward of it; as a harbour so near, in case of future damage from the ice, would be very desirable. We also wished to pay another visit to our Tschutski friends; and particularly since the accounts we had heard of them from the commander of Kamtschatka.

We therefore stood on to the southward till the noon of the 10th, at which time we passed great quantities of drift-ice, and the wind fell to a perfect calm. The latitude by observation was 68° 1′, longitude 188° 30′. We passed several whales in the forenoon, and in the afternoon hoisted out the boats, and sent them in pursuit of the sea-horses, which were in great numbers on the pieces of ice that surrounded us. Our people were more successful than they had been before, returning with three large ones and a young one; besides killing and wounding several others. The gentlemen who went on this party were witnesses of several remarkable instances of parental affection in those animals. On the approach of our boats toward the ice, they all took their cubs under their fins, and endeavoured to escape with them into the sea. Several, whose young were killed or wounded and left floating on the surface, rose again and carried them down, sometimes just as our people were going to take them up into the boat; and might be traced bearing them to a great distance through the water, which was coloured with their blood: we afterward observed them bringing them at times above the surface, as if for air, and again diving under it with a dreadful bellowing. The female, in particular, whose young had been destroyed and taken into the boat, became so enraged that she attacked the cutter, and struck her two tusks through the bottom of it.

At eight in the evening a breeze sprung up to the eastward, with which we still continued our course to the southward, and at twelve fell in with numerous large bodies of ice. We endeavoured to push through them with an easy sail, for fear of damaging the ship; and having got a little farther to the southward, nothing was to be seen but one compact field of ice, stretching to the south-west, south-east, and north-east, as far as the eye could reach. This unexpected and formidable obstacle put an end to Captain Clerke's plan of visiting the Tschutski, for no space remained open but back again to the northward. Accordingly, at three in the morning of the 11th, we tacked and stood to that quarter. At noon the latitude by observation was 67° 49′, and longitude 188° 47′. On the 12th, we had light winds with thick hazy weather; and, on trying the current, we found it set to the north-west, at the rate of half a knot an hour. We continued to steer northward, with a moderate southerly breeze and fair weather, till the 13th, at ten in the forenoon, when we again found ourselves close in with a solid field of ice, to which we could see no limits from the mast-head. This at once dashed all our hopes of penetrating farther, which had been considerably raised by having now advanced near ten leagues through a space which, on the 9th, we had found occupied by impenetrable ice. Our latitude, at this time, was 69° 37′, our position nearly in the mid-channel between the two continents, and the field of ice extending from east north-east to west south-west.

As there did not remain the smallest prospect of getting farther north in the part of the sea where we now were, Captain Clerke resolved to make one more and final attempt on the American coast, for Baffin's Bay, since we had been able to advance the farthest on this side last year. Accordingly, we kept working the remaining part of the day to the windward, with a fresh easterly breeze. We saw several fulmars and arctic gulls, and passed two trees, both appearing to have lain in the water a long time. The larger was about ten feet in length, and three in circumference, without either bark or branches, but with the roots remaining attached. On the 14th, we stood on to the eastward, with thick and foggy weather, our course being nearly parallel to that we steered on the 8th and 9th, but six leagues more to the northward. On the 15th, the wind freshened from the westward, and having in a great measure dispersed the fog, we immediately stood to the northward,

that we might take a nearer view of the ice, and in an hour were close in with it, extending from north north-west to north-east. We found it to be compact and solid; the outer parts were ragged and of different heights, the interior surface was even, and, we judged, from eight to ten feet above the level of the sea. The weather becoming moderate for the remaining part of the day, we directed our course according to the trending of the ice, which in many parts formed deep bays.

In the morning of the 16th, the wind freshened, and was attended with thick and frequent showers of snow. At eight in the forenoon, it blew a strong gale from the west south-west, and brought us under double-reefed topsails; when, the weather clearing a little, we found ourselves embayed, the ice having taken a sudden turn to the south-east, and in one compact body surrounding us on all sides, except on the south quarter. We therefore hauled our wind to the southward, being at this time in latitude 70° 8′ N., and in twenty-six fathoms' water; and, as we supposed, about twenty-five leagues from the coast of America. The gale increasing, at four in the afternoon we close reefed the fore and main top-sails, furled the mizen top-sail, and got the top-gallant-yards down upon deck. At eight, finding the depth of water had decreased to twenty-two fathoms, which we considered as a proof of our near approach to the American coast, we tacked and stood to the north. We had blowing weather, accompanied with snow, through the night, but next morning it became clear and moderate; and, at eight in the forenoon, we got the top-gallant-yards across, and made sail with the wind still at west south-west. At noon, we were in latitude, by observation, 69° 55′, longitude 194° 30′. Toward evening the wind slackened, and at midnight it was a calm.

On the 18th, at five in the morning, a light breeze sprung up from the east north-east, with which we continued our course to the north, in order to regain the ice as soon as possible. We passed some small logs of driftwood, and saw abundance of sea-parrots, and the small ice-birds, and likewise a number of whales. At noon, the latitude, by observation, was 70° 26′, and longitude 194° 54′, the depth of water twenty-three fathoms; the ice stretched from north to east north-east, and was distant about three miles. At one in the afternoon, finding that we were close in with a firm united field of it, extending from west north-west to east, we tacked, and the wind coming round to the westward, stood on to the eastward along its edge, till eleven o'clock at night. At that time a very thick fog coming on, and the water shoaling to nineteen fathoms, we hauled our wind to the south. The variation observed this day was 31° 20′ E. It is remarkable, that though we saw no sea-horses on the body of the ice, yet they were in herds, and in greater numbers on the detached fragments, than we had ever observed before. About nine in the evening, a white bear was seen swimming close by the Discovery; it afterward made to the ice, on which were also two others. On the 19th, at one in the morning, the weather clearing up, we again steered to the north-east till two, when we were a second time so completely embayed, that there was no opening left but to the south; to which quarter we accordingly directed our course, returning through a remarkably smooth water, and with very favourable weather, by the same way we had come in. We were never able to penetrate farther north than at this time, when our latitude was 70° 33′; and this was five leagues short of the point to which we advanced last season. We held on to the south south-west, with light winds from the north-west, by the edge of the main ice, which lay on our left hand, and stretched between us and the continent of America. Our latitude by observation, at noon, was 70° 11′, our longitude 196° 15′, and the depth of water sixteen fathoms. From this circumstance, we judged that the Icy Cape was now only at seven or eight leagues' distance; but, though the weather was in general clear, it was at the same time hazy in the horizon; so that we could not expect to see it.

In the afternoon, we saw two white bears in the water, to which we immediately gave chase in the jolly-boat, and had the good fortune to kill them both. The larger, which probably was the dam of the younger, being shot first, the other would not quit it, though it might easily have escaped on the ice, whilst the men were reloading, but remained swimming about, till, after being fired upon several times, it was shot dead.

The dimensions of the larger were as follows:—

	Ft.	In.
From the snout to the end of the tail	7	2
From the snout to the shoulder-bone	2	3
Height of the shoulder	4	3
Circumference near the fore-legs	4	10
Breadth of the fore-paw	0	10

	lbs.
Weight of the four quarters	436
Weight of the four quarters of the smaller	256

On comparing the dimensions of this with Lord Mulgrave's white bear, they were found almost exactly the same, except in the circumference, where ours fell exceedingly short. These animals afforded us a few excellent meals of fresh meat. The flesh had indeed a strong fishy taste, but was, in every respect, infinitely superior to that of the sea-horse; which, nevertheless, our people were again persuaded, without much difficulty, to prefer to their salted provisions.

At six in the morning of the 20th, a thick fog coming on, we lost sight of the ice for two hours; but the weather clearing, we saw the main body again to the south south-east, when we hauled our wind which was easterly, toward it, in the expectation of making the American coast to the south-east, and which we effected at half-past ten. At noon, the latitude, by account, was 69° 33′, and longitude 194° 53′, and the depth of water nineteen fathoms. The land extended from south by east, to south south-west half west, distant eight or ten leagues, being the same we had seen last year; but it was now much more covered with snow than at that time; and to all appearance the ice adhered to the shore. We continued, in the afternoon sailing through a sea of loose ice, and standing toward the land, as near as the wind, which was east south-east, would admit. At eight, the wind lessening, there came on a thick fog; and, on perceiving a rippling in the water, we tried the current, which we found to set to the east north-east, at the rate of a mile an hour, and therefore determined to steer, during the night, before the wind in order to stem it, and to oppose the large fragments of loose ice, that were setting us on towards the land. The depth of the water at midnight was twenty fathoms. At eight in the morning of the 21st, the wind freshening, and the fog clearing away, we saw the American coast to the south-east, at the distance of eight or ten leagues, and hauled in for it; but were stopped again by the ice, and obliged to bear away to the westward, along the edge of it. At noon, the latitude, by account, was 69° 34′ and longitude 193°, and the depth of water twenty-four fathoms.

Thus a connected, solid, field of ice, rendering every effort we could make to a nearer approach to the land fruitless, and joining, as we judged, to it, we took a last farewell of a North-east passage to Old England. I shall beg leave to give in Captain Clerke's own words, the reasons of this his final determination, as well as of his future plans; and this the rather, as it is the last transaction his health permitted him to write down.

"It is now impossible to proceed the least farther to the northward upon this coast (America); and it is equally as improbable that this amazing mass of ice should be dissolved by the few remaining summer-weeks which will terminate this season; but it will continue, it is to be believed, as it now is, an insurmountable barrier to every attempt we can possibly make. I, therefore, think it the best step that can be taken, for the good of the service, to trace the sea over to the Asiatic coast, and to try if I can find any opening, that will admit me farther north; if not, to see what more is to be done upon that coast; where I hope, yet cannot much flatter myself, to meet with better success; for the sea is now so choked with ice, that a passage, I fear, is totally out of the question.

CHAPTER IV.—FRUITLESS ATTEMPTS TO PENETRATE THROUGH THE ICE TO THE NORTH-WEST.—DANGEROUS SITUATION OF THE DISCOVERY.—SEAHORSES KILLED.—FRESH OBSTRUCTIONS FROM THE ICE.—REPORT OF DAMAGES RECEIVED BY THE DISCOVERY.—CAPTAIN CLERKE'S DETERMINATION TO PROCEED TO THE SOUTHWARD.—JOY OF THE SHIPS' CREWS ON THAT OCCASION.—PASS SERDZE KAMEN.—RETURN THROUGH BEERING'S STRAITS.—INQUIRY INTO THE EXTENT OF THE NORTH-EAST COAST OF ASIA.—REASONS FOR REJECTING MULLER'S MAP OF THE PROMONTORY OF THE TSCHUTSKI.—REASONS FOR BELIEVING THE COAST DOES NOT REACH A HIGHER LATITUDE THAN 70½° NORTH.—GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE IMPRACTICABILITY OF A NORTH-EAST, OR NORTH-WEST PASSAGE FROM THE ATLANTIC INTO THE PACIFIC OCEAN.—COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE PROGRESS MADE IN THE YEARS 1778 AND 1779.—REMARKS ON THE SEA AND SEA-COASTS, NORTH OF BEERING'S STRAITS.—HISTORY OF THE VOYAGE RESUMED.—PASS THE ISLAND OF ST. LAURENCE.—THE ISLAND OF MEDNOI.—DEATH OF CAPTAIN CLERKE.—SHORT ACCOUNT OF HIS SERVICES.

CAPTAIN CLERKE having determined, for the reasons assigned at the conclusion of the last chapter, to give up all further attempts on the coast of America, and to make his last efforts in search of a passage on the coast of the opposite continent, we continued during the afternoon of the 21st of July, to steer to the west north-west, through much loose ice. At ten at night, discovering the main body of it through the fog, right ahead, and almost close to us, and being unwilling to take a southerly course, so long as we could possibly avoid it, we hauled our wind, which was easterly, and stood to the northward; but in an hour after, the weather clearing up, and finding ourselves surrounded by a compact field of ice on every side, except to the south south-west, we tacked and stood on in that direction, in order to get clear of it. At noon of the 22d, our latitude, by observation, was 69° 30′, and longitude 187° 30′. In the afternoon, we again came up with the ice, which extended to the north-west and south-west, and obliged us to continue our course to the southward, in order to weather it.

It may be remarked, that since the 8th of this month, we had twice traversed this sea, in lines nearly parallel with the run we had just now made; that in the first of those traverses, we were not able to penetrate so far north, by eight or ten leagues, as in the second; and that in the last we had again found an united body of ice, generally about five leagues to the southward of its position in the preceding run. As this proves that the large compact fields of ice which we saw were moveable, or diminishing; at the same time, it does not leave any well-founded expectation of advancing much farther in the most favourable seasons.

At seven in the evening, the weather being hazy, and no ice in sight, we bore away to the westward; but, at half-past eight the fog dispersing, we found ourselves in the midst of loose ice, and close in with the main body; we therefore stood upon a wind which was still easterly, and kept beating to windward during the night, in hopes of weathering the loose pieces, which the freshness of the wind kept driving down upon us in such quantities, that we were in manifest danger of being blocked up by them. In the morning of the 23d, the clear water, in which we continued to stand to and fro, did not exceed a mile and a half, and was every instant lessening. At length, after using our utmost endeavours to clear the loose ice, we were driven to the necessity of forcing a passage to the southward, which at half-past seven, we accomplished, but not without subjecting the ship to some very severe shocks. The Discovery was less successful. For, at eleven, when they had nigh got clear out, she became so entangled by several large pieces, that her way was stopped, and immediately dropping bodily to leeward, she fell, broadside foremost, on the edge of a considerable body of ice; and having, at the same time, an open sea to windward, the surf caused her to strike violently upon it. This mass at length either so far broke, or moved, as to set them at liberty to make another trial to escape; but, unfortunately, before the ship gathered way enough to be under command, she again fell to leeward on another fragment; and the swell making it unsafe to lie to windward, and finding no chance of getting clear, they pushed into a small opening, furled their sails, and made fast with ice-hooks.

In this dangerous situation we saw them at noon, about three miles from us, bearing north-west, a fresh gale from the south-east driving more ice to the north-west, and increasing the body that lay between us. Our latitude, by account, was 69° 8′, the longitude 187°, and the depth of water twenty-eight fathoms. To add to the gloomy apprehensions which began to force themselves on us, at half-past four in the afternoon, the weather becoming thick and hazy, we lost sight of the Discovery; but, that we might be in a situation to afford her every assistance in our power, we kept standing on close by the edge of the ice. At six, the wind happily coming round to the north, gave us some hopes, that the ice might drift away and release her; and in that case, as it was uncertain in what condition she might come out, we kept firing a gun every half hour, in order to prevent a separation. Our apprehensions for her safety did not cease till nine, when we heard her guns in answer to ours; and soon after, being hailed by her, were informed, that upon the change of the wind the ice began to separate; and that, setting all their sails, they forced a passage through it. We learned further, that whilst they were encompassed by it, they found the ship drift, with the main body, to the north-east, at the rate of half a mile an hour. We were sorry to find that the Discovery had rubbed off a great deal of the sheathing from the bows, and was become very leaky, from the strokes she had received when she fell upon the edge of the ice.

On the 24th, we had fresh breezes from south-west, with hazy weather, and kept running to the south-east till eleven in the forenoon, when a large body of loose ice, extending from north north-east, round by the east, to south south-east, and to which (though the weather was tolerably clear) we could see no end, again obstructed our course. We therefore kept working to windward, and at noon, our latitude, by observation, was 68° 53′, longitude 188°; the variation of the compass 22° 30′ E. At four in the afternoon it became calm, and we hoisted out the boats in pursuit of the sea-horses, which were in prodigious herds on every side of us. We killed ten of them, which were as many as we could make use of for eating, or for converting into lamp oil. We kept on with the wind from the south-west, along the edge of the ice, which extended in a direction almost due east and west, till four in the morning of the 25th, when observing a clear sea beyond it, to the south-east, we made sail that way, with a view of forcing through it. By six we had cleared it, and continued the remainder of the day running to the south-east, without any ice in sight. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was 68° 38′, longitude 189° 9′, and the depth of water thirty fathoms. At midnight, we tacked, and stood to the westward, with a fresh gale from the south; and at ten in the forenoon of the 26th, the ice again showed itself, extending from north-west to south. It appeared loose, and drifting, by the force of the wind, to the northward. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was 68° N., longitude 188° 10′ E.; and we had soundings with twenty-eight fathoms. For the remaining part of the day, and till noon of the 27th, we kept standing backward and forward, in order to clear ourselves of different bodies of ice. At noon, we were in latitude, by observation, 67° 47′, longitude 188°. At two in the afternoon, we saw the continent to the south by east; and at four, having run, since noon, with a south south-east wind to the south-west, we were surrounded by loose masses of ice, with the firm body of it in sight, stretching in a north by west, and a south by east direction, as far as the eye could reach; beyond which we saw the coast of Asia, bearing south and south by east.

As it was now necessary to come to some determination with respect to the course we were next to steer, Captain Clerke sent a boat, with the carpenters, on board the Discovery, to inquire into the particulars of the damage she had sustained. They returned, in the evening, with the report of Captain Gore, and of the carpenters of both ships, that the damages they had received were of a kind that would require three weeks to repair; and that it would be necessary, for that purpose, to go into some port. Thus, finding a farther advance to the northward, as well as a nearer approach to either continent, obstructed by a sea blocked up with ice, we judged it both injurious to the service, by endangering the safety of the ships, as well as fruitless, with respect to the design of our voyage, to make any farther attempts toward a passage. This, therefore, added to the representations of Captain Gore, determined Captain Clerke not to lose more time in what he

concluded to be an unattainable object, but to sail for Awatska Bay, to repair our damages there; and, before the winter should set in, and render all other efforts toward discovery impracticable, to explore the coast of Japan. I will not endeavour to conceal the joy that brightened the countenance of every individual, as soon as Captain Clerke's resolutions were made known. We were all heartily sick of a navigation full of danger, and in which the utmost perseverance had not been repaid with the smallest probability of success. We therefore turned our faces toward home, after an absence of three years, with a delight and satisfaction, which, notwithstanding the tedious voyage we had still to make, and the immense distance we had to run, were as freely entertained, and perhaps as fully enjoyed, as if we had been already in sight of the Land's-end.

On the 28th, we kept working to windward with a fresh breeze from the south-east, having the coast of Asia still in sight. At four in the morning, the cape, which, on the authority of Muller, we have called Serdze Kamen, bore south south-west, distant six or seven leagues. We saw, in different places, upon the tops of the hills, which rise inland on both sides of the cape, protuberances of a considerable height, which had the appearance of huge rocks, or pillars of stone. On the 29th, the wind still continuing contrary, we made but slow progress to the southward. At midnight, we had thick foggy weather, accompanied with a breeze from the north north-west, with which we directed our course to the south south-east, through the straits, and had no land in sight till seven in the evening of the 30th; when the fog clearing away, we saw Cape Prince of Wales bearing south by east, distant about six leagues; and the island St. Diomede south-west by west. We now altered our course to the west, and at eight made the east cape, which, at midnight, bore west by north, distant four leagues. In the night we steered to the south south-west, with a fresh west north-westerly breeze; and, at four in the morning of the 31st, the East Cape bore north north-east, and the north-east part of the bay of St. Laurence (where we anchored the last year) west by south, its distance being four leagues. As we could not have worked up to windward without a greater waste of time than the object appeared to deserve, we ran across the bay, regretting much, as we passed along, the loss of this opportunity of paying a second visit to the Tschutski. At noon our latitude, by observation, was 65° 6′, and longitude 189°. The south point of the bay of St. Laurence bore north by west one quarter west, and was distant seven or eight leagues. In the afternoon the variation was found to be 22° 50′ east.

Having now passed Beering's Straits, and taken our final leave of the north-east coast of Asia, it may not be improper, on this occasion, to state the grounds on which we have ventured to adopt two general conclusions respecting its extent, in opposition to the opinions of Mr. Muller. The first, that the promontory named East Cape is actually the easternmost point of that quarter of the globe; or, in other words, that no part of the continent extends in longitude beyond 190° 22′ E.: the second, that the latitude of the north-easternmost extremity falls to the southward of 70° N. With respect to the former, if such land exist, it must necessarily be to the north of latitude 69°, where the discoveries made in the present voyage terminate; and, therefore, the probable direction of the coast, beyond this point, is the question I shall endeavour, in the first place, to investigate.

As the Russian is the only nation that has hitherto navigated these seas, all our information respecting the situation of the coast to the northward of Cape North, must necessarily be derived from the charts and journals of the persons who have been employed at various times, in ascertaining the limits of that empire; and these are, for the most part, so imperfect, so confused and contradictory, that it is not easy to form any distinct idea of their pretended, much less to collect the amount of their real discoveries. It is on this account that the extent and form of the peninsula, inhabited by the Tschutski, still remains a point, on which the Russian geographers are much divided. Mr. Muller, in his map, published in the year 1754, supposes this country to extend toward the north-east, to the 75° of latitude, and in longitude 190° east of Greenwich, and to terminate in a round cape, which he calls Tschukotskoi Noss. To the southward of this cape he conceives the coast to form a bay to the westward, bounded, in latitude 67° 18′, by Serdze Kamen, the northernmost point seen by Beering in his expedition in the year 1728. The map published by the Academy of

St. Petersburg, in the year 1776, gives the whole peninsula entirely a new form, placing its north-easternmost extremity in the latitude 73°, longitude 178° 30′. The easternmost point in latitude 65° 30′, longitude 189° 30′. All the other maps we saw, both printed and in manuscript, vary between these two, apparently more according to the fancy of the compiler, than on any grounds of more accurate information. The only point in which there is a general coincidence, without any considerable variation, is in the position of the East Cape, in latitude 66°. The form of the coast, both to the south and north of this cape, in the map of the Academy, is exceedingly erroneous, and may be totally disregarded. In that of Mr. Muller, the coast to the northward bears a considerable resemblance to our survey, as far as the latter extends, except that it does not trend sufficiently to the westward; receding only about 5° of longitude, between the latitude 66° and 69°; whereas, in reality, it recedes near ten. Between the latitude 69° and 74°, he makes the coast bend round to the north and north-east, and to form a considerable promontory. On what authority, now remains to be examined.

Mr. Coxe, whose accurate researches into this subject give his opinion great weight, is persuaded that the extremity of the Noss in question was never passed but by Deshneff and his party, who sailed from the river Kovyma in the year 1648, and are supposed to have got round it into the Anadyr. As the account of this expedition, the substance of which the reader will find in Mr. Coxe's account of Russian discoveries, contains no geographical delineation of the coast along which they sailed, its position must be conjectured from incidental circumstances; and from these it appears very manifest, that the Tschukotskoi Noss of Deshneff is no other than the promontory called by Captain Cook the East Cape. Speaking of the Noss, he says, "One might sail from the isthmus to the river Anadyr, with a fair wind, in three days and three nights." This exactly coincides with the situation of the East Cape, which is about one hundred and twenty leagues from the mouth of the Anadyr; and as there is no other isthmus to the northward between that and the latitude of 69°, it is obvious that, by this description, he must intend either the cape in question, or some other to the southward of it. In another place he says, "Over against the isthmus there are two islands in the sea, upon which were seen people of the Tschutski nation, through whose lips were run pieces of the teeth of the sea-horse." This again perfectly agrees with the two islands situated to the south-east of the East Cape. We saw, indeed, no inhabitants on them; but it is not at all improbable, that a party of the Americans from the opposite continent, whom this description accurately suits, might, at that time, have been accidentally there: and whom it was natural enough for him to mistake for a tribe of the Tschutski *.

These two circumstances are of so striking and unequivocal a nature, that they appear to me conclusive on the point of the Tschukotski Noss, notwithstanding there are others of a more doubtful kind, which we have from the same authority, and which now remain to be considered. "To go," says Deshneff in another account, "from the Kovyma to the Anadyr, a great promontory must be doubled, which stretches very far into the sea; and afterward, this promontory stretches between north and north-east." It was probably from the expressions contained in these passages, that Mr. Muller was induced to give the country of the Tschutski the form we find in his map; but had he been acquainted with the situation of the East Cape, as ascertained by Captain Cook, and the remarkable coincidence between it and their promontory or isthmus (for it must be observed that Deshneff appears

* From the circumstance, related in book iv., chap. 3, that gave name to Sledge Island, it appears that the inhabitants of the adjacent continents visit occasionally the small islands lying between them, probably for the conveniency of fishing, or in pursuit of furs. It appears also from Popoff's deposition, which I shall have occasion to speak of more particularly hereafter, that the general resemblance between the people who are seen in these islands and the Tschutski, was sufficient to lead Deshneff into the error of imagining them to be the same. "Opposite to the Noss," he says, "is an island of moderate size, without trees, whose inhabitants resemble in their exterior, the Tschutski, although they are quite another nation; not numerous, indeed, yet speaking their own particular language." Again, "One may go in a baidare from the Noss to the island in half a day; beyond is a great continent, which can be discovered from the island in serene weather. When the weather is good, one may go from the island to the continent in a day. The inhabitants of the continent similar to the Tschutski, excepting that they speak another language."

to be all along speaking of the same thing), in the circumstances already mentioned. I am confident he would not have thought those expressions, merely by themselves, of sufficient weight to warrant him in extending the north-eastern extremity of Asia either so far to the north or to the eastward. For after all these expressions are not irreconcileable with the opinion we have adopted, if we suppose Deshneff to have taken these bearings from the small bight which lies to the westward of the Cape.

The deposition of the Cossac Popoff, taken at the Anadirskoi *ostrog* in the year 1711, seems to have been the next authority on which Mr. Muller has proceeded; and beside these two I am not acquainted with any other. This Cossac, together with several others, was sent by land to demand tribute from the independent Tschutski tribes, who lived about the Noss. The first circumstance in the account of this journey that can lead to the situation of Tschukotskoi Noss is its distance from Anadirsk; and this is stated to be ten weeks' journey with loaded rein-deer; on which account, it is added, their day's journey was but very small. It is impossible to conclude much from so vague an account; but as the distance between the East Cape and the *ostrog* is upward of two hundred leagues in a straight line, and therefore may be supposed to allow twelve or fifteen miles a day, its situation cannot be reckoned incompatible with Popoff's calculation. The next circumstance mentioned in this deposition is, that their route lay by the foot of a rock called Matkol, situated at the bottom of a great gulf. This gulf Muller supposes to be the bay he had laid down between latitude 66° and 72°; and accordingly places the rock Matkol in the centre of it; but it appears equally probable, even if we had not so many reasons to doubt the existence of that bay, that it might be some part of the gulf of Anadir, which they would undoubtedly touch upon in their road from the *ostrog* to the East Cape. But what seems to put this matter beyond all dispute, and to prove that the cape visited by Popoff cannot be to the northward of 69° latitude, is that part of his deposition which I have already quoted, relative to the island lying off the Noss, from whence the opposite continent might be seen. For as the two continents in latitude 69° have diverged so far as to be more than three hundred miles distant, it is highly improbable that the Asiatic coast should again trend in such a manner to the eastward, as to come nearly within sight of the coast of America.

If these arguments should be deemed conclusive against the existence of the peninsula of the Tschutski, as laid down by Muller, it will follow that the East Cape of the Tschukotskoi Noss of the * more early Russian navigators, and consequently that the undescribed coast from the latitude of 69° to the mouth of the river Kovyma must uniformly trend more or less to the westward. As an additional proof of this, it may be remarked that the Tschukotskoi Noss is always represented as dividing the sea of Kovyma from that of Anadir, which could not be the case if any considerable cape had projected to the north-east in the higher latitudes. Thus, in the depositions taken at Anadirsk, it is related "that opposite the Noss, on both sides, as well in the sea of Kovyma as in that of Anadir, an island is said to be seen at a great distance, which the Tschutski call a large country; and say that people dwell there who have large teeth put in their mouths that project through their cheeks." Then follows a description of these people and their country, exactly corresponding with our accounts of the opposite continent.

The last question that arises is, to what degree of northern latitude this coast extends, before it trends more directly to the westward. If the situation of the mouth of the Kovyma, both with respect to its latitude and longitude, were accurately determined, it would perhaps not be very difficult to form a probable conjecture upon this point. Captain Cook was always strongly of opinion that the northern coast of Asia, from the Indigirka eastward, has hitherto been generally laid down more than two degrees to the northward of its true position; and he has therefore, on the authority of a map that was in his possession, and on the information he received at Oonalashka, placed the mouth of the river Kovyma, in his chart of the north-west coast of America and the north-east coast of Asia, in the latitude of 68°.

* I mention the more early Russian navigators, because Beering, whom we have also followed, and after him all the late Russian geographers, have given this name to the south-east cape of the peninsula of the Tschutski, which was formerly called the Anadirskoi Noss.

Should he be right in this conjecture, it is probable, for the reasons that have been already stated, that the Asiatic coast does not anywhere exceed 70° before it trends to the westward; and consequently that we were within 1° of its north-eastern extremity. For if the continent be supposed to stretch anywhere to the northward of Shelatskoi Noss, it is scarcely possible that so extraordinary a circumstance should not have been mentioned by the Russian navigators; and we have already shown that they make mention of no remarkable promontory between the Kovyma and the Anadir, except the East Cape. Another circumstance related by Deshneff, may perhaps be thought a further confirmation of this opinion, namely, that he met with no impediment from ice in navigating round the north-east extremity of Asia; though he adds, that this sea is not always so free from it; as indeed is manifest from the failure of his first expedition, and since that, from the unsuccessful attempts of Shalauroff, and the obstacles we met with, in two different years, in our present voyage.

The continent left undetermined in our chart, between Cape North and the mouth of the Kovyma, is in longitudinal extent one hundred and twenty-five leagues. One third or about forty leagues of this distance, from the Kovyma eastward, was explored in the year 1723 by a *Sinbojarskoi* of Jakutz, whose name was Fedot Amossoff, by whom Mr. Muller was informed that its direction was to the eastward. It is said to have been since accurately surveyed by Shalauroff, whose chart makes it trend to the north-east by east as far as the Shelatskoi Noss, which he places about forty-three leagues to the eastward of the Kovyma. The space between this Noss and Cape North, about eighty-two leagues, is therefore the only part of the Russian empire that now remains unascertained. But if the river Kovyma be erroneously situated with respect to its longitude as well as in its latitude, a supposition for which probable grounds are not wanting, the extent of the unexplored coast will become proportionably diminished. The reasons which incline me to believe that the mouth of this river is placed in the Russian charts much too far to the westward, are as follows: First, because the accounts that are given of the navigation of the Frozen Sea, from that river round the north-east point of Asia to the gulf of Anadir, do not accord with the supposed distance between those places. Secondly, because the distance overland from the Kovyma to the Anadir is represented by the early Russian travellers as a journey easily performed, and of no very extraordinary length. Thirdly, because the coast from the Shelatskoi Noss of Shalauroff* seems to trend directly south-east to the East Cape. If this be so, it will follow, that as we were probably not more than 1° to the southward of Shelatskoi Noss, only sixty miles of the Asiatic coast remained unascertained.

Had Captain Cook lived to this period of our voyage, and experienced, in a second attempt, the impracticability of a north-east or north-west passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean, he would doubtless have laid before the public, in one connected view, an account of the obstacles which defeated this, the primary object of our expedition, together with his observations on a subject of such magnitude, and which had engaged the attention and divided the opinions of philosophers and navigators for upward of two hundred years. I am very sensible how unequal I am to the task of supplying this deficiency; but that the expectations of the reader may not be wholly disappointed, I must beg his candid acceptance of the following observations, as well as of those I have already ventured to offer him, relative to the extent of the north-east coast of Asia.

The evidence that has been so fully and judiciously stated in the introduction,† amounts to the highest degree of probability that a north-west passage from the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean cannot exist to the southward of 65° of latitude. If then there exists a passage, it must be either through Baffin's Bay, or round by the north of Greenland, in the western hemisphere; or else through the Frozen Ocean, to the northward of Siberia, in the eastern; and on whichever side it lies, the navigator must necessarily pass through Beering's Straits. The impracticability of penetrating into the Atlantic on either side, through this strait, is therefore all that remains to be submitted to the consideration of the public.

As far as our experience went, it appears, that the sea to the north of Beering's Strait is clearer of ice in August than in July, and perhaps in a part of September it may be still

* See Chart in Coxe's Account of Russian Discoveries.

† The introduction to the original edition by Dr. Douglas. This we have omitted, but all the more important parts will be found in the appendix.—ED.

more free. But after the equinox, the days shorten so fast, that no farther thaw can be expected; and we cannot rationally allow so great an effect to the warm weather in the first half of September, as to imagine it capable of dispersing the ice from the most northern parts of the American coast. But admitting this to be possible, it must at least be granted, that it would be madness to attempt to run from the Icy Cape to the known parts of Baffin's Bay (a distance of four hundred and twenty leagues) in so short a time as that passage can be supposed to continue open.

Upon the Asiatic side, there appears still less probability of success, both from what came to our own knowledge with respect to the state of the sea to the southward of Cape North, and also from what we learn from the experience of the * lieutenants under Beering's direction, and the journal of Shalauroff, in regard to that on the north of Siberia. The voyage of Deshneff, if its truth be admitted, proves undoubtedly the possibility of passing round the north-east point of Asia; but when the reader reflects, that near a century and a half has elapsed since the time of that navigator, during which, in an age of great curiosity and enterprise, no man has yet been able to follow him, he will not entertain very sanguine expectations of the public advantages that can be derived from it. But let us even suppose, that in some singularly favourable season a ship has found a clear passage round the coast of Siberia, and is safely arrived at the mouth of the Lena, still there remains the Cape of Taimura, stretching to the 78° of latitude, which the good fortune of no single voyager has hitherto doubled.

It is, however, contended, that there are strong reasons for believing that the sea is more free from ice the nearer we approach to the pole; and that all the ice we saw in the lower latitudes was formed in the great rivers of Siberia and America, the breaking up of which had filled the intermediate sea. But even if that supposition be true, it is equally so that there can be no access to those open seas, unless this great mass of ice is so far dissolved in the summer, as to admit of a ship's getting through it. If this be the fact, we have taken a wrong time of the year for attempting to find this passage, which should have been explored in April and May, before the rivers were broken up. But how many reasons may be given against such a supposition? Our experience at Saint Peter and Saint Paul enabled us to judge what might be expected farther north; and upon that ground we had reason to doubt, whether the continents might not in winter be even joined by the ice; and this agreed with the stories we heard in Kamtschatka, that on the Siberian coast they go out from the shore in winter, upon the ice, to greater distances than the breadth of the sea is, in some parts, from one continent to the other. In the depositions referred to above, the following remarkable circumstance is related. Speaking of the land seen from the Tschukotskoi Noss, it is said, "that in summer time they sail in one day to the land in baidares, a sort of vessel constructed of whalebone, and covered with seal-skins; and in winter time, going swift with rein-deer, the journey may likewise be made in a day." A sufficient proof that the two countries were usually joined together by the ice.

The account given by Mr. Muller of one of the expeditions undertaken to discover a supposed island in the Frozen Sea is still more remarkable. "In the year 1714, a new expedition was prepared from Jakutzk for the same place, under the command of Alexei Markoff, who was to sail from the mouth of the Jana; and if the *Schitiki* were not fit for sea-voyages, he was to construct, at a proper place, vessels fit for prosecuting the discoveries without danger. On his arrival at Ust-janskoe Simovie, the port at which he was to embark, he sent an account, dated February 2, 1715, to the chancery of Jakutzk, mentioning that it was impossible to navigate the sea, as it was continually frozen both in summer and winter; and that consequently the intended expedition was no otherwise to be carried on but with sledges drawn by dogs. In this manner he accordingly set out with nine persons on the 10th of March the same year, and returned on the 3d of April to Ust-janskoe Simovie. The account of his journey is as follows: that he went seven days as fast as his dogs could draw him, (which in good ways and weather is eighty or a hundred wersts in a day,) directly toward the north upon the ice, without discovering any island; that it had not been

* See Gmelin, pages 369, 374.

possible for him to proceed any farther, the ice rising there in the sea like mountains; that he had climbed to the top of some of them, whence he was able to see to a great distance round about him, but could discern no appearance of land; and that at last wanting food for his dogs, many of them died, which obliged them to return."

Besides these arguments, which proceed upon an admission of the hypothesis that the ice in those seas comes from the rivers, there are others which give great room to suspect the truth of the hypothesis itself. Captain Cook, whose opinion respecting the formation of ice had formerly coincided with that of the theorists we are now controverting, found abundant reason in the present voyage for changing his sentiments. We found the coast of each continent to be low, the soundings gradually decreasing toward them, and a striking resemblance between the two; which, together with the description Mr. Hearne gives of the Coppermine river, afford reason to conjecture that whatever rivers may empty themselves into the Frozen Sea from the American continent, are of the same nature with those on the Asiatic side; which are represented to be so shallow at the entrance as to admit only small vessels; whereas the ice we have seen, rises above the level of the sea to a height equal to the depth of those rivers; so that its entire height must be at least ten times greater. The curious reader will also in this place be led naturally to reflect on another circumstance, which appears very incompatible with the opinion of those who imagine land to be necessary for the formation of ice; I mean the different state of the sea about Spitzbergen, and to the north of Beering's Straits. It is incumbent on them to explain how it comes to pass that in the former quarter, and in the vicinity of much known land, the navigator annually penetrates to near 80° north latitude; whereas, on the other side, his utmost efforts have not been able to carry him beyond 71°; where, moreover, the continents diverge nearly east and west, and where there is no land yet known to exist near the pole. For the farther satisfaction of the reader on this point, I shall beg leave to refer him to Observations made during a Voyage round the World, by Dr. Forster, where he will find the question of the formation of ice fully and satisfactorily discussed, and the probability of open polar seas disproved by a variety of powerful arguments.

I shall conclude these remarks with a short comparative view of the progress we made to the northward, at the two different seasons we were engaged in that pursuit, together with a few general observations relative to the sea, and the coast of the two continents which lie to the north of Beering's Straits. It may be observed, that in the year 1778 we did not meet with the ice till we advanced to the latitude of 70°, on August 17th; and that then we found it in compact bodies, extending as far as the eye could reach, and of which a part or the whole was moveable, since, by its drifting down upon us we narrowly escaped being hemmed in between it and the land. After experiencing both how fruitless and dangerous it would be to attempt to penetrate farther north between the ice and the land, we stood over toward the Asiatic side, between the latitude of 69° and 70°, frequently encountering in this tract large and extensive fields of ice; and though, by reason of the fogs and thickness of the weather, we were not able absolutely and entirely to trace a connected line of it across, yet we were sure to meet with it before we reached the latitude of 70°, whenever we attempted to stand to the northward. On the 26th of August, in latitude 69$\frac{3}{4}$°, and longitude 184°, we were obstructed by it in such quantities, as made it impossible for us to pass either to the north or west, and obliged us to run along the edge of it to the south south-west, till we saw land, which we afterwards found to be the coast of Asia. With the season thus far advanced, the weather setting in with snow and sleet, and other signs of approaching winter, we abandoned our enterprise for that time.

In this second attempt we could do little more than confirm the observations we had made in the first; for we were never able to approach the continent of Asia higher than the latitude of 67°, nor that of America in any parts, excepting a few leagues between the latitude of 68° and 68° 20′, that were not seen the last year. We were now obstructed by ice 3° lower, and our endeavours to push farther to the northward were principally confined to the mid-space between the two coasts. We penetrated near 3° farther on the American side than on the Asiatic, meeting with the ice both years sooner, and in greater quantities on the latter coast. As we advanced north, we still found the ice more compact

and solid; yet as in our different traverses from side to side, we passed over spaces which had before been covered with it, we conjectured that most of what we saw was moveable. Its height, on a medium, we took to be from eight to ten feet, and that of the highest to have been sixteen or eighteen. We again tried the currents twice, and found them unequal, but never to exceed one mile an hour. By comparing the reckoning with the observations, we also found the current to set different ways, yet more from the south-west than any other quarter; but whatever their direction might be, their effect was so trifling that no conclusions respecting the existence of any passage to the northward could be drawn from them. We found the month of July to be infinitely colder than that of August. The thermometer in July was once at 28°, and very commonly at 30°; whereas the last year, in August, it was very rare to have it so low as the freezing point. In both seasons we had some high winds, all of which came from the south-west. We were subject to fogs whenever the wind was moderate, from whatever quarter, but they attended southerly winds more constantly than contrary ones.

The straits between the two continents, at their nearest approach, in latitude 66°, were ascertained to be thirteen leagues, beyond which they diverge to N.E. by E. and W.N.W.; and in latitude 69° they become 14° of longitude, or about one hundred leagues asunder. A great similarity is observable in the appearance of the two countries to the northward of the straits. Both are destitute of wood. The shores are low, with mountains rising to a great height farther up the country. The depth of water in the mid-way between them was twenty-nine and thirty fathoms, decreasing gradually as we approached either continent, with the difference of being somewhat shoaler on the American than on the Asiatic coast, at the same distance from land. The bottom in the middle was a soft slimy mud; and on drawing nearer to either shore, a brown sand, intermixed with small fragments of bones, and a few shells. We observed but little tide or current; what there was came from the westward.

But it is now time to resume the narrative of our voyage, which was broken off on the 31st of July, on which day at noon we had advanced eighteen leagues to the southward of the East Cape. We had light airs from the south-west till noon of the 1st of August, at which time our latitude, by observation, was 64° 23′, longitude 189° 15′; the coast of Asia extended from north-west by west to west half south, distant about twelve leagues; and the land to the eastward of St. Laurence bore south half west. On the 2d, the weather becoming clear, we saw the same land at noon, bearing from west south-west half west to south-east, making in a number of high hummocks, which had the appearance of separate islands; the latitude, by observation, was 64° 3′, longitude 189° 28′, and depth of water seventeen fathoms. We did not approach this land sufficiently near to determine whether it was one island, or composed of a cluster together. Its westernmost part we passed July 3d, in the evening, and then supposed to be the island of Saint Laurence; the easternmost we ran close by in September last year, and this we named Clerke's Island, and found it to consist of a number of high cliffs, joined together by very low land. Though we mistook, the last year, those cliffs for separate islands, till we approached very near the shore, I should still conjecture that the island Saint Laurence was distinct from Clerke's Island, since there appeared a considerable space between them, where we could not perceive the smallest rising of ground. In the afternoon we also saw what bore the appearance of a small island, to the north-east of the land which was seen at noon, and which from the haziness of the weather we had only sight of once. We estimated its distance to be nineteen leagues from the island of Saint Laurence, in a north-east by east half east direction. On the 3d we had light variable winds, and directed our course round the north-west point of the island of Saint Laurence. On the 4th, at noon, our latitude by account was 64° 8′, longitude 188°; the island Saint Laurence bearing south one quarter east, distant seven leagues. In the afternoon, a fresh breeze springing up from the east, we steered to the south south-west, and soon lost sight of Saint Laurence. On the 7th, at noon, the latitude by observation was 59° 38′, longitude 183°. In the afternoon it fell calm, and we got a great number of cod in seventy-eight fathoms of water. The variation was found to be 19° E. From this time to the 17th we were making the best of our way to the south, without any occurrence worth remarking,

except that the wind, coming from the western quarter, forced us farther to the eastward than we wished, as it was our intention to make Beering's Island. On the 17th, at half past four in the morning, we saw land to the north-west, which we could not approach, the wind blowing from that quarter. At noon, the latitude by observation was 53° 49′, longitude 168° 5′, and variation 10° E. The land in sight bore north by west, twelve or fourteen leagues distant. This land we take to be the island Mednoi, laid down in the Russian charts to the south-east of Beering's Island. It is high land, and appeared clear of snow. We place it in the latitude 54° 28′, longitude 167° 52′. We got no soundings with one hundred and fifty fathoms of line.

Captain Clerke was now no longer able to get out of his bed; he therefore desired that the officers would receive their orders from me, and directed that we should proceed with all speed to Awatska Bay. The wind continning westerly, we stood on to the south till early on the morning of the 19th, when, after a few hours' rain, it blew from the eastward, and freshened to a strong gale. We accordingly made the most of it whilst it lasted, by standing to the westward under all the sail we could carry. On the 20th, the wind shifting to the south-west, our course was to the west north-west. At noon the latitude, by observation, was 53° 7′, longitude 162° 49′. On the 21st, at half-past five in the morning, we saw a very high-peaked mountain on the coast of Kamtschatka, called Cheepoonskoi Mountain, from its lying behind the Noss, bearing north-west by north, twenty-five or thirty leagues distant. At noon, the coast extended from north by east to west with a very great haziness upon it, and distant about twelve leagues. We had light airs the remaining part of this and the following day, and got no soundings with one hundred and forty fathoms of line.

On the 22d of August, 1779, at nine o'clock in the morning, departed this life Captain Charles Clerke, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. He died of a consumption, which had evidently commenced before he left England, and of which he had lingered during the whole voyage. His very gradual decay had long made him a melancholy object to his friends; yet the equanimity with which he bore it, the constant flow of good spirits which continued to the last hour, and a cheerful resignation to his fate, afforded them some consolation. It was impossible not to feel a more than common degree of compassion for a person whose life had been a continued scene of those difficulties and hardships to which a seaman's occupation is subject, and under which he at last sunk. He was brought up to the navy from his earliest youth, and had been in several actions during the war which began in 1756, particularly in that between the Bellona and Courageux, where being stationed in the mizen-top, he was carried overboard with the mast, but was taken up without having received any hurt. He was midshipman in the Dolphin, commanded by Commodore Byron, on her first voyage round the world, and afterward served on the American station. In 1768, he made his second voyage round the world, in the Endeavour, as master's mate, and by the promotion which took place during the expedition, he returned a lieutenant. His third voyage round the world was in the Resolution, of which he was appointed the second lieutenant: and soon after his return, in 1775, he was promoted to the rank of master and commander. When the present expedition was ordered to be fitted out, he was appointed to the Discovery, to accompany Captain Cook; and by the death of the latter succeeded, as has been already mentioned, to the chief command.

It would be doing his memory extreme injustice not to say, that during the short time the expedition was under his direction, he was most zealous and anxious for its success. His health, about the time the principal command devolved upon him, began to decline very rapidly, and was every way unequal to encounter the rigours of a high northern climate. But the vigour and activity of his mind had in no shape suffered by the decay of his body: and though he knew, that by delaying his return to a warmer climate, he was giving up the only chance that remained for his recovery, yet, careful and jealous to the last degree that a regard to his own situation should never bias his judgment to the prejudice of the service, he persevered in the search of a passage till it was the opinion of every officer in both ships that it was impracticable, and that any farther attempts would not only be fruitless, but dangerous.

CHAPTER V.—RETURN TO THE HARBOUR OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—PROMOTION OF OFFICERS.—FUNERAL OF CAPTAIN CLERKE.—DAMAGES OF THE DISCOVERY REPAIRED.—VARIOUS OTHER OCCUPATIONS OF THE SHIPS' CREWS.—LETTERS FROM THE COMMANDER.—SUPPLY OF FLOUR AND NAVAL STORES FROM A RUSSIAN GALLIOT.—ACCOUNT OF AN EXILE.—BEAR-HUNTING AND FISHING PARTIES.—DISGRACE OF THE SERJEANT.—CELEBRATION OF THE KING'S CORONATION DAY, AND VISIT FROM THE COMMANDER.—THE SERJEANT REINSTATED.—A RUSSIAN SOLDIER PROMOTED AT OUR REQUEST.—REMARKS ON THE DISCIPLINE OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY.—CHURCH AT PARATOUNCA.—METHOD OF BEAR-HUNTING.—FARTHER ACCOUNT OF THE BEARS AND KAMTSCHADALES.—INSCRIPTION TO THE MEMORY OF CAPTAIN CLERKE.—SUPPLY OF CATTLE.—ENTERTAINMENTS ON THE EMPRESS'S NAME-DAY.—PRESENT FROM THE COMMANDER.—ATTEMPT OF A MARINE TO DESERT.—WORK OUT OF THE BAY.—NAUTICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF AWATSKA BAY.—ASTRONOMICAL TABLES, AND OBSERVATIONS.

I SENT Mr. Williamson to acquaint Captain Gore with the death of Captain Clerke, and received a letter from him, ordering me to use all my endeavours to keep in company with the Discovery; and, in case of a separation, to make the best of my way to the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul. At noon, we were in latitude 53° 8′ N., longitude 160° 40′ E., with Cheepoonskoi Noss bearing west. We had light airs in the afternoon, which lasted through the forenoon of the 23d. At noon, a fresh breeze springing up from the eastward, we stood in for the entrance of Awatska Bay; and at six in the evening, saw it bearing west north-west half west, distant five leagues. At eight, the light-house, in which we now found a good light, bore north-west by west, three miles distant. The wind about this time died away; but the tide being in our favour, we sent the boats ahead and towed beyond the narrow parts of the entrance; and at one o'clock in the morning of the 24th, the ebb-tide setting against us, we dropped anchor. At nine, we weighed, and turned up the bay with light airs, and the boats still ahead till one; when, by the help of a fresh breeze, we anchored, before three in the afternoon, in the harbour of Saint Peter and St. Paul, with our ensign half-staff up, on account of our carrying the body of our late Captain; and were soon after followed by the Discovery.

We had no sooner anchored, than our old friend, the serjeant, who was still the commander of the place, came on board with a present of berries, intended for our poor deceased Captain. He was exceedingly affected when we told him of his death, and showed him the coffin that contained his body. And as it was Captain Clerke's particular request to be buried on shore, and, if possible, in the church of Paratounca, we took the present opportunity of explaining this matter to the serjeant, and consulting with him about the proper steps to be taken on the occasion. In the course of our conversation, which, for want of an interpreter, was carried on but imperfectly, we learned that Professor de L'Isle, and several Russian gentlemen, who died here, had been buried in the ground near the barracks, at the ostrog of St. Peter and St. Paul; and that this place would be preferable to Paratounca, as the church was to be removed thither the next year. It was therefore determined, that we should wait for the arrival of the priest of Paratounca, whom the serjeant advised us to send for, as the only person that could satisfy our inquiries on this subject. The serjeant having, at the same time, signified his intentions of sending off an express to the commander at Bolcheretsk, to acquaint him with our arrival, Captain Gore availed himself of that occasion of writing him a letter, in which he requested that sixteen head of black cattle might be sent with all possible expedition; and because the commander did not understand any language except his own, the nature of our request was made known to the serjeant, who readily undertook to send, along with our letter, an explanation of its contents.

We could not help remarking, that, although the country was much improved in its appearance since we were last here, the Russians looked, if possible, worse now than they did then. It is to be owned, they observed, that this was also the case with us; and as neither party seemed to like to be told of their bad looks, we found mutual consolation

in throwing the blame upon the country, whose green and lively complexion, we agreed, cast a deadness and sallowness upon our own. The eruption of the volcano, which was so violent when we sailed out of the bay, we found had done no damage here, notwithstanding stones had fallen at the ostrog, of the size of a goose's egg. This was all the news we had to inquire after, and all they had to tell; excepting that of the arrival of Soposnikoff from Oonalashka, who took charge of the packet Captain Cook had sent to the Admiralty, and which, it gave us much satisfaction to find, had been forwarded.

In the morning of the 25th, Captain Gore made out the new commissions, in consequence of Captain Clerke's death; appointing himself to the command of the Resolution, and me to the command of the Discovery; and Mr. Lanyan, master's mate of the Resolution, who had served in that capacity on board the Adventure in the former voyage, was promoted to the vacant lieutenancy. These promotions produced the following farther arrangements: Lieutenants Burney and Rickman were removed from the Discovery, to be first and second lieutenants of the Resolution; and Lieutenant Williamson was appointed first lieutenant of the Discovery. Captain Gore also permitted me to take into the Discovery four midshipmen, who had made themselves useful to me in astronomical calculations, and whose assistance was now particularly necessary, as we had no Ephemeris for the present year. And, that astronomical observations might continue to be made in both ships, Mr. Bayley took my place in the Resolution. The same day we were visited by the Pope Romanoff Vereshagen, the worthy priest of Paratounca. He expressed his sorrow at the death of Captain Clerke in a manner that did honour to his feelings, and confirmed the account given by the serjeant, respecting the intended removal of the church to the harbour; adding that the timber was actually preparing, but leaving the choice of either place entirely to Captain Gore.

The Discovery, as has been mentioned, had suffered great damage from the ice, particularly on the 23d day of July; and having, ever since, been exceedingly leaky, it was imagined that some of her timbers had started. Captain Gore therefore sent the carpenters of the Resolution to assist our own in repairing her; and accordingly, the forehold being cleared, to lighten her forward, they were set to work to rip the damaged sheathing from the larboard bow. This operation discovered that three feet of the third strake, under the wale, were staved, and the timbers within started. A tent was next erected for the accommodation of such of our people as were employed on shore; and a party were sent a mile into the country, to the northward of the harbour, to fell timber. The observatories were erected at the west end of the village, near a tent, in which Captain Gore and myself took up our abode.

The farther we proceeded in removing the sheathing, the more we discovered of the decayed state of the ship's hull. The next morning, eight feet of a plank in the wale were found to be so exceedingly rotten, as to make it necessary to shift it. This left us for some time at a stand, as nothing was to be found, in either ship, wherewith to replace it, unless we chose to cut up a top-mast; an expedient not to be had recourse to, till all others failed. The carpenters were therefore sent on shore in the afternoon in search of a tree big enough for the purpose. Luckily they found a birch, which I believe was the only one of sufficient size in the whole neighbourhood of the bay, and which had been sawed down by us when we were last here; so that it had the advantage of having lain some time to season. This was shaped on the spot, and brought on board the next morning. As the season was now so far advanced, I was fearful lest any delay or hindrance should arise, on our parts, to Captain Gore's farther views of discovery, and therefore gave orders that no more sheathing should be ripped off than was absolutely necessary for repairing the damages sustained by the ice. This I did, being apprehensive of their meeting with more decayed planks, which, I judged, had much better remain in that state, than be filled up with green birch, upon a supposition that such was to be had. All hands were, at present, busily employed in separate duties, that everything might be in readiness for sea, against the time our carpenters should have finished their work. We set apart four men to haul the seine for salmon, which were caught in great abundance, and found to be of an excellent quality. After supplying the immediate wants of both ships, we salted down near a hogshead a-day. The invalids, who were four in number, were employed in gathering greens, and in cooking for the parties on

shore. Our powder was also landed, in order to be dried; and the sea-horse blubber, with which both ships, in our passage to the north (as has been before related), had stored themselves, was now boiled down for oil, which was become a necessary article, our candles having long since been expended. The cooper was fully engaged in his department: and in this manner were both ships' companies employed in their several occupations, till Saturday afternoon, which was given up to all our men, except the carpenters, for the purpose of washing their linen and getting their clothes in some little order, that they might make a decent appearance on Sunday.

In the afternoon of that day, we paid the last offices to Captain Clerke. The officers and men of both ships walked in procession to the grave, whilst the ships fired minute-guns; and the service being ended, the marines fired three volleys. He was interred under a tree, which stands on rising ground, in the valley to the north side of the harbour, where the hospital and storehouses are situated; Captain Gore having judged this situation most agreeable to the last wishes of the deceased, for the reasons abovementioned; and the priest of Paratounca having pointed out a spot for his grave, which, he said, would be, as near as he could guess, in the centre of the new church. This reverend pastor walked in the procession, along with the gentleman who read the service; and all the Russians in the garrison were assembled, and attended with great respect and solemnity.

On the 30th, the different parties returned to their respective employments, as mentioned in the course of the preceding week; and on the 2d of September, the carpenters having shifted the rotten and damaged planks, and repaired and calked the sheathing of the larboard bow, proceeded to rip off the sheathing that had been injured by the ice, from the starboard side. Here, again, they discovered four feet of a plank, in the third strake under the wale, so shaken, as to make it necessary to be replaced. This was accordingly done, and the sheathing repaired on the 3d. In the afternoon of the same day, we got on board some ballast, unhung the rudder, and sent it on shore, the lead of the pintles being found entirely worn away, and a great part of the sheathing rubbed off. As the carpenters of the Resolution were not yet wanted, we got this set to rights the next day; but finding the rudder out of all proportion heavy, even heavier than that of the Resolution, we let it remain on shore, in order to dry and lighten.

The same day, an ensign arrived from Bolcheretsk with a letter from the commander to Captain Gore, which we put into the serjeant's hands; and, by his assistance, were made to understand, that orders had been given about the cattle, and that they might be expected here in a few days; and moreover, that Captain Shmaleff, the present commander, would himself pay us a visit immediately on the arrival of a sloop which was daily expected from Okotzk. The young officer who brought the letter was the son of the Captain-lieutenant Synd, who commanded an expedition on discovery, between Asia and America, eleven years ago, and resided at this time at Okotzk*. He informed us, that he was sent to receive our directions, and to take care to get us supplied with whatever our service might require; and that he should remain with us, till the commander was himself able to leave Bolcheretsk; after which he was to return, that the garrison there might not be left without an officer.

On the 5th, the parties that were on shore returned on board, and were employed in scrubbing the ship's bottom, and getting in eight tons of shingle ballast. We also got up two of our guns, that had been stowed in the fore-hold, and mounted them on the deck, being now about to visit nations, our receptions amongst whom might a good deal depend

* See all that is known of his voyage, and a chart of his discoveries, in Mr. Coxe's Account of Russian Discoveries between Asia and America. We were not able to learn from the Russians in Kamtschatka a more perfect account of Synd than we now find is given by Mr. Coxe; and yet they seemed disposed to communicate all that they really knew. Major Behm could only inform us, in general, that the expedition had miscarried as to its object, and that the commander had fallen under much blame. It appeared evidently, that he had been on the coast of America to the southward of Cape Prince of Wales, between the latitude of 64° and 65°; and it is most probable, that his having got too far to the northward to meet with sea-otters, which the Russians, in all their attempts at discoveries, seem to have principally in view, and his returning without having made any that promised commercial advantages, was the cause of his disgrace, and of the great contempt with which the Russians always spoke of this officer's voyage. The cluster of islands, placed in Synd's chart between the latitude of 61° and 65°, is undoubtedly the same with the island called, by Beering, St. Laurence's, and those we named Clerke's, Anderson's, and King's Islands; but their proportionate size, and relative situation, are exceedingly erroneous

on the respectability of our appearance. The Resolution hauled on shore on the 8th, to repair some damages, which she had also received among the ice, in her cutwater; and our carpenters, in their turn, were sent to her assistance.

About this time we began to brew a strong decoction of a species of dwarf-pine that grows here in great abundance, thinking that it might hereafter be useful in making beer, and that we should probably be able to procure sugar or molasses to ferment with it at Canton. At all events, I was sure it would be serviceable as a medicine for the scurvy; and was more particularly desirous of supplying myself with as much of it as I could procure, because most of the preventives we had brought out were either used or spoiled by keeping. By the time we had prepared a hogshead of it, the ship's copper was discovered to be very thin, and cracked in many places. This obliged me to desist, and to give orders, that it should be used as sparingly, for the future, as possible. It might, perhaps, be a useful precaution for those who may hereafter be engaged in long voyages of this kind, either to provide themselves with a spare copper, or to see that the copper usually furnished be of the strongest kind. The various extra services in which it will be found necessary to employ them, and especially the important one of making anti-scorbutic decoctions, seem absolutely to require some such provision; and I should rather recommend the former, on account of the additional quantity of fuel that would be consumed in heating thick coppers.

In the morning of the 10th, the boats from both ships were sent to tow into the harbour a Russian galliot from Okotzk. She had been thirty-five days on her passage, and had been seen from the lighthouse a fortnight ago, beating up toward the mouth of the bay. At that time, the crew had sent their only boat on shore for water, of which they now began to be in great want; and the wind freshening, the boat was lost on its return; and the galliot, being driven out to sea again, had suffered exceedingly. There were fifty soldiers in her, with their wives and children; and several other passengers, besides the crew, which consisted of twenty-five; so that they had upward of an hundred souls on board; a great number for a vessel of eighty tons, and that was also heavy laden with stores and provisions. Both this galliot, and the sloop we saw here in May, are built like the Dutch doggers. Soon after she had come to anchor, we received a visit from a *Put-parouchick*, or sub-lieutenant, who was passenger in the galliot, and sent to take the command of this place. Part of the soldiers, we understood, were also designed to reinforce the garrison; and two pieces of small cannon were landed, as an additional defence to the town. It should seem, from these circumstances, that our visit here had drawn the attention of the Russian commanders in Siberia to the defenceless situation of the place; and I was told by the honest sergeant, with many significant shrugs, that, as we had found our way into it, other nations might do the same, some of whom might not be altogether so welcome.

Next morning the Resolution hauled off from the shore, having repaired the damages she had sustained by the ice; and in the course of the day we got from the galliot a small quantity of pitch, tar, cordage, and twine; canvas was the only thing we asked for with which their scanty store did not put it into their power to supply us. We also received from her an hundred and forty skins of flour, amounting to 13,782 pounds English, after deducting five pounds for the weight of each bag. We had a constant course of dry weather till this day, when there came on a heavy rain, accompanied with strong squalls of wind, which obliged us to strike our yards and top-masts.

The 12th, being Sunday, was kept as a day of rest; but the weather unfortunately continuing foul, our men could not derive the advantage from it we wished, by gathering the berries that grew in great quantities and varieties on the coast, and taking other pastime on shore. The same day, Ensign Synd left us to return to Bolcheretsk with the remainder of the soldiers that came in the galliot. He had been our constant guest during his stay. Indeed, we could not but consider him, on his father's account, as in some measure belonging to us, and entitled, as one of the family of discoverers, to a share in our affections.

We had hitherto admitted the sergeant to our tables, in consideration of his being commander of the place; and, moreover, because he was a quick sensible man, and comprehended better than any other the few Russian words we had learned. Ensign Synd had very

politely suffered him to enjoy the same privileges during his stay; but, on the arrival of the new commander from Okotsk, the sergeant, for some cause or other which we could not learn, fell into disgrace, and was no longer suffered to sit down in the company of his own officers. It was in vain to think of making any attempt to obtain an indulgence which, though it would have been highly agreeable to us, was doubtless incompatible with their discipline.

On Wednesday we had finished the stowage of the holds, got on board all our wood and water, and were ready to put to sea at a day's notice. It is, however, necessary to observe, that though everything was in this degree of readiness on board, the cattle were not yet arrived from Verchnei; and as fresh provisions were the most important article of our wants, and in a great measure necessary for the health of the men, we could not think of taking our departure without them. We therefore thought this a favourable opportunity (especially as there was an appearance of fine weather) of taking some amusement on shore, and acquiring a little knowledge of the country. Accordingly, Captain Gore proposed a party of bear-hunting, which we all very readily came into.

We did not set out on this expedition till Friday the 17th, in order to give a day's rest to the Hospodin Ivaskin, a new acquaintance, that was to be of our party, and who came down here on Wednesday. This gentleman, who, we understood, usually resides at Verchnei, had been desired by Major Behm to attend us on our return to the harbour, in order to be our interpreter; and the accounts we had heard of him before his arrival, had excited in us a great curiosity to see him. He is of a considerable family in Russia. His father was a general in the empress's service; and he himself, after having received his education partly in France and partly in Germany, had been page to the Empress Elizabeth, and an ensign in her guards. At the age of sixteen he was knouted, had his nose slit, and was banished, first to Siberia and afterward to Kamtschatka, where he had now lived thirty-one years. He was a very tall thin man, with a face all over furrowed with deep wrinkles, and bore, in his whole figure, the strongest marks of old age, though he had scarcely reached his fifty-fourth year.

To our very great disappointment, he had so totally forgotten both his German and French, as not to be able to speak a sentence, nor readily to understand what was said to him in either of these languages. We found ourselves thus unfortunately deprived of what we flattered ourselves would have turned out a favourable opportunity of getting farther information relative to this country. We had also promised ourselves much pleasure from the history of this extraordinary man, which he probably would have been induced to relate to strangers, who might perhaps be of some little service to him, but who could have no inducement to take advantage, from anything he might say, to do him an injury. No one here knew the cause of his banishment; but they took it for granted that it must have been for something very atrocious, particularly as two or three commanders of Kamtschatka have endeavoured to get him recalled since the present empress's reign, but far from succeeding in this, they have not been even able to get the place of his banishment changed. He told us, that for twenty years he had not tasted bread, nor had been allowed subsistence of any kind whatsoever; but that, during this period, he had lived among the Kamtschadales on what his own activity and toil in the chase had furnished. That afterward he had a small pension granted; and that since Major Behm came to the command, his situation had been infinitely mended. The notice that worthy man had taken of him, and his having often invited him to become his guest, had been the occasion of others following his example; besides which, he had been the means of getting his pension increased to one hundred roubles a year, which is the common pay of an ensign in all parts of the empress's dominions, except in this province, where the pay of all the officers is double. Major Behm told us that he had obtained permission to take him to Okotsk, which was to be the place of his residence in future; but that he should leave him behind for the present, on an idea that he might, on our return to the bay, be useful to us as an interpreter.

Having given orders to the first lieutenants of both ships to let the rigging have such a repair as the supply of stores we had lately received would permit, we set out on our hunting-party, under the direction of the corporal of the Kamtschadales, intending, before

we began to look for our game, to proceed straight to the head of Behm's Harbour. It is an inlet on the west side of the bay (which we had named after that officer, from its being a favourite place of his, and having been surveyed by himself), and is called by the natives Tareinska.

In our way toward this harbour, we met the *Toion* of Saint Peter and Saint Paul in a canoe, with his wife and two children, and another Kamtschadale. He had killed two seals upon a round island that lies in the entrance of the harbour, with which, and a great quantity of berries that he had gathered, he was returning home. As the wind had veered to the south-west, we now changed our route, by his advice; and instead of going up the harbour, directed our course to the northward, toward a pool of water that lies near the mouth of the river Paratounca, and which was a known haunt of the bears. We had scarce landed, when unfortunately the wind changed to the eastward, and a second time destroyed all hopes of coming up with our game; for the Kamtschadales assured us, that it was in vain to expect to meet with bears whilst we were to the windward, owing to their being possessed of an uncommon acuteness in scenting their pursuers, which enabled them, under such circumstances, to avoid the danger whilst it is yet at a very great distance. We returned, therefore, to the boat, and passed the night on the beach, having brought a tent with us for that purpose; and the next day, by the advice of our guides, crossed the bay, and went to the head of Rakoweena Harbour. Having here secured the boats, we proceeded with all our luggage on foot, and, after a walk of five or six miles, came to the sea-side, a league to the northward of the Lighthouse Head. From hence, as far as we could see toward Cheepoonskoi Noss, there is a continued narrow border of low level ground adjoining to the sea, which is covered with heath, and produces great abundance of berries, particularly those called partridge and crow berries. We were told we should not fail to meet with a number of bears feeding upon these berries; but that the weather, being showery, was unfavourable for us.

Accordingly, we directed our course along this plain; and though we saw several bears at a distance, we could never, with all our management, contrive to get within shot of them. Our diversion was therefore changed to spearing of salmon, which we saw pushing, in great numbers, through the surf into a small river. I could not help observing, how much inferior our Kamtschadales were at this method of fishing, to the people at Oonalashka; nor were their instruments, although pointed with iron, near so good for the purpose, nor to be compared in neatness to those of the Americans, though pointed only with bone. On inquiring into the reason of this inferiority, I was informed by the corporal, who had lived many years amongst the Americans, that formerly the Kamtschadales made use of the same kind of darts and spears with the Americans, headed and barbed with bone, and were not less dexterous in the management of them than the latter. We could not understand one another sufficiently for me to learn the cause of this change; probably it was one of the not unusual effects of a forced and imperfect state of improvement. It fell out very opportunely, that the water afforded us a little prey; for besides our ill success in the chase by land, we had also been disappointed in our expectations of shooting wild fowl, on a supply of which we had in some measure depended for our subsistence; and on its failure, began to think that we had been full long absent from head-quarters. Our Kamtschadales now discovered, that the want of success, in not meeting with game, was owing to the party being too large, and to the unavoidable noise that was the consequence of it. We, therefore, agreed to separate; Ivaskin, the corporal, and myself, forming one party; Captain Gore and the rest of the company, the other.

Accordingly after passing the night under our tent, we set out on the morning of the 19th, by different routes, meaning to take a circuit round the country, and meet at Saint Peter and Saint Paul. The party to which I belonged took the course of the river, at the mouth of which we had fished for the salmon; and, after being thoroughly soaked by the heavy rains that fell all the morning, we came about three in the afternoon to some old *balagans*, where a Kamtschadale village had been formerly situated, without meeting with a single bear during the whole of a long and tedious walk. It was our first intention to have remained here all night, in order to have resumed our chase early the next morning; but the weather clearing, and at the same time a fresh breeze springing up from a quarter

unfavourable to our designs, the Hospodin, whom former sufferings had made very unfit to bear much fatigue, and who seemed at present more particularly distressed from having emptied his snuff-box, began to be very importunate with us to return home. It was some time before the old corporal consented, alleging, that we were at a great distance from the harbour; and that, on account of the badness of the way, the night would probably overtake us before we reached the end of our journey. At length, however, he yielded to Ivaskin's entreaties, and conducted us along the side of a number of small lakes, with which the flat part of this country seems much to abound. These lakes are from half a mile to two miles in length, and about half a mile broad, the water is fresh and clear, and they are full of a red-coloured fish, resembling, both in shape and size, a small salmon; of which a more particular description will be given hereafter. The banks of these lakes were covered with the fragments of fish that the bears had half eaten, and which caused an intolerable stench. We often came upon the spots which the bears had just left, but were never able even to come within sight of them. It was night before we reached the ships, and we had then been twelve hours upon our legs. Poor Ivaskin found himself exceedingly tired, and overcome with fatigue; probably he was more sensible of it, for want of a supply of snuff; for every step he took, his hand dived mechanically into his pocket, and drew out his huge empty box. We had scarcely got into the tent, when the weather set in exceedingly rough and wet. We congratulated ourselves that we had not stayed out another day, the Hospodin's box was replenished, and we forgot the fatigues and ill success of our expedition over a good supper.

I was exceedingly sorry, on being told the next day, that our friend the sergeant had undergone corporal punishment, during our absence, by command of the old Put-parouchick. None of our people had been able to learn what was the cause of his displeasure; but it was imagined to have arisen from some little jealousy subsisting between them on account of the civility which we had shown to the former. However, having every reason to believe that the offence, whatever it might be, did not call for so disgraceful a chastisement, we could not help being both sorry and much provoked at it, as the terms on which we had lived with him, and the interest we were known to take in his affairs, made the affront in some measure personal to ourselves. For it has not yet been mentioned, that we had consulted with the late worthy commander, Major Behm, who was also his friend, by what means we might be most likely to succeed in doing him some service, for the good order he had kept in the ostrog during our stay, and for his readiness, on all occasions, to oblige us. The major advised a letter of recommendation to the governor-general, which Captain Clerke had accordingly given him, and which, backed with his own representations, he had no doubt would get the sergeant advanced a step higher in his profession. We did not choose to make any remonstrance on this subject, till the arrival of Captain Shmaleff. Indeed our inability, from the want of language, to enter into any discussion of the business, made it advisable to come to this determination. However, when the Put-parouchick paid us his next visit, we could not help testifying our chagrin, by receiving him very coolly.

The 22d, being the anniversary of his Majesty's coronation, twenty-one guns were fired, and the handsomest feast our situation would allow of was prepared in honour of the day. As we were sitting down to dinner, the arrival of Captain Shmaleff was announced. This was a most agreeable surprise; in the first place, because he arrived so opportunely to partake of the good fare and festivity of the occasion; and, in the next, because, in our last accounts of him, we were given to understand, that the effects of a severe illness had made him unequal to the journey. We were glad to find that this had been merely an excuse; that, in fact, he was ashamed of coming empty-handed, knowing we must be in great want of tea, sugar, &c. &c.; and that, therefore, he had deferred his setting out, in daily expectation of the sloop from Okotsk; but having no tidings of her, and dreading lest we should sail without his having paid us a visit, he was determined to set out, though with nothing better to present to us than apologies for the poverty of Bolcheretsk. At the same time he acquainted us, that our not having received the sixteen head of black cattle, we had desired might be sent down, was owing to the very heavy rains at Verchnei, which had prevented their setting out. We made the best answer we were able, to so much politeness and

generosity; and the next day, on coming on board the Resolution, he was saluted with eleven guns. Specimens of all our curiosities were presented to him; and Captain Gore added to them a gold watch and a fowling-piece.

The next day, he was entertained on board the Discovery; and on the 25th, he took leave of us to return to Bolcheretsk. He could not be prevailed on to lengthen his visit, having some expectations, as he told us, that the sub-governor-general, who was at this time making a tour through all the provinces of the governor-general of Jakutsk, might arrive in the sloop that was daily expected from Okotsk. Before his departure, and without any interference of ours, he reinstated the sergeant in the command of this place, having determined to take the Put-parouchick along with him; at the same time, we understood that he was highly displeased with him, on account of the punishment that had been inflicted on the sergeant, and for which there did not appear to be the slightest grounds. Captain Shmaleff's great readiness to give us every possible proof of his desire to oblige us, encouraged us to ask a small favour for another of our Kamtschadale friends. It was to requite an old soldier, whose house had been, at all times, open to the inferior officers, and who had done both them, and all the crew, a thousand good offices. The captain most obligingly complied with our request, and dubbed him (which was all he wished for) a corporal upon the spot, and ordered him to thank the English officers for his great promotion. It may not here be improper to observe, that, in the Russian army, the inferior class of officers enjoy a degree of pre-eminence above the private men, with which we, in our service, are in a great measure unacquainted. It was no small astonishment to us, to see a sergeant keep up all the state, and exact all the respect, from all beneath him, belonging to a field-officer. It may be farther remarked, that there are many more gradations of rank amongst them, than are to be met with in other countries. Between a sergeant and a private man, there are not less than four intermediate steps; and I have no doubt, but that the advantages arising from this system are found to be very considerable. The salutary effects of little subordinate ranks in our sea-service cannot be questioned. It gives rise to great emulation, and the superior officers are enabled to bestow, on almost every possible degree of merit, a reward proportioned to it. Having been incidentally led into this subject, I shall beg leave to add but one observation more, namely, that the discipline of the Russian army, though at this distance from the seat of government, is of the strictest and severest kind; from which even the commissioned officers are not exempt. The punishment of the latter for small offences is imprisonment, and a bread-and-water diet. An ensign, a good friend of ours at this place, told us, that for having been concerned in a drunken riot, he was confined in the black-hole for three months, and fed upon bread-and-water, which, he said, so shattered his nerves, that he had never since had spirits for a common convivial meeting.

I accompanied Captain Shmaleff to the entrance of Awatska river, and, having bid him farewell, took this opportunity of paying a visit to the priest of Paratounca. On Sunday the 26th, I attended him to church. The congregation consisted of his own family, three Kamtschadale men, and three boys, who assisted in singing part of the service, the whole of which was performed in a very solemn and edifying manner. The church is of wood, and by far the best building either in this town, or in that of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. It is ornamented with many paintings, particularly with two pictures of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, presented by Beering; and which, in the real richness of their drapery, would carry off the prize from the first of our European performances; for all the principal parts of it are made of thick plates of solid silver, fastened to the canvas, and fashioned into the various foldings of the robes with which the figures were clothed.

The next day, I set on foot another hunting-party, and put myself under the direction of the clerk of the parish, who was a celebrated bear-hunter. We arrived, by sunset, at the side of one of the larger lakes. The next step was to conceal ourselves as much as possible; and this we were able to do very effectually, among some long grass and brush-wood, that grew close to the water's edge. We had not lain long in ambush, before we had the pleasure to hear the growlings of bears in different parts round about us; and our expectations were soon gratified by the sight of one of them in the water, which seemed to be swimming directly to the place where we lay hid. The moon, at this time, gave a

considerable light; and when the animal had advanced about fifteen yards, three of us fired at it, pretty nearly at the same time. The beast immediately turned short on one side, and set up a noise, which could not properly be called roaring, nor growling, nor yelling, but was a mixture of all three, and horrible beyond description. We plainly saw that it was severely wounded, and that with difficulty it gained the bank, and retreated to some thick bushes at a little distance. It still continued to make the same loud and terrible noise; and though the Kamtschadales were persuaded it was mortally wounded, and could get no farther, yet they thought it most advisable not to rouse it again for the present. It was at this time past nine o'clock, and the night becoming overcast, and threatening a change of weather, we thought it most prudent to return home, and defer the gratification of our curiosity till morning, when we returned to the spot, and found the bear dead in the place to which it had been watched. It proved to be a female, and beyond the common size.

As the account of our first hunting-party will be apt to give the reader a wrong idea of the method in which this sport is usually conducted, it may not be amiss to add a few more words on the subject; and which I am the better able to do since this last expedition. When the natives come to the ground frequented by the bears, which they contrive to reach about sunset, the first step is to look for their tracks, to examine which are the freshest, and the best situated with a view to concealment, and taking aim at the beast, either as he is passing by or advancing in front, or going from them. These tracks are found, in the greatest numbers, leading from the woods down to the lakes, and among the long sedgy grass and brakes by the edge of the water. The place of ambuscade being determined upon, the hunters next fix in the ground the crutches, upon which their firelocks are made to rest, pointing them in the direction they mean to make their shot. This done, they kneel or lie down, as the circumstances of the cover require, and, with their bear-spears by their side, wait for their game. These precautions, which are chiefly taken in order to make sure of their mark, are, on several accounts, highly expedient. For, in the first place, ammunition is so dear at Kamtschatka, that the price of a bear will not purchase more of it than is sufficient to load a musket four or five times; and what is more material, if the bear be not rendered incapable of pursuit by the first shot, the consequences are often fatal. He immediately makes toward the place from whence the noise and smoke issue, and attacks his adversaries with great fury. It is impossible for them to reload, as the animal is seldom at more than twelve or fifteen yards' distance when he is fired at: so that, if he does not fall, they immediately put themselves in a posture to receive him upon their spears; and their safety greatly depends on their giving him a mortal stab, as he first comes upon them. If he parries the thrust (which, by the extraordinary strength and agility of their paws, they are often enabled to do), and thereby breaks in upon his adversaries, the conflict becomes very unequal, and it is well if the life of one of the party alone suffice to pay the forfeit.

There are two seasons of the year when this diversion, or occupation as it may be rather called, is more particularly dangerous: in the spring, when the bears first come forth, after having subsisted, as is universally asserted here, on sucking their paws through the winter; and especially if the frost happen to be severe, and the ice not to be broken up in the lake at that time, by which means they are deprived of their ordinary and expected food. Under these circumstances they soon become exceedingly famished, and fierce and savage in proportion. They will pursue the natives by the scent; and, as they now prowl about out of their usual tracks, frequently come upon them unawares; and when this happens, as the Kamtschadales have not the smallest notion of shooting flying, nor even at an animal running, or in any way except with their piece on a rest, the bear-hunters often fall a sacrifice to their hunger. The other season in which it is dangerous to come in their way, is at the time of their copulation, which is generally about this time of the year.

An extraordinary instance of natural affection in these animals hath been already mentioned. The chase affords a variety of a similar nature, and not less affecting; many of which were related to me. The Kamtschadales derive great advantage, in hunting, from this circumstance. They never venture to fire upon a young bear, when the mother is near: for, if the cub drop, she becomes enraged to a degree little short of madness; and if she get

sight of the enemy, will only quit her revenge with her life. On the contrary, if the dam be shot, the cubs will not leave her side, even after she has been dead a long time; but continue about her, showing, by a variety of affecting actions and gestures, marks of the deepest affliction, and thus become an easy prey to the hunters. Nor is the sagacity of the bears, if the Kamtschadales are to be credited, less extraordinary, or less worthy to be remarked, than their natural affection. Of this they have a thousand stories to relate. I shall content myself with mentioning one instance, which the natives speak of as a well-known fact; and that is, the stratagem they have recourse to, in order to catch the bareins, which are considerably too swift of foot for them. These animals keep together in large herds; they frequent mostly the low grounds, and love to browse at the feet of rocks and precipices. The bear hunts them by scent till he come in sight, when he advances warily, keeping above them, and concealing himself amongst the rocks, as he makes his approaches, till he gets immediately over them, and nigh enough for his purpose. He then begins to push down, with his paws, pieces of the rock amongst the herd below. This manœuvre is not followed by any attempt to pursue, until he find he has maimed one of the flock, upon which a course immediately ensues, that proves successful, or otherwise, according to the hurt the barein has received.

I cannot conclude this digression without observing, that the Kamtschadales very thankfully acknowledge their obligations to the bears for what little advancement they have hitherto made, either in the sciences or polite arts. They confess that they owe to them all their skill both in physic and surgery; that by remarking with what herbs these animals rub the wounds they have received, and what they have recourse to when sick and languid, they have become acquainted with most of the simples in use among them, either in the way of internal medicine, or external application. But what will appear somewhat more singular is, they acknowledge the bears likewise for their dancing-masters. Indeed, the evidence of one's senses puts this out of dispute; for the bear dance of the Kamtschadales is an exact counterpart of every attitude and gesture peculiar to this animal, through its various functions; and this is the foundation and ground-work of all their other dances, and what they value themselves most upon. I returned to the ships on the 28th, very well pleased with my excursion, as it had afforded me an opportunity of seeing a little more of the country, and of observing the manners and behaviour of the Kamtschadales, when freed from that constraint which they evidently lie under in the company of the Russians.

No occurrence worth mentioning took place till the 30th, when Captain Gore went to Paratounca, to put up in the church there an escutcheon, prepared by Mr. Webber, with an inscription upon it, setting forth Captain Clerke's age and rank, and the object of the expedition in which he was engaged at the time of his decease. We also affixed to the tree under which he was buried a board, with an inscription upon it to the same effect. Before his departure, Captain Gore left orders with me to get the ships out of the harbour into the bay, to be in readiness to sail. We were prevented from doing this by a violent gale of wind, which lasted the whole day of the 1st of October. However, on the 2d, both ships warped out of the harbour, clear of the narrow passage, and came to anchor in seven fathoms, a quarter of a mile from the ostrog. The day before we went out of the harbour, the cattle arrived from Verchnei; and that the men might receive the full benefit of this capital and much-longed-for supply, by consuming it fresh, Captain Gore came to a determination of staying five or six days longer. Nor was this time idly employed. The boats, pumps, sails, and rigging of both ships, thereby received an additional repair. And Captain Gore sparing me some molasses, and the use of the Resolution's copper, I was enabled to brew a fortnight's beer for the crew, and to make a farther provision of ten puncheons of strong spruce essence. The present supply was the more acceptable, as our last cask of spirits, except a small quantity left in reserve for cases of necessity, was now serving out.

The 3rd was the name-day of the empress, and we could want no inducement to show it every possible respect. Accordingly, Captain Gore invited the priest of Paratounca, Ivaskin, and the sergeant, to dinner; and an entertainment was also provided for the inferior officers of the garrison, for the two *Toions* of Paratounca, and St. Peter and St. Paul, and for the other better sort of Kamtschadale inhabitants. The rest of the natives, of every description,

were invited to partake with the ships' companies, who had a pound of good fat beef served out to each man; and what remained of our spirits was made into grog, and divided amongst them. A salute of twenty-one guns was fired at the usual hour; and the whole was conducted (considering the part of her dominions it was in) in a manner not unworthy so renowned and magnificent an empress. On the 5th, we received from Bolcheretsk a fresh supply of tea, sugar, and tobacco. This present had met Captain Shmaleff on his return, and was accompanied by a letter from him, in which he informed us, that the sloop from Okotsk had arrived during his absence, and that Madame Shmaleff, who was entirely in our interests, had lost no time in despatching a courier, with the few presents, of which our acceptance was requested.

The appearance of foul weather, on the 6th and 7th, prevented our unmooring; but on the morning of the 8th, we sailed out toward the mouth of the bay, and hoisted in all the boats; when the wind, veering to the southward, stopped our farther progress, and obliged us to drop anchor in ten fathoms; the ostrog bearing due north, half a league distant. The weather being foggy, and the wind from the same quarter during the forenoon of the 9th, we continued in our station. At four in the afternoon, we again unmoored; but whilst we were, with great difficulty, weighing our last anchor, I was told that the drummer of the marines had left the boat, which had just returned from the village, and that he was last seen with a Kamtschadale woman, to whom his messmates knew he had been much attached, and who had often been observed persuading him to stay behind. Though this man had been long useless to us, from a swelling in his knee, which rendered him lame, yet this made me the more unwilling he should be left behind, to become a miserable burthen, both to the Russians and himself. I therefore got the sergeant to send parties of soldiers in different directions, in search of him, whilst some of our sailors went to a well-known haunt of his in the neighbourhood, where they found him with his woman. On the return of this party, with our deserter, we weighed, and followed the Resolution out of the bay.

Having at length taken our leave of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, I shall conclude this chapter with a particular description of Awatska bay, and the coast adjoining; not only because (its three inlets included) it constitutes perhaps the most extensive and safest harbour that has yet been discovered, but because it is the only port in this part of the world, capable of admitting ships of any considerable burthen. The term bay, indeed, is perhaps not applicable, properly speaking, to a place so well sheltered as Awatska; but then it must be observed, that from the loose, undistinguishing manner, in which navigators have denominated certain situations of sea and land, with respect to each other, bays, roads, sounds, harbours, &c. we have no defined and determinate ideas affixed to these words, sufficient to warrant us in changing a popular name, for one that may appear more proper.

The entrance into this bay, is in 52° 51′ N. latitude, and 158° 48′ E. longitude, and lies in the bight of another exterior bay, formed by Cheepoonskoi Noss, to the north, and Cape Gavareea to the south. The former of these headlands bears from the latter north-east by north, three quarters east, and is distant thirty-two leagues. The coast, from Cape Gavareea to the entrance of Awatska Bay, takes a direction nearly north, and is eleven leagues in extent. It consists of a chain of high, ragged cliffs, with detached rocks frequently lying off them. This coast, at a distance, presents, in many parts, an appearance of bays or inlets, but on a nearer approach, the headlands were found connected by low ground.

Cheepoonskoi Noss bears, from the entrance of the bay, east north-east a quarter east, and is seventeen leagues distant. On this side, the shore is low and flat, with hills rising behind, to a considerable height. In the latitude of Cape Gavareea, there is an error of twenty-one miles in the Russian charts; its true latitude being 52° 21′.

This striking difference of the land on each side Awatska Bay, with their different bearings, are the best guides to steer for it, in coming from the southward: and, in approaching it from the northward, Cheepoonskoi Noss will make itself very conspicuous; for it is a high projecting headland, with a considerable extent of level ground, lower than the Noss, uniting it to the continent. It presents the same appearance, whether viewed from the north or south, and will warn the mariner not to be deceived, in imagining Awatska Bay to lie in the bight which the coast forms to the northward of this Noss, and which might be the

case, from the striking resemblance there is between a conical hill within this bight or bay, and one to the south of Awatska Bay.

I have been thus particular, in giving a minute description of this coast, from our own experience of the want of it. For had we been furnished with a tolerable account of the form of the coast, on each side of Awatska Bay, we should on our first arrival upon it, have got safely within the bay two days before we did, and thereby have avoided part of the stormy weather, which came on when we were plying off the mouth of the harbour. Besides, from the prevalence of fogs in these seas, it must frequently happen, that an observation for ascertaining the latitude cannot be got; to which we may add, that the deceptive appearances land makes, when covered with snow, and when viewed through an hazy atmosphere, both which circumstances prevail here, during the greatest part of the year, render the knowledge of a variety of discriminating objects the more necessary. Should, however, the weather be clear enough to admit a view of the mountains on the coast in its neighbourhood, these will serve to point out the situation of Awatska Bay, with a great deal of precision. For to the south of it are two high mountains; that which is nearest the bay, is shaped like a sugar-loaf; the other, which is farther inland, does not appear so high, and is flat at the top. To the north of the bay, are three very conspicuous mountains; the westernmost is, to appearance, the highest; the next is the volcano mountain, which may be known from the smoke that issues from its top, and likewise from some high table-hills connected with it, and stretching to the northward: these two are somewhat peaked. The third, and the most northerly, might perhaps be more properly called a cluster of mountains, as it presents to the sight several flat tops. When the navigator has got within the capes, and into the outward bay, a perpendicular headland, with a light-house erected upon it, will point out the entrance of the bay of Awatska to the northward. To the eastward of this headland lie many sunken rocks, stretching into the sea, to the distance of two or three miles; and which will show themselves, if there be but a moderate sea or swell. Four miles to the south of the entrance lies a small round island, very distinguishable from being principally composed of high pointed rocks, with one of them strikingly remarkable, as being much larger, more peaked and perpendicular than the rest.

It is no way necessary to be equally particular in the description of the bay itself, as of its approaches and environs; since no words can give the mariner so perfect an idea of it, as the plan*. From this it will appear, that the entrance is at first near three miles wide, and in the narrowest part one mile and a half, and four miles long, in a north north-west direction. Within the mouth is a noble basin of twenty-five miles' circuit, with the capacious harbours of Tarcinska to the west, of Rakoweena to the east, and the small one of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, where we lay, to the north. Tarcinska harbour is about three miles in breadth, and twelve in length; it stretches to the east-south-east, and is separated from the sea, at the bottom, by a narrow neck of land. The road into this harbour is perfectly free from rocks or shoals. We had never less than seven fathoms' water, as far as our survey extended; for we were not able to get to the bottom of the harbour on account of the ice. The harbour of Rakoweena would deserve the preference over the other two, if its entrance were not impeded by a shoal lying in the middle of the channel, which, in general, will make it necessary to warp in, unless there be a leading wind. It is from one mile to half a mile in width, and three miles long, running at first in a south-east, and afterward in an easterly direction. Its depth is from thirteen to three fathoms.

Saint Peter and Saint Paul's is one of the most convenient little harbours I ever saw. It will hold conveniently half a dozen ships, moored head and stern, and is fit for giving them any kind of repairs. The south side is formed by a low sandy neck, exceedingly narrow, on which the ostrog is built, and whose point may almost be touched by ships going in, having three fathoms' water close in with it. In the mid-channel, which is no more than two hundred and seventy-eight feet across, there are six fathoms and a half; the deepest water

* This refers to a plan given in the original edition, but omitted here, as is the case with all maps and plans merely explanatory of sailing directions, such being either transferred to the common charts, or superseded by more modern surveys.—Ed.

within is seven fathoms; and in every part over a muddy bottom. We found some inconvenience from the toughness of the ground, which constantly broke the messenger, and gave us a great deal of trouble in getting up the anchors. There is a watering-place at the head of the harbour.

The plan will likewise point out the shoal that is to be avoided, lying off the eastern harbour as well as the spit within the entrance, stretching from the south-west shore, and over which there is only three fathoms' water. In order to steer clear of the latter, a small island, or perhaps it may rather be called a large detached rock, lying on the west shore of the entrance, is to be shut in with the land to the south of it; and, to steer clear of the former, the Three Needle Rocks, which lie on the east shore of the entrance near the light-house head, are to be kept open with the headlands (or bluff heads) that rise to the northward of the first small bay, or bending, observable on the east side of the entrance. When arrived to the north of the north headland of the eastern harbour, the shoal is past. In sailing into the harbour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and approaching the village, it is necessary to keep in close to the eastern shore, in order to avoid a spit, which runs from the headland to the south-west of the town.

Before I proceed to give a table of the result of our astronomical observations at this place, it may be proper to acquaint the reader, that the timekeeper we had on board the Resolution, which was an exact copy of that invented by Mr. Harrison, and executed by Mr. Kendal, stopped on the 27th of April, a few days before we first came into Awatska Bay. It had been always kept with the most scrupulous care during the voyage, having never been trusted for a moment into any other hands than those of Captain Cook and mine. No accident could, therefore, have happened to it, to which we could attribute its stopping; nor could it have arisen from the effects of intense cold, as the thermometer was very little below the freezing point. As soon as the discovery was made, I consulted with Captain Clerke what course it was best to pursue; whether to let it remain as it was, entirely useless to us, for the purpose of satisfying the curious at home, where it was sure of being examined by proper judges, or suffer it to be inspected by a seaman on board, who had served a regular apprenticeship to a watchmaker in London; and appeared sufficiently knowing in the business, from his success in cleaning and repairing several watches since we had been out. The advantages we had derived from its accuracy made us extremely unwilling to be deprived of its use during the remaining part of the voyage; and that object appeared to us of much greater importance than the small degree of probability, which we understood was all that could be expected, of obtaining any material knowledge respecting its mechanism, by deferring the inspection of it. At the same time, it should be remembered, that the watch had already had a sufficient trial, both in the former voyage, and during the three years we had now had it on board, to ascertain its utility. On these considerations, we took the opportunity of the first clear day, after our arrival in Awatska Bay, of opening the watch, which was done in the Captain's cabin, and in our presence. The watchmaker found no part of the work broken; but not being able to set it agoing, he proceeded to take off the cock and balance, and cleaned both the pivot-holes, which he found very foul, and the rest of the work rather dirty; he also took off the dial-plate; and, between two teeth of the wheel that carries the second hand, found a piece of dirt, which he imagined to be the principal cause of its stopping. Having afterward put the work together, and oiled it as sparingly as possible, the watch appeared to go free and well.

Having received orders the next day to go to Bolcheretsk, the time-keeper was left in the care of Mr. Bayly, to compare it with his watch and clock, in order to get its rate. On my return, I was told it had gone for some days with tolerable regularity, losing only from fifteen to seventeen seconds a-day, when it stopped a second time. It was again opened, and the cause of its stopping appeared to be owing to the man having put some part of the work badly together when he first opened it. Being again adjusted, it was found to gain above a minute a-day; and, in the attempt to alter the regulator and balance-spring, he broke the latter. He afterward made a new spring; but the watch now went so irregularly, that we made no farther use of it. The poor fellow was not less chagrined than we were, at our bad success; which, however, I am convinced was more owing to the miserable tools he was

obliged to work with, and the stiffness his hands had contracted from his ordinary occupation, than to his want of skill.

For the satisfaction of those who may wish to have a general view of its rate of going, I have added the following table. The first and second columns contain the dates when, and the names of the places where, its rate was observed. The third column contains the daily error of its rate, so found from mean time. The fourth column has the longitude of each place, according to the Greenwich rate; that is, calculated on a supposition that the timekeeper had not varied its rate from the time it left Greenwich. But as we had frequent opportunities of ascertaining the variation of its daily error, or finding its new rate, the fifth column has the longitude, according to its last rate, calculated from the true longitude of the place last departed from. The sixth is the true longitude of the place, deduced from astronomical observations made by ourselves, and compared with those made by others, whenever such could be obtained. The seventh column shows the difference between the fourth column and the sixth in space; and the eighth the same difference in time. The ninth shows the number of months and days in which the error, thus determined, had been accumulating. The difference between the fifth and sixth columns is found in the tenth, and shows the error of the timekeeper, according to its rate last found in space; and the eleventh, the same error in time. The twelfth contains the time elapsed in sailing from the place where the rate was last taken, to the place whose longitude is last determined. The thirteenth and fourteenth contain the state of the air at the time of each observation.

As persons unaccustomed to calculations of this sort, may find some difficulty in comprehending the nature of the table, the two following instances will more clearly explain it. Thus, on the 24th October, 1776 (first column), at the Cape of Good Hope (second column), we found the daily error in the rate of its going to be 2″,26 (third column). The longitude of that place, calculated on a supposition that the rate of the timekeeper had continued the same from the time of our leaving Greenwich, that is, had a regular daily error of 1″,21, is found to be 18° 26′ 30″ E. (fourth column). And as its rate at Greenwich is, in this instance, its latest rate, the longitude thus found is the same (fifth column). The true longitude of the place is 18° 23′ 15″ (sixth column). From whence it appears that, in our run from Greenwich to the Cape, the watch would have led us into an error only of 3′ 15″ (seventh column), or three miles one quarter; or had varied 13″ of time (eighth column), in four months twenty-three days (ninth column), the period between our leaving Greenwich and our arrival at the Cape. As the Greenwich is the latest error, the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth columns will be the same with the seventh and ninth.

But, on the 22nd of February, 1777 (first column), at Queen Charlotte's Sound, New Zealand (second column), the daily error of its rate was found to be 2″,91 (third column). The longitude of this place, according to the Greenwich rate, is 175° 25′ (fourth column). But having found at the Cape that it had altered its rate, from a daily error of 1′,21 to 2′,26, the longitude corrected by this new rate is found to be 174° 54′ 23″ (fifth column). The true longitude of the place being 174° 23′ 31″ (sixth column); it appears, that in our run from Greenwich to New Zealand the error would have been only 1° 1′ 29″ (seventh column), or sixty-one miles and a half, even if we had not had an opportunity of correcting its daily error; or, in other words, that the watch had varied 4′ 6″ (eighth column), in eight months eleven days (ninth column). But the longitude, as given by its new rate, leaves an error of only 30′ 54″ (tenth column), near thirty-one miles, or, in time, 2′ 3″,6 (eleventh column), which has been accumulating during our run from the Cape to New Zealand, or, in three months, 28° (twelfth column). The thirteenth and fourteenth columns require no explanation.

TABLE

OF THE RATE AND ERROR OF MR. KENDAL'S WATCH, ON BOARD THE RESOLUTION.

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	XI.	XII.	XIII.		XIV.
TIME.	PLACE.	Error of daily Rate.	Longitude by Greenwich Rate.	Longitude by new Rate.	True Longitude.	Accumulated Error by Greenwich Rate, in Space.	Accumulated Error by Greenwich Rate, in Time.	Length of Time.	Error by new Rate. in Space.	Error by new Rate. in Time.	Length of Time.	Thermom. Height. great.	Thermom. Height. least.	Barometer.
1776.		″	° ′ ″	° ′ ″	° ′ ″	° ′ ″	h. ′ ″	m. d.	° ′ ″	h. ′ ″	m. d.			
June 11	Greenwich . .	—1,21	0 0 E.	0 0 E.	0 0 E.									
Oct. 24	Cape of Good Hope . .	—2,26	18 26 30	18 26 30	18 23 15	+0 3 15	0 0 13,0	4 23	+ 0 3 15	0 0 13,0	4 23	84	63	30, 0
1777.														
Feb. 22	Queen Charlotte's Sound, New Zealand	—2,91	175 25 0	174 54 25	174 23 31	1 1 29	0 4 5,3	9 4	+ 0 30 54	0 2 3,6	4 9	73	53	30, 0
May 7	Annamooka .	+ 0,52	186 13 26	186 13 15	185 11 18	1 2 8	0 4 8,5	11 22	+ 1 1 57	0 4 7,8	2 18	83	74	30, 1
June 7	Annamooka . .	—0,54	186 8 28	186 12 43	185 11 18	0 57 10	0 3 48,6	12 25	+ 1 1 25	0 4 5,6	1 3	79	73	30, 15
July 1	Tongataboo . .	—1,78	185 48 50	184 53 0	184 55 18	0 53 32	0 3 34,1	13 21	— 0 2 18	0 0 9,2	0 24	85	69	30, 15
Sept. 1	Otaheite . . .	—1,54	211 41 26	210 39 8	210 22 28	1 18 58	0 5 15,8	15 27	+ 0 16 40	0 1 6,6	2 6	90	70	30, 1
Oct. 17	Huaheine . .	—2,30	210 14 52	208 50 24	208 52 24	1 22 28	0 5 29,8	17 17	— 0 2 0	0 0 8,0	1 18	90½	72	29, 9
Nov. 7	Ulietea. . . .	—1,52	209 42 54	208 25 22	208 25 22	1 17 32	0 5 10,1	18 10	0 0 0	0 0 0,0	0 21	92	70	29, 7
1778.														
April 16	Nootka . . .	—7,0	235 32 45	233 56 0	233 17 8	2 15 27	0 9 1,8	24 2	+ 0 28 42	0 2 34,8	5 20	65	41	30, 0
Oct. 14	Samganoodha .	—8,8	197 44 15	193 12 35	193 31 20	4 12 55	0 16 51,6	30 15	— 0 18 45	0 1 15,0	6 13	57	36	30, 15
1779.														
Feb. 2	Owhyhee . .	—9,6	214 7 35	203 37 22	204 0 0	10 7 35	0 40 30,3	34 14	— 0 22 38	0 1 30,5	3 27	88	70	29, 8
May 1	Saint Peter and Saint Paul, Kamtschatka	T.K. stopt.	173 36 0	159 20 0	158 43 16	14 52 44	0 59 30,9	37 18	— 0 36 44	0 2 16,9	3 4			

From this view of the timekeeper it appears, that for near two years it altered its rate very inconsiderably, and, therefore, that its error, according to the Greenwich rate, if we had had no opportunities of correcting it, would have amounted only to $2\frac{1}{4}°$. That afterward, at King George's Sound, or Nootka, it was found to have varied exceedingly; of course, the longitude, by its Greenwich rate, was becoming considerably erroneous. About this time, it should be remarked, the thermometer was varying from 65° to 41°. The greatest alteration we ever observed in the watch was, during the three weeks we were cruising to the north; in which interval, it gave the longitude of the East Cape with a difference of twenty-eight miles. I have marked the longitude of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, as given by the timekeeper, notwithstanding it stopped a few days before we arrived there; this I was enabled to do, from comparing the longitude it gave the day before it stopped with that given by Mr. Bayley's watch, and allowing for the error of the latter.

The use of so accurate a measure of time is sufficiently evident, from its furnishing in itself the means of approximating to the longitude at sea, as may be seen in the above table. But besides this we were enabled, by the same means, to give a degree of accuracy to the lunar observations, which they cannot otherwise pretend to; and, at the same time, by reducing a number of those observations to one time, obtain results approaching still nearer the truth. In surveying coasts, and ascertaining the true position of capes and headlands, it reaches the utmost degree of practical exactness. On the other hand, it is to be observed, that lunar observations, in their turn, are absolutely necessary, in order to reap the greatest possible advantages from the timekeeper; since, by ascertaining the true longitude of places, they discover the error of its rate. The original observations that were made in the course of this voyage have been published by order of the board of longitude; and to those I must refer the reader for his further information on this subject.

N.B.—The observatories were placed on the west side of the village of Saint Peter and Saint Paul.

Latitude deduced from meridian zenith distances of the sun, and of five stars to the south, and five to the north of the zenith	53°	0′	38″	north.
Longitude deduced from one hundred and forty-six sets of lunar observations	158	43	16	east.
Longitude by timekeeper, according to its Greenwich rate	173	36	0	
Longitude by timekeeper, according to its rate found at Owhyhee . . .	159	20	0	
Variation of the compass, by azimuths taken with three compasses, made by Knight, Gregory, and Martin	6	18	40	east.
Dip of the north pole of the magnetic needle, being a mean of the observations taken in June and September	63	5	0	

It was high-water, on the full and change of the moon, at thirty-six minutes past four, and the greatest rise was five feet eight inches. The tides were very regular every twelve hours. On the coast, near the bay, the flood came from the south, and the time of high-water was near two hours sooner than in the harbour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul.

CHAPTER VI. — GENERAL ACCOUNT OF KAMTSCHATKA. — GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION. — RIVERS.—SOIL.—CLIMATE.—VOLCANOES.—HOT SPRINGS.—PRODUCTIONS.—VEGETABLES.—ANIMALS.—BIRDS.—FISH.

Kamtschatka is the name of a peninsula situated on the eastern coast of Asia, running nearly north and south, from 52° to 61° north latitude; the longitude of its southern extremity being 156° 45′ E. The isthmus, which joins it to the continent on the north, lies between the Gulf of Olutorsk and the Gulf of Penshinsk. Its southern extremity is Cape Lopatka, a word signifying the blade-bone of a man, and is so called from its supposed resemblance to it. The shape of the whole peninsula is not unlike that of a shoe, widening from the toe (which we may suppose to be Cape Lopatka) toward the middle, and narrowing again toward the heel, the neck of land above-mentioned connecting it with the continent.

Its greatest breadth is from the mouth of the river Tigil to that of Kamtschatka, and is computed to be two hundred and thirty-six miles, from whence it narrows very gradually toward each extremity. It is bounded on the north by the country of the Koriacks; to the south and east by the north Pacific Ocean; and to the west by the sea of Okotsk. A chain of high mountains stretches the whole length of the country, from north to south, dividing it nearly into two equal parts, from whence a great number of rivers take their rise, and empty themselves, on each side, into the Pacific Ocean and the sea of Okotsk.

There are three rivers of much greater magnitude than the rest; the Bolchoireka, or Great River, so called from *bolchoia*, which signifies great, and *reka*, a river; the river Kamtschatka and the Awatska. The first empties itself into the sea of Okotsk, and is navigable for the Russian galliots upwards of five leagues from its mouth, or within nine miles of Bolcheretsk, a town situated at the conflux of the Goltsoffka and the Bistraia, which here lose themselves in the Bolchoireka. The Bistraia itself is no inconsiderable river. It derives its source from the same mountain with the river Kamtschatka, and, by taking a direct contrary course, affords the Kamtschadales the means of transporting their goods by water in small canoes, almost across the whole peninsula. The river Kamtschatka, after maintaining a course of near three hundred miles from south to north, winds round to the eastward, in which direction it empties itself into the ocean, a little to the southward of Kamtschatkoi Noss. Near the mouth of the Kamtschatka, to the north-west, lies the great lake called Nerpitsch, from *nerpi*, a Kamtschadale word, signifying a seal, with which this lake abounds. About twenty miles up the river, reckoning from the mouth of the lake, is a fort called Nishnei Kamtschatka ostrog, where the Russians have built a hospital and barracks, and which, we were informed, is become the principal mart in this country.

The river Awatska arises from the mountains situated between the Bolchoireka and the Bistraia, and running from north-west to south-east, a course of one hundred miles, falls into the bay of Awatska. The Tigil is likewise a river of considerable size, rising amidst some very high mountains, which lie under the same parallel with Kamtschatkoi Noss, and running in an even course from south-east to north-west, falls into the sea of Okotsk. All the other rivers of this peninsula, which are almost infinite in number, are too small to deserve a particular enumeration.

If I may judge of the soil from what I saw of its vegetable productions, I should not hesitate in pronouncing it barren in the extreme. Neither in the neighbourhood of the bay, nor in the country I traversed on my journey to Bolcheretsk, nor in any of our hunting expeditions, did I ever meet with the smallest spot of ground that resembled what in England is called a good green turf, or that seemed as if it could be turned to any advantage, either in the way of pasturage, or other mode of cultivation. The face of the country in general was thinly covered with stunted trees, having a bottom of moss, mixed with low weak heath. The whole bore a more striking resemblance to Newfoundland than to any other part of the world I had ever seen It must, however, be observed, that I saw at Paratounca three or four stacks of sweet and very fine-looking hay; and Major Behm informed me, that many parts of the peninsula, particularly the banks of the river Kamtschatka and the Bistraia, produce grass of great height and strength, which they cut twice in the summer; and that the hay is of a succulent quality, and particularly well adapted to the fattening of cattle. Indeed it should appear, from the size and fatness of the thirty-six head that were sent down to us from the Verchnei ostrog, and which we were told were bred and fattened in the neighbourhood, that they must have had the advantage of both good pastures and meadows. For it is worth our notice, that the first supply we received, consisting of twenty, came to us just at the close of the winter, and before the snow was off the ground, and therefore probably had tasted nothing but hay for the seven preceding months. And this agrees with what is related by Krascheninicoff, that there is no part of the country equal in fertility to that which borders on the river Kamtschatka; and that to the north and south it is much inferior, both in point of soil and climate. He relates, that repeated experiments have been made in the culture of oats, barley, and rye, in different quarters near this river, which have generally succeeded; that, in particular, some persons belonging to the convent of Jakutsk, who had settled in that part of the country, had sown

barley there, which had yielded an extraordinary increase; and he has no doubt but that wheat, in many parts, particularly near the source of the Bistraia and Kamtschatka, would grow as well as in the generality of countries situated in the same latitude. Perhaps the superior fertility of the country here spoken of may, in a great measure, be accounted for, from its lying in that part of the peninsula which is by much the widest, and consequently farthest removed from the sea, on each side. The moist chilling fogs, and drizzling weather, which prevail almost perpetually along the coast, must necessarily render the parts adjacent very unfit for all the purposes of agriculture.

It is natural to suppose, that the severity of the climate must be in due proportion to the general sterility of the soil, of which it is probably the cause. The first time we saw this country was in the beginning of May, 1779, when the whole face of it was covered with snow, from six to eight feet deep. On the 6th we had snow, with the wind from the north-east. On the 8th of May, at noon, the thermometer stood at 32°; and the same day, some of our men were sent on shore to try to cut wood; but the snow was still so deep on the ground, as to render all their attempts fruitless. Nor was it found practicable to proceed in this necessary business, with all the efforts of a very stout party, till the 12th, at which time the thaw began to advance gradually. The sides of the hills were now in some places free from snow; and by the beginning of June, it was generally melted from the low lands. On the 15th of June, the day we sailed out of the harbour, the thermometer had never risen higher than 58°, nor the barometer than 30° 04′. The winds blew almost invariably from the eastward during our stay, and the south-east was more prevalent than any other. On our return, the 24th of August, the foliage of the trees, and all other sorts of vegetation, seemed to be in the utmost state of perfection. For the remainder of this month, and through September, the weather was very changeable, but in no respect severe. The winds, at the beginning of the month, were, for the most part, easterly, after which they got round to the west. The greatest height of the thermometer was 65°, the lowest 40°. The barometer's greatest height 30°, its lowest 29° 3′. So that upon the whole, during this month, an equal and moderate degree of temperature prevailed. But at the beginning of October, the tops of the hills were again covered with new-fallen snow, the wind continuing westerly.

In computing the seasons, the spring ought certainly not to be taken into the account. From the middle of June to the middle of September may be properly said to constitute the summer. October may be considered as an autumnal month; from thence till the middle of June it is perfect winter. It was toward the end of May that we made our journey between Bolcheretsk and Awatska, over the snow in sledges. It is said that the climate in the country adjoining to the river Kamtschatka, is not less serene and temperate than in many parts of Siberia that are under the same latitude. This variation is probably owing to the same causes to which the superior fertility of the soil in those parts has been before attributed. But it is not in the sterility of the ground alone that the Kamtschadales feel the unfavourable temperature of their climate. The uncertainty of the summer season sometimes prevents their laying up a sufficient stock of dried fish for their winter's provision, and the moisture of the air causes worms to breed in them, which not unfrequently destroy the greatest part.

I do not remember that we had either thunder or lightning during our stay, excepting on the night of the eruption of the volcano; and, from the account of the inhabitants, they are very seldom troubled with storms of this kind, and never but in a slight degree. The general severity of the winter, as well as the dreadful hurricanes of wind and snow that season brings along with it, cannot be questioned, from the subterraneous habitations the natives are under a necessity of retiring to, for warmth and security. Major Behm told us, that the cold and inclemency of the winter of 1779 was such, that, for several weeks, all intercourse between the inhabitants was entirely stopped, every one being afraid to stir, even from one house to another, for fear of being frost-bitten. This extraordinary rigour of climate, in so low a latitude, may be accounted for, from its being situated to the east of an immense uncultivated tract of country, and from the prevalence of the westerly winds, blowing over so extensive and cold a continent. The extraordinary violence and impetuosity of the winds, is attributed to the subterraneous fires, the sulphureous exhalations,

and the general volcanic disposition of the country. This peninsula abounds in volcanoes, of which only three have, for some time past, been subject to eruptions. We have already mentioned that which is situated in the neighbourhood of Awatska. Besides this, there are others not less remarkable, according to the account given of them by Krascheninicoff.

The volcano of Tolbatchick is situated on a neck of ground between the river of Kamtschatka and Tolbatchick. The mountain, from the summit of which the eruptions proceed, is of a considerable height, and terminates in pointed rocks. In the beginning of the year 1739, there issued from it a whirlwind of flames, which reduced to ashes the forests of the neighbouring mountains. This was succeeded by a cloud of smoke, which spread over and darkened the whole country, till it was dissipated by a shower of cinders, that covered the ground to the distance of thirty miles. M. Krascheninicoff, who was at this time on a journey from Bolchoireka to the Kamtschatka ostrog, at no great distance from the mountain, relates, that the eruption was preceded by an alarming sound in the woods, which he thought the forerunner of some dreadful storm or hurricane, till three shocks of an earthquake, at about a minute's interval each, convinced him of its real cause; but that he was hindered from approaching nearer the mountain by the cinders that fell, and prevented him from proceeding on his journey. The third volcano is on the top of the mountain of Kamtschatka, which is mentioned as by far the highest in the peninsula. A thick smoke never ceases to ascend from its summit, and it has frequent eruptions of the most violent and dreadful kind, some of which were much talked of, and seemed to be fresh in the memories of the Kamtschadales. The country is likewise said to contain numerous springs of hot water. The only one that I had an opportunity of seeing was at Natchekin ostrog, and hath been already described. Krascheninicoff makes mention of several others, and also of two very extraordinary pits or wells, at the bottom of which the water is seen to boil as in a caldron, with prodigious force and impetuosity; at the same time a dreadful noise issues out of them, and so thick a vapour, that a man cannot be seen through it.

Of the trees which fell under our notice, the principal are the birch, the poplar, the alder (with the bark of which they stain their leather), many species of the willow, but all small, and two sorts of dwarfish pines or cedars*. One of these grows upon the coast, creeping along the ground, and seldom exceeds two feet in height. It was of this sort we made our essence for beer, and found it excellent for the purpose. The other grows on the mountains, to a greater height, and bears a small nut or apple. We were told by the old *Toion* at St. Peter and St. Paul, that Beering, during the time he lay in that harbour, first taught them the use of the decoction of these pines, and that it had proved a most excellent remedy for the scurvy; but, whether from the great scarcity of sugar, or from what other cause we could not learn, we were sorry to find that it was no longer in use amongst them. The birch was by far the most common tree we saw, and of this we remarked three sorts. Two of them fit for timber, and differing only in the texture and colour of the bark; the third of a dwarfish kind. This tree is applied to a great variety of uses by the inhabitants. The liquor which, on tapping, it yields in great abundance, they drink without mixture or any preparation, as we had frequent opportunities of observing upon our journey to Bolcheretsk, and found it ourselves pleasant and refreshing, but somewhat purgative. The bark they convert into vessels for almost all their domestic and kitchen purposes; and it is of the wood of this tree the sledges and canoes are also made †. The birch, and every kind of tree in the neighbourhood of the bay, were small and stunted; and they are obliged to go many miles up into the country for wood of a proper size to work into canoes, for the principal timbers of their *balagans*, and the like uses.

Besides the trees above mentioned, Krascheninicoff relates, that the larch grows on the banks of the river Kamtschatka, and of those that fall into it, but nowhere else, and that there are firs in the neighbourhood of the river Berezowa; that there is likewise the service-

* Krascheninicoff says that the tree here spoken of is a dwarf cedar, for that there is not a pine in the peninsula.

† Krascheninicoff says that the natives likewise convert the bark into a pleasant wholesome food, by stripping it off whilst it is young and green, and cutting it into long narrow stripes, like vermicelli, drying it, and stewing it afterward along with their caviar.

tree (*Padus foliis annuis*); and two species of the whitethorn, one bearing a red the other a black berry. Of the shrub kind, as junipers, the mountain-ash, wild rose-trees, and raspberry-bushes, the country produces great abundance, together with a variety of berries; blue-berries, of two sorts, round and oval; partridge-berries, cranberries, crow-berries, and black-berries. These the natives gather at proper seasons, and preserve, by boiling them into a thick jam, without sugar. They make no inconsiderable part of their winter provisions, and are used as sauce to their dried and salt fish, of which kind of food they are unquestionably excellent correctives. They likewise eat them by themselves, in puddings and various other ways, and make decoctions of them for their ordinary liquor.

We met with several wholesome vegetables, in a wild state, and in great quantities, such as wild celery, angelica, chervil, garlic, and onions. Upon some few patches of ground in the valleys, we found excellent turnips, and turnip-radishes. The garden cultivation went no farther; yet from hence I am led to conclude, that many of the hardy sorts of vegetables (such at least as push their roots downward), like carrots, parsnips, and beet, and perhaps potatoes, would thrive tolerably well. Major Behm told me, that some other sorts of kitchen vegetables had been tried, but did not answer; that neither any of the cabbage or lettuce kind would ever head; and that peas and beans shot up very vigorous stalks, flowered and podded, but the pods never filled. He likewise told me, that in the experiments made by himself at Bolcheretsk, with different sorts of farinaceous grain, there generally came up a very high and strong blade, which eared, but that the ears never yielded flour. This short account of the vegetable productions reaches to such parts of the country only as fell within our notice. In the neighbourhood of the Kamtschatka river, where (as has been observed) both the soil and climate is by much the best in the whole peninsula, garden culture is attended to, and probably with great success, as appears from our having received at the same time, with a second drove of cattle from Verchnei, a present of cucumbers, of very large fine turnips, celery, and some other garden-stuff, of which I do not recollect the kinds.

There are two plants, which, from the great use made of them, merit a particular mention and description. The first is called by the natives the *sarana;* and by botanists, *Lilium Kamtskatiense flore atro rubente* *. The stem is about the thickness of that of the tulip, and grows to the height of five inches, is of a purple colour toward the bottom, and green higher up, and hath growing from it two tier of leaves of an oval figure, the lower consisting of three leaves, the uppermost of four, in the form of a cross: from the top of the stalk grows a single flower, of an exceedingly dark red colour, in shape resembling the flower of the narcissus, only much smaller: from the centre of the flower rises a style of a triangular form, and obtuse at the end, which is surrounded by six white stamina, whose extremities are yellow. The root is of the bulbous kind, and resembles in shape that of garlic, being much of the same size, but rounder, and having, like that, four or five cloves hanging together. The plant grows wild, and in considerable abundance: the women are employed in collecting the roots at the beginning of August, which are afterwards dried in the sun, and then laid up for use. On our second arrival, this harvest was just over, and had fallen much short of

THE SARANA, OR LILIUM KAMTSKATIENSE.

* Gmelin, p. 41. Steller enumerates five different species of this plant.

its usual produce. It is a common observation among the Kamtschadales, that the bounty of Providence never fails them; for that such seasons as are most hurtful to the sarana, are always the most favourable for fishing; and that, on the contrary, a bad fishing month is always made up by the exuberance of the sarana harvest. It is used in cookery in various ways. When roasted in embers, it supplies the place of bread, better than anything the country affords. After being baked in an oven, and pounded, it becomes an excellent substitute for flour and meal of every sort, and in this form is mixed in all their soups, and most of their other dishes. It is esteemed extremely nourishing, has a pleasant bitter taste, and may be eaten every day without cloying. We used to boil these roots, and eat them as potatoes, either alone or with our meat, and found them very wholesome and pleasant. It has been already mentioned, that this useful plant grows also at Oonalashka, where the roots of it are used, and constitute a considerable part of their food, in like manner as in Kamtschatka.

The other plant alluded to is called the sweet-grass; the botanical description is, *Heracleum Sibericum foliis pinnatis, foliolis quinis, intermediis sessilibus corollulis uniformibus.* Hort. Upsal. 65. The time I took particular notice of it was in May, when it was about a foot and a half high, had much the appearance of sedge, and was covered with a white down, or dust, which looked exceedingly like the hoar-frost hanging upon it, and might be rubbed off: it tasted as sweet as sugar, but was hot and pungent. The stalk is hollow, and consists of three or four joints, from each of which arise large leaves, and, when at its full growth, is six feet high. This plant was formerly a principal ingredient in the cookery of most of the Kamtschadale dishes; but since the Russians got possession of the country, it has been almost entirely appropriated to the purpose of distillation. The manner in which it is gathered, prepared, and afterward distilled, is as follows: having cut such stalks as have leaves growing on them, of a proper age (the principal stem, by the time the plant has attained its full growth, having become too dry for their purpose), and scraped off with shells the downy substance on their surface, they are laid in small heaps, till they begin to sweat and smell. On growing dry again, they put them into sacks made of matting; where, after remaining a few days, they are gradually covered with a sweet saccharine powder, which exudes from the hollow of the stalk. From thirty-six pounds of the plant, in this state, they obtain no more than a quarter of a pound of powder. The women, whose province it is to collect and prepare the materials, are obliged to defend their hands with gloves whilst they are scraping the stalks, the rind they remove being of so acrid a quality, as to blister and even ulcerate whatever it touches.

SWEET GRASS, OR HERACLEUM SIBERICUM.

The spirit is drawn from the plant in this state by the following process. After steeping bundles of it in hot water, they promote its fermentation in a small vessel, by the help of berries of the *gimolost**, or of the *golubitsa*†, being careful to close up well the mouth of the vessel, and to keep it in a warm place whilst the fermentation is going on, which is generally so violent as to occasion a considerable noise, and to agitate the vessel in which it is contained. After drawing off this first liquor, they pour on more hot water, and make a second in the same manner. They then pour both liquor and herbs into a copper still, and

* Lonicera pedunculis bifloris, floribus in fundibiliformis, baccâ solitariâ, oblongâ, angulosâ. Gmel. Flor. Sib.

† Myrtillus grandis cæruleus.

draw off the spirit after the usual method. The liquor, thus obtained, is of the strength of brandy; and is called by the natives *raka*. Two pood (seventy-two pounds) of the plant yield generally one *vedro* (twenty-five pints) of *raka*. Steller says, that the spirit distilled from this plant, unscraped, is exceedingly prejudicial to the health, and produces the most sudden and terrible nervous effects.

Besides these, Krascheninicoff mentions a variety of other plants, from whence the inhabitants prepare several decoctions; and which, being mixed with their fish, make palatable and wholesome ragouts. Such as the *kipri**, with which is brewed a pleasant common beverage; and, by boiling this plant and the sweet herb together, in the proportion of one to five of the latter, and fermenting the liquor in the ordinary way, is obtained a strong and excellent vinegar. The leaves of it are used instead of tea; and the pith is dried and mixed in many of their dishes; the *morkovai* †, which is very like angelica; the *kotkorica*‡, the root of which they eat indifferently, green or dried; the *ikoum*§; the *utchichlei* ‖, which is much eaten with fish; with many others. It is said, that the Kamtschadales (before their acquaintance with fire-arms), poisoned their spears and arrows with the juice of the root of the *zgate* ¶; and that wounds inflicted by them are equally destructive to land and marine animals. The Tschutski are reported to use the same drug for this purpose at present.

I shall conclude this part of the natural history of Kamtschatka with an account, from the same author, of three plants, which furnish the materials of all their manufactures. The first is the *Triticum radice perenni spiculis binis lanuginosis* **, which grows in abundance along the coast. Of the straw of this grass they make a strong sort of matting, which they use not only for their floors, but for sacks, bed-clothes, curtains, and a variety of other domestic purposes. Of the same materials, they also make very neat little bags and baskets, of different forms, and for various uses. The plant called *bolotnaia*, which grows in the marshes, and resembles *cyperoides*, is gathered in the autumn, and carded like wool, with a comb made of the bones of the sea-swallow; with this, in lieu of linen and woollen clothes, they swathe their new-born infants, and use it for a covering next the skin whilst they are young. It is also made into a kind of wadding, and used for the purpose of giving additional warmth to various parts of their clothing.

There remains still a vulgar and well-known plant, which, as it contributes more effectually to their subsistence than all the rest put together, must not be passed over in silence. This is the nettle; which, as the country produces neither hemp nor flax, supplies the materials of which are made their fishing-nets; and without which they could not possibly subsist. For this purpose they cut it down in August, and, after hanging it up in bundles in the shade, under their *balagans*, the remainder of the summer, treat it like hemp. They then spin it into thread with their fingers, and twist it round a spindle; after which they twine several threads together, according to the different purposes for which it may be designed.

Though there is little doubt but that many parts of this peninsula would admit of such cultivation as might contribute considerably to the comfort of the inhabitants, yet its real riches must always consist in the number of wild animals it produces; and no labour can ever be turned to so good account as what is employed upon their furrieries. The animals, therefore, which supply these, come next to be considered: and these are, the common fox; the stoat or *ermine*; the *zibelline* or sable; the *isatis* or arctic fox; the varying hare; the mountain rat or earless marmot; the weasel; the glutton or *wolverine*; the *argali* or wild sheep; rein-deer, bears, wolves, dogs.

The fox†† is the most general object of the chase; and they are found in great numbers, and of variety of colours. The most common is the same in species with the European, with this variation, that the colours are more bright and shining; some are of a dark chesnut, others are striped with dark-coloured bars; others have the belly black, and the rest of the body of a light chesnut. Some again are of a very dark brown, some black,

* Epilobium.
† Chœrophyllum seminibus levibus.
‡ Tradescantia fructu molli edulo.
§ Bistorta foliis ovatis, oblongis, acuminatis.
‖ Jacobea foliis cannabis. Steller.
¶ Anemonoides et ranunculus.
** Gmel. Flor. Sib. tom. i. p. 119. Tab. XXV.
†† Canis vulpes.

others of a stone colour; and there are a few quite white; but these last are very scarce. Their fur is exceedingly thick and fine, and of a quality much superior to those either of Siberia or America. A variety of artifices are made use of by the hunters to catch this animal, which, in all climates, seems to preserve the same character of craftiness and cunning. Traps of different sorts, some calculated to fall upon them, others to catch them by the feet, others by the head, are amongst the most common; to which may be added, several ingenious contrivances for taking them in nets. Poisoned baits are likewise in use; and the *nux vomica* is the drug principally employed for this purpose. Before their knowledge of the Russians, by which they became acquainted with fire arms, they also carried bows and arrows to the chase. But since that period, almost every Kamtschadale is provided with a rifle-barrel gun; and, though far from being dexterous in the use of it, its superiority over the former instruments he is ready to acknowledge.

The sables* of Kamtschatka are said to be considerably larger than those of Siberia, and their fur much thicker and brighter, though not of so good a black as those in the neighbourhood of the Olekma and the Vitime†, a circumstance which depreciates their value much more than their superiority in other respects enhances it. The sables of the Tigil and Ouka are counted the best in Kamtschatka; and a pair of these sometimes sell for thirty roubles (five pounds sterling). The worst are those of the southern extremity. The apparatus of the sable hunters consist of a rifle-barrel gun of an exceedingly small bore, a net, and a few bricks: with the first they shoot them when they see them on the trees; the net is to surround the hollow trees in which, when pursued, they take refuge; and the bricks are heated and put into the cavities, in order to smoke them out.

I must refer the reader for an account of the *isatis*,‡ or arctic fox, to Mr. Pennant's Arctic Zoology, as I never saw either the animal or the skin, which I understand they set no value upon. The varying hare§ is also neglected on the same account. They are in great abundance; and, as is always the case with this species, turn quite white during the winter. Our shooting parties saw several of this colour the beginning of May, but found them so shy, that they were not able to get within gun-shot. The mountain-rat or earless marmot ‖, is a beautiful little animal, considerably smaller than a squirrel, and, like it, feeds upon roots, berries, the cedar apple, &c. which it eats sitting up on its hindlegs, and holding them up to its mouth with the paws. Its skin is much valued by the Kamtschadales, is both warm and light, and of a bright shining colour, forming like the plumage of some birds, various colours when viewed in different lights. The stoat, or *ermine*,¶ is here held in no estimation, and, consequently never engages the attention of the hunters, because, as I have heard, its fur is of an ordinary kind. I saw many of these little animals running about; and we bought several of their skins, which were of a bad white, and of a dirty yellow toward the belly. The common weasel** is also neglected, and for the same reason. On

WOLVERINE.

* Mustela zibellina.

† Rivers emptying themselves into the Lena, near its source.

‡ Canis casopus.

§ Lepus timidus.

‖ Mus citellus.

¶ Mustela erminia.

** Mustela nivalis.

the contrary, the skin of the glutton, or wolverine*, is here in the highest repute; insomuch that a Kamtschadale looks upon himself as most richly attired, when a small quantity of this fur is seen upon him. The women adorn their hair with its pats, which are white and considered as an extraordinary piece of finery; and they have a superstitious opinion that the angels are clad with the skins of these animals. It is said, that this creature is easily tamed, and taught a number of pleasant tricks.†

Having already had occasion to speak, as fully as my own knowledge enables me, of the bears, and the method of killing them, I shall only here observe, that all those I saw were of a dun brown colour; that they are generally seen in companies of four or five together; that the time they are most abroad is during the season that the fish (which is their principal food) are pushing up from the sea into the rivers, and that they are seldom visible in the winter months‡. Their skins are exceedingly useful. They make both excellent warm mattresses, and coverings for their beds; comfortable bonnets and gloves, and good collars for the dogs' harness. Their flesh, and particularly the fat, is considered as great delicacies. The wolves are only seen in the winter, at which season they prowl about, as I was told, in large companies in search of prey.

There are rein-deer, both wild and tame, in several parts of the peninsula, but none in the neighbourhood of Awatska. It is somewhat singular, that this nation should never have used the rein-deer for the purposes of carriage, in the same manner as their neighbours, both to the north and the eastward. Their dogs, indeed, seem fully sufficient for all the demands of the natives in their present state; and the breed of Russian horses will, probably, increase with the future necessities of the country. But when it is recollected that the use of dogs, in a great measure, precludes them from the advantage of bringing up any other domestic animals, it will appear the more extraordinary that they should not have adopted the services of an animal so much more gentle as well as powerful.

The *argali*, or wild mountain sheep§, an animal, I believe, unknown in Europe (except in Corsica and Sardinia), is here in great plenty. Its skin is like the deer's, but in gait and general appearance it partakes more of the goat. It has two large twisted horns, sometimes weighing, when at full growth, from twenty-five to thirty pounds, which in running it rests upon its back. These creatures are exceedingly nimble and swift, haunt only the most craggy and mountainous parts, and make their way among the steepest rocks with an agility that is astonishing. The natives work their horns into spoons, and small cups, and platters; and have frequently one of a smaller size hanging to a belt, which serves them to drink out of in their hunting expeditions. This animal is gregarious. I frequently tasted the flesh of them, and thought it had a very sweet and delicate flavour, but never had an opportunity of seeing one alive. I must, therefore, refer the reader for a particular description of this beautiful animal (for such it is said to be), to the Memoirs of the Academy of Petersburg, tom. iv. tab. xiii.

I have already observed, that the dogs of this country are, in shape and mien, exceedingly like the Pomeranian, with this difference, that they are a great deal larger, and the hair somewhat coarser. They are of a variety of colours; but the most general is a light dun, or dirty cream colour. Toward the end of May they are all turned loose, and left to provide for themselves through the summer, being sure to return to their respective homes when the snow begins to fall. Their food in the winter consists entirely of the head, entrails, and back-bones of salmon, which are put aside and dried for that purpose; and with this diet they are fed but sparingly. The number of dogs must needs be very great, since five are yoked to a sledge, and a sledge carries but one person; so that, on our journey to Bolcheretsk we required no fewer than a hundred and thirty-nine, at the two stages of Karatchin and Natchikin. It is also to be remarked, that they never make use of bitches

* Ursus luscus.

† Krascheninicoff relates, that this small animal frequently destroys deer, and the wild mountain sheep, in the following way: they scatter at the bottom of trees bark and moss, which those animals are fond of: and whilst they are picking it up, drop suddenly upon them, and fastening behind the head, suck out their eyes.

‡ The Koriacks make use of a very simple method of catching bears. They suspend, between the forks of a tree, a running noose, within which they fasten a bait, which the animal endeavouring to pull away, is caught, sometimes by the neck and sometimes by the paw.

§ Capra ammon.

for the draft, nor dogs but those that are cut. The whelps are trained to this business, by being tied to stakes with light leathern thongs, which are made to stretch, and having their victuals placed at a proper distance out of their reach, so that, by constantly pulling and labouring in order to come at their food, they acquire both the strength of limbs and the habit of drawing that are necessary for their future destination.

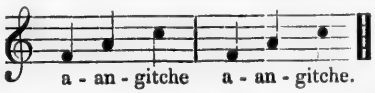
The coasts and bays of this country are frequented by almost every kind of northern sea-fowl; and amongst the rest are the sea-eagles, but not, as at Oonalashka, in great numbers. The rivers inland (if I may judge from what I saw in our journey to Bolcheretsk), are stored with numerous flocks of wild-ducks of various species; one kind of which, in particular, has a most beautiful plumage, and is called by the natives *a-an-gitche*, a word intended to express its cry, which is not less singular than agreeable, consisting of three distinct notes, rising at equal intervals above each other*. There is another species called the mountain-duck†, which, Steller says, is peculiar to Kamtschatka. The drake is covered with plumage of extraordinary beauty. Besides these, we observed a variety of other water-fowl, which, from their size, seemed to be of the wild-goose kind.

In the woods through which we passed, were seen several eagles of a prodigious size, but of what species they were I cannot pretend to determine. These are said to be of three different sorts; the black eagle, with a white head, tail, and legs‡, of which the eaglets are as white as snow; the white eagle, so called, though in fact it is of a light grey; and the lead, or stone-coloured eagle§, which is the most common, and probably those I saw were of this sort. Of the hawk, falcon, and bustard kind, there are great numbers. This country likewise affords woodcocks, snipes, and two sorts of grouse, or moor-game. Swans are also said to be in great plenty, and, in their entertainments, generally to make a part of the repast, though I do not remember to have seen one on any occasion. The vast abundance of wild-fowl with which the country is stored, was manifest from the numerous presents we received from the *Toion* of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and which sometimes consisted of twenty brace.

We met with no amphibious sea-animals on the coast, except seals, with which the bay of Awatska swarmed; as they were, at this time, in pursuit of the salmon that were collecting in shoals, and ready to ascend the rivers. Some of them are said to pursue the fish into the fresh water, and to be found in most of the lakes which communicate with the sea. The sea-otters ‖ are exactly the same with those we met with at Nootka Sound, which have been already fully described, and where they are in great plenty. They are also said to have been formerly in equal abundance here; but, since the Russians have opened a trade for their skins to China, where they are sold at a price much beyond that of any other kind of fur, they have been hunted almost entirely out of the country. Amongst the Kurile Islands they are still caught, though in no great numbers; but are of a superior quality to those of Kamtschatka, or the American coast. We are informed that on Mednoi and Beering's Island, scarce a sea-otter is now to be found; though it appears from Muller¶, that in his time they were exceedingly plentiful.

The Russian voyagers make mention of a great variety of amphibious sea-animals, which are said to frequent these coasts: the reason why we saw no other kinds might be, that this was the season of their migration. Not having it in my power to treat these articles more fully, I conclude them with the less regret, since the ingenious Mr. Pennant has a work,

* Mr. Steller has made the following scale of its cry :—



For a further account of this bird, I must refer the reader to Krascheninicoff, Vol. II. part 4.

† Anas picta, capite pulchrè fasciato. Steller.

‡ Falco leucocephalus.

§ Vultur albiulla.

‖ Mustela lutris.

¶ English translation, p. 59.

almost ready for publication, entitled "Arctic Zoology," in which the learned will receive full information concerning the animals of this peninsula. This gentleman has very obligingly communicated to me his Catalogue of Arctic Animals, with references to his work, and permission to insert it. It will be found at the end of this chapter; and I feel myself extremely happy in laying it before the reader, and thereby presenting him with what could have been furnished from no other quarter, one entire view of Kamtschadale zoology

Fish may be considered as the staple article of food with which Providence hath supplied the inhabitants of this peninsula, who in general must never expect to draw any considerable part of their sustenance either from grain or cattle It is true, the soil, as has been remarked, affords some good and nourishing roots, and every part of the country abounds in berries; but though these alone would be insufficient for the support of the people, yet, at the same time they are necessary correctives of the putrescent quality of their dried fish In short, fish may, with much greater justice, be here called the staff of life, than bread is in other countries; since it appears that neither the inhabitants, nor the only domestic animal they have, the dog, could exist without it.

Whales are very frequently seen, both in the sea of Okotsk and on the side of the eastern ocean, and when caught are turned to a variety of uses. Of the skin they make the soles of their shoes, and straps and thongs for various other purposes. The flesh they eat, and the fat is carefully stored, both for kitchen use and for their lamps. The whiskers are found to be the best material for sewing together the seams of their canoes; and they likewise make nets of them for the larger kinds of fish; and with the under jaw-bones, their sledges are shod. They likewise work the bones into knives; and formerly the chains with which their dogs are tied were made of that material, though at present iron ones are generally used. The intestines they clean, then blow, and dry like bladders, and it is in these their oil and grease is stored; and of the nerves and veins, which are both strong and slip readily, they make excellent snares; so that there is no part of the whale which here does not find its use.

From the middle of May till our departure on the 24th of June, we caught great quantities of excellent flat-fish, trout, and herrings. Upward of three hundred of the former, beside a number of sea-trout, were dragged out at one haul of the seine, the 15th of May. These flat-fish are firm, and of a good flavour, studded upon the back with round prickly knobs, like turbot, and streaked with dark brown lines, running from the head toward the tail. About the end of May the first herring season begins. They approach in great shoals, but do not remain long on the coast. They had entirely left the bay before we sailed out of it the first time, but were beginning to revisit it again in October. It has been already mentioned that the herrings were remarkably fine and large and that we filled a great part of our empty casks with them. The beginning of June, large quantities of excellent cod were taken, a part of which were likewise salted. We caught too, at different times, numbers of small fish, much resembling a smelt, and once drew out a wolf-fish.

Notwithstanding this abundance of flat-fish, cod, and herring, it is on the salmon fishery alone that the Kamtschadales depend for their winter provisions. Of these, it is said by naturalists, there are to be found on this coast all the different species that are known to exist, and which the natives formerly characterised by the different months in which they ascend the rivers. They say, too, that though the shoals of different sorts are seen to mount the rivers at the same time, yet they never mix with each other; that they always return to the same river in which they were bred, but not till the third summer; that neither the male nor female live to regain the sea; that certain species frequent certain rivers, and are never found in others, though they empty themselves nearly at the same place. The first shoals of salmon begin to enter the mouth of the Awatska about the middle of May; and this kind, which is called by the Kamtschadales *tchavitsi*, is the largest and most valued. Their length is generally about three feet and a half; they are very deep in proportion, and their average weight is from thirty to forty pounds. The tail is not forked, but straight. The back is of a dark blue, spotted with black; in other respects they are much like our common salmon. They ascend the river with extraordinary velocity, insomuch that the water is sensibly agitated by their motion; and the Kamtschadales, who are always on the watch for

them about the time they are expected, judge of their approach by this circumstance, and immediately let drop their nets before them. We were presented with one of the first that was caught, and given to understand that it was the greatest compliment that could be paid to us. Krascheninicoff relates, that formerly the Kamtschadales made a point of eating the first fish they took, with great rejoicings, and a variety of superstitious ceremonies; and that after the Russians became their masters, it was for a long time a constant subject of quarrel between them to whom the first should belong. The season for fishing for this species lasts from the middle of May till the end of June.

The other sort is of a smaller kind, weighing only from eight to sixteen pounds. They are known by the general name of the red fish, and begin to collect in the bays, and at the mouths of the rivers, the beginning of June; from which time till the end of September they are caught in great quantities, both upon the eastern and western coast, where any fresh water falls into the sea, and likewise all along the course of the rivers to their very source. The manner in which they draw their nets within the bay of Awatska, is as follows: they tie one end of the net to a large stone at the water's edge, they then push off in a canoe about twenty yards in a right line, dropping their net as they advance, after which they turn and run out the remainder of the net in a line parallel to the shore; in this position they wait, concealing themselves very carefully in the boat, and keeping a sharp look-out for the fish, which always direct their course close in with the shore, and whose approach is announced by a rippling in the water, till they find that the shoal has advanced beyond the boat, when they shoot the canoe to shore in a direct line, and never fail of enclosing their prey. Seldom more than two men are employed to a net, who haul with facility, in this manner, seines larger than ours to which we appoint a dozen. We at first met with very poor success in our own method of hauling; but after the Kamtschadales had very kindly put us in the way, we were not less successful than themselves. In the rivers, they shoot one net across, and haul another down the stream to it. The lakes that have a communication with the sea, which was the case of all those that I saw, abound with fish that have very much the resemblance of small salmon, and are from four to six pounds' weight. I could not understand that the inhabitants thought it worth their while to fish for them. As these lakes are not deep, they become an easy prey to the bears and dogs during the summer; and if I might judge from the quantity of bones to be seen upon the banks, they devour vast numbers of them.

The inhabitants for the most part dry their salmon, and salt very little of it. Each fish is cut into three pieces, the belly-piece being first taken off, and afterward a slice along each side the back-bone. The former of these are dried and smoked, and esteemed the finest part of the fish, and sold, when we were at Saint Peter's and Saint Paul's, at the rate of one hundred for a rouble. The latter are dried in the air, and either eaten whole as bread, or reduced to powder, of which they make pastes and cakes, that are not unpleasant to the taste. The head, tail, and bones, are hung up and dried for winter provision for the dogs.

LIST OF ANIMALS FOUND IN KAMTSCHATKA, COMMUNICATED BY MR. PENNANT.*

** Argali, wild sheep, Arct. Zool. vol. i. p.	12	Capra ammon, Lin. Syst.	97
Ibex, or wild goat	16	Capra Ibex	90
** Rein	22	Cervus tarandus	93
** Wolf	38	Canis lupus	58
** Dog	40		
** Arctic fox	42	Canis lagopus	59
** European fox	45	Canis vulpes	*ib.*
a. black	45		
b. cross	*ib.*		
** Polar bear, in the frozen sea only	55	Ursus arctos	69
** Bear	57	Ursus arctos	
** Wolverine	66	Ursus luscus	71
** Common weasel	75	Mustela nivalis	69
** Stoat or ermine	*ib.*	Mustela erminia	68
** Sable	79	Mustela zibellina	*ib.*
Common otter	86	Mustela lutra	66
** Sea otter	88	Mustela lutris	*ib.*
** Varying hare	94	Lepus timidus	
Alpine hare	97		
** Earless marmot	113	Mus citellus	113
Bobak marmot	115		
Water rat	130	Mus amphibius	82

* The quadrupeds and birds mentioned in this part of the voyage are marked in this list with a double asterisk.

	Common mouse	131	Mus musculus . 83
	Oeconomic mouse	134	
	Red mouse	136	
	Ichelag mouse	138	
	Fœtid shrew	139	Sorex araneus . 74
**	Walrus. Icy sea	144	Trichecus rosmarus 49
**	Common seal	151	Phoca vitulina . 56
	Great seal	159	
	Leporine seal	161	
	Harp seal	163	
	Rubbon seal. Kurile Isles	165	
	Ursine seal	*ib.*	Phoca ursina . 58
	Leonine seal	172	
**	Whale-tailed manati	177	

There were no domestic animals in Kamtschatka, till they were introduced by the Russians. The dogs, which seem to be of wolfish descent, are aboriginal.

BIRDS.

LAND BIRDS.

I.	Sea eagle, vol. ii. p. 194		Falco ossifragus 124
**	Cinereous eagle.	214	Vultur albiulla . 123
	White-headed eagle	196	Falco leucocephalus *ib.*
	Crying eagle	215	
	Osprey	199	Falco haliætus . 129
	Peregrine falcon	292	*73
	Goshawk	204	Falco palumbarius 130
II.	Eagle owl	228	Strix bubo . 131
	Snowy owl	233	Strix nyctea . 132
III.	Raven	246	Corvus corax . 155
	Magpie	147	Corvus pica . 157
	Nutcracker	252	Corvus caryocatactes *ib.*
IV.	Cuckoo	266	Cuculus canorus . 168
V.	Wryneck	267	Jynx Torquilla . 172
VI.	Nuthatch	281	Sitta Europea . 177
VII.	White grouse	308	Tetrao lagopus . 274
	Wood grouse	312	Tetrao urogallus . 273
VIII.	Water ouzel	332	Sturnus cinclus.
IX.	Fieldfare	341	Turdus pilaris . 291
	Redwing thrush	341	Turdus iliacus . 292
	Kamtschatkan	343	(Latham, iii. 28.)
X.	Greenfinch	353	Loxia chloris . 304
XI.	Golden bunting.	367	(Latham, ii. 201.)
XII.	Lesser red-headed linnet	379	(Latham, ii. 305.)
XIII.	Dun fly-catcher	390	(Latham, ii. 351.)
XIV.	Sky-lark	394 A.	Alauda arvensis . 287
	Wood-lark	395 B.	Alauda arborea . *ib.*
XV.	White wagtail	396 E.	Motacilla alba . 331
	Yellow wagtail	*ib.* F.	Motacilla flava . *ib.*
	Tschutski wagtail	397 H.	
XVI.	Yellow wren	413	Motacilla trochilus 338
	Redstart	416	Motacilla phœnicurus . 335
	Longbilled	420	
	Stapazina	421	Motacilla stapazina 331
	Awatska	422	
XVII.	Marsh titmouse	427	Parus palustris . 341
XVIII.	Chimney swallow	429	Hirundo rustica . 343
	Martin	430	Hirundo urbica . 344
	Sand martin	*ib.*	Hirundo riparia . *ib.*
XIX.	European goat-sucker	437	Caprimulgus Europæus . 346

WATER-FOWL.

CLOVEN-FOOTED WATER-FOWL.

Great tern	No. 448	Sterna hirundo.
Kamtschatkan	P. 525 A.	
Black-headed gull	No. 455	Larus ridibundus . 225
Kittiwake gull	No. 147	Larus rissa . 224
Ivory gull	No. 457	
Arctic gull	No. 459	
Tarrock	P. 533 D.	Larus tridactylus . 224
Red-legged	No. 533 E.	
Fulmar petrel	No. 464	Procellaria glacialis . 213
Stormy petrel	*ib.*	Procellaria pelagica . 212
Kurile Petrel	P. 536 A.	
Blue Petrel.†	Preface.	
Goosander merganser	No. 465	Mergus merganser . 208
Smew	No. 468	Mergus albellus . 208
Whistling Swan	No. 469	Anas cygnus ferus . 194 A.
Great goose	P. 570	
Chinese goose	P. 571	Anas cygnoides *ib.* B.
Snow goose	No. 477	
Brent goose	No. 478	Anas bernicla . 198
Eider duck	No. 480	Anas mollissima *ib.*
Black duck	No. 483	Anas spectabilis 195
Velvet duck	No. 481	Anas fusca . 196
Shoveler	No. 485	Anas clypeata . 200
Golden eye	No. 486	Anas clangula 201
Harlequin	No. 490	Anas Histrionica . 204
Mallard	No. 494	Anas boschas . 205
** Western	No. 497	
Pintail	No. 500	Anas acuta . 202
** Longtailed	No. 501	Anas glacialis . 203
Mouillon	P. 573 F.	Anas glaucion 201
Sheldrake	P. 572 D.	Anas tadorna . 195
Tufted	P. 573	Anas fuligula . 207
Falcated	P. 574 I.	
Gargany	P. 576 O.	Anas querquedula . 263
Teal	P. 577 P.	Anas crecia . 204
Corvorant	No. 509	Pelecanus corvo 216
Violet corvorant	P. 584 B.	
Red-faced corvorant	*ib.* C.	
Crane	P. 453 A.	Ardea grus . 334
Curlew	P. 462 A.	Scolopax arquata . 242
Whimbrel	P. 462 B.	Scolopax phœopus . 243
Common sandpiper	No. 388	Tringa hypoleucos . 250
Gambet	No. 394	Tringa gambetta . 248
Golden plover	No. 399	Charadrius pluvialis . 254
Pied oyster-catcher		Hœmatopus Ostralegus 257

WITH PINNATED FEET.

Plain phalarope

* The birds which are not described by Linnæus, are referred to the "History of Birds," now publishing by Mr. Latham, surgeon, in Dartford, Kent.

† I never saw this; but it is mentioned by Mr. Ellis. I had omitted it in my zoologic part.

WITH WEBBED FEET.

Wandering albatross	No. 423	Diomedea exulans	214
Razor-bill auk	No. 425	Alca torda	210
Puffin	No. 427	Alca arctica	211
Antient	No. 430		
Pygmy	No. 431		
Tufted	No. 432		
Parroquet	No. 433		
Crested	No. 434		
Dusky	No. 435		
Foolish guillemot	No. 436	Colymbus troille	220
Black guillemot	No. 437	Colymbus grylle	*ib.*
Marbled guillemot	No. 438		
Imber diver	No. 440	Colymbus immer	222
Speckled diver	No. 441		
Red-throated diver	No. 443	Colymbus septentrionalis	220

CHAPTER VII.—GENERAL ACCOUNT OF KAMTSCHATKA CONTINUED.—OF THE INHABITANTS.—ORIGIN OF THE KAMTSCHADALES.—DISCOVERED BY THE RUSSIANS.—ABSTRACT OF THEIR HISTORY.—NUMBERS.—PRESENT STATE.—OF THE RUSSIAN COMMERCE IN KAMTSCHATKA.—OF THE KAMTSCHADALE HABITATIONS AND DRESS.—OF THE KURILE ISLANDS.—THE KOREKI.—THE TSCHUTSKI.

The present inhabitants of Kamtschatka are of three sorts. The natives, or Kamtschadales; the Russians and Cossacks; and a mixture of these two by marriage. Mr. Steller, who resided some time in this country, and seems to have taken great pains to gain information on this subject, is persuaded, that the true Kamtschadales are a people of great antiquity, and have for many ages inhabited this peninsula; and that they are originally descended from the Mungalians, and not either from the Tongusian Tartars, as some, or the Japanese, as others, have imagined.

MAN AND WOMAN OF KAMTSCHATKA.

The principal arguments, by which he supports these opinions, are, that there exists not among them the trace of a tradition of their having migrated from any other country; and they believe themselves to have been created and placed in this very spot by their god Koutkou; that they are the most favoured of his creatures; the most fortunate and happy of beings; and that their country is superior to all others, affording means of gratification far beyond what are anywhere else to be met with; that they have a perfect knowledge of all the plants of the country, their virtues and uses, which could not be acquired in a short time; that their instruments and household utensils differ greatly from those of any other nation, and are made with an extraordinary degree of neatness and dexterity, which implies that they are both of their own invention, and have been long in arriving at so great perfection; that antecedently to the arrival of the Russians and Cossacks among them, they had not the smallest knowledge of any people except the Koreki; that it is but of late that they have had any intercourse with the Kuriles, and still later (and happened by means of a vessel being shipwrecked on their coast) that they knew anything of the Japanese; and, lastly, that the country was very populous, at the time the Russians first got footing in it.

The reasons he alleges for supposing them to be originally descended from the Mungalians are; that many words in their language have terminations similar to those of Mungalian Chinese, such as, *ong*, *ing*, *oing*, *tching*, *tcha*, *tchoing*, *ksi*, *ksung*, &c.; and moreover, that the same principle of inflexion or derivation obtains in both languages; that they are in

general under-sized, as are the Mungalians; that their complexion, like theirs, is swarthy, that they have black hair, little beard, the face broad, the nose short and flat, the eyes small and sunk, the eye-brows thin, the belly pendent, the legs small; all which are peculiarities that are to be found among the Mungalians. From the whole of which he draws this conclusion, that they fled for safety to this peninsula, from the rapid advances of the eastern conquerors; as the Laplanders, the Samoides, &c. were compelled to retreat to the extremities of the north, by the Europeans.

The Russians having extended their conquests, and established posts and colonies along that immense extent of coast of the frozen sea, from the Jenesei to the Anadir, appointed commissaries for the purpose of exploring and subjecting the countries still farther eastward. They soon became acquainted with the wandering Koriacs, inhabiting the north and north-east coast of the sea of Okotsk, and without difficulty made them tributary. These being the immediate neighbours of the Kamtschadales, and likewise in the habit of bartering with them, a knowledge of Kamtschatka followed of course. The honour of the first discovery is given to Feodot Alexeieff, a merchant, who is said to have sailed from the river Kovyma round the peninsula of the Tschutski, in company with seven other vessels, about the year 1648. The tradition goes, that being separated from the rest by a storm, near the Tschukotskoi Noss, he was driven upon the coast of Kamtschatka, where he wintered; and the summer following coasted round the promontory of Lopatka, into the sea of Okotsk, and entered the mouth of the Tigil; but that he and his companions were cut off by the Koriacs, in endeavouring to pass from thence by land to the Anadirsk. This in part is corroborated by the accounts of Simeon Deshneff, who commanded one of the seven vessels, and was thrown on shore at the mouth of the Anadir. Be this as it may, since these discoveries, if such they were, he did not live to make any report of what they had done.* Volodimir Atlassoff, a Cossack, stands for the first acknowledged discoverer of Kamtschatka †.

This person was sent, in the year 1697, from the fort Jakutsk to the Anadirsk, in the quality of commissary, with instructions to call in the assistance of the Koriacs, with a view to the discovery of countries beyond theirs, and to the subjecting them to a tribute. In 1699, he penetrated, with about sixty Russian soldiers, and the same number of Cossacks, into the heart of the peninsula, gained the Tigil, and from thence, levying a tribute in furs, in his progress crossed over to the river Kamtschatka, on which he built the higher Kamtschatka ostrog, called Verchnei, where he left a garrison of sixteen Cossacks, and returned to Jakutsk in 1700, with an immense quantity of rare and valuable tributary furs. These he had the good sense and policy to accompany to Moscow, and, in recompense for his services, was appointed commander of the fort of Jakutsk, with farther orders to repair again to Kamtschatka, having first drawn from the garrison at Tobolsk a reinforcement of a hundred Cossacks, with ammunition, and whatever else could give efficacy to the completion and settlement of his late discoveries. Advancing with this force toward the Anadirsk, he fell in with a bark on the river‡ Tunguska, laden with Chinese merchandize, which he pillaged; and, in consequence of a remonstrance from the sufferers to the Russian court, he was seized upon at Jakutsk, and thrown into prison.

In the mean time, Fotop Serioukoff, who had been left by Atlassoff, kept peaceable possession of the garrison of Verchnei; and though he had not a sufficient force to compel the payment of a tribute from the natives, yet, by his management and conciliating disposition, he continued to carry on an advantageous traffic with them as a merchant. On his

* There is still existing in the imperial library of St. Petersburg, Deshneff's own manuscript account of this voyage. Six vessels were lost, with their crews, the seventh, commanded by Deshneff himself, was wrecked in the bay of Okotsk; he and his companions spent the whole winter in the Siberian wilderness, subsisting chiefly on the bark of trees. Several sunk under the hardships they were exposed to. The survivors at length reached the Anadyr, built some boats there, and sailing up that river, made their way to the settlements on the Kolyma. Deshneff made several other attempts to explore the northern seas, but never returned from an expedition on which he set out from the Kolyma, in 1652, in a large boat built expressly for his use. He and his companions undoubtedly perished on that occasion, but his account of his first expedition in 1648 is still preserved, although it has never been published.—Ed.

† It is proper to remark, that Atlassoff sent an advanced party, under the command of a subaltern, called Lucas Moloskoff, who certainly penetrated into Kamtschatka, and returned with an account of his success before Atlassoff set out, and is therefore not unjustly mentioned as the discoverer of Kamtschatka.

‡ This river empties itself into the Jenesei.

return to the Anadirsk, with the general good-will of the natives of Kamtschatka, himself and party were attacked by the Koriacs, and unfortunately all cut off. This happened about 1703; and several other successive commissaries were sent into Kamtschatka, with various success, during the disgrace and trial of Atlassoff. In 1706, Atlassoff was reinstated in his command, and appointed to conduct a second expedition into Kamtschatka, with instructions to gain upon the natives by all peaceable means, but on no pretence to have recourse to force and compulsion; but, instead of attending to his orders, he not only, by repeated acts of cruelty and injustice, made the natives exceedingly hostile and averse to their new governors, but likewise so far alienated the affections of his own people, that it ended in a mutiny of the Cossacks, and their demand of another commander. The Cossacks having carried their point in displacing Atlassoff, seized upon his effects; and after once tasting the sweets of plunder, and of living without discipline or control, in vain did his successors attempt to reduce them to military discipline and subjection. Three successive commanders were assassinated in their turn; and the Cossacks, being thus in open rebellion to the Russian government, and with arms in their hands, were let loose upon the natives. The history of this country from that period, till the grand revolt of the Kamtschadales in 1731, presents one unvaried detail of massacres, revolts, and savage and sanguinary rencounters between small parties, from one end of the peninsula to the other.

What led to this revolt, was the discovery of a passage from Okotsk to the Bolchoireka, which was first made by Cosmo Sokoloff, in the year 1711. Hitherto the Russians had no entrance into the country, but on the side of Anadirsk; so that the natives had frequent opportunities of both plundering the tribute, as it was carried by so long a journey out of the peninsula, and harassing the troops in their march into it. But, by the discovery of this communication, there existed a safe and speedy means, as well of exporting the tribute, as of importing troops and military stores into the very heart of the country; which the natives easily saw gave the Russians so great an advantage, as must soon confirm their dominion, and therefore determined them to make one grand and immediate struggle for their liberty. The moment resolved upon for carrying their designs into execution was when Beering should have set sail, who was at this time on the coast with a small squadron, and had despatched all the troops that could well be spared from the country, to join Fouloutski, in an expedition against the Tschutski. The opportunity was well chosen; and it is altogether surprising that this conspiracy, which was so general, that every native in the peninsula is said to have had his share in it, was at the same time conducted with such secrecy, that the Russians had not the smallest suspicion that anything hostile to their interests was in agitation. Their other measures were equally well taken. They had a strong body in readiness to cut off all communication with the fort Anadirsk; and the eastern coast was likewise lined with detached parties, with a view of seizing on any Russians that might by accident arrive from Okotsk. Things were in this state, when the commissary Cheekaerdin marched from Verchnei with his tribute, escorted by the troops of the fort, for the mouth of the Kamtschatka river, where a vessel was lying to convey them to the Anadir. Besides waiting for the departure of Beering, the revolt was to be suspended till this vessel should be out at sea, notice of which was to be given to the different chiefs. Accordingly, the moment she was out of sight, they began to massacre every Russian and Cossack that came in their way, and to set fire to their houses. A large body ascended the river Kamtschatka, made themselves masters of the fort and ostrog the commissary had just quitted, put to death all that were in it, and, except the church and fort, reduced the whole to ashes. Here it was that they first learned that the Russian vessel, in which the commissary had embarked, was still on the coast, which determined them to defend themselves in the fort. The wind fortunately soon brought the vessel back to the harbour; for had she proceeded in her voyage, nothing probably could have prevented the utter extirpation of the Russians. The Cossacks finding, on their landing, that their houses had been burnt to the ground, and their wives and children either massacred or carried off prisoners, were enraged to madness. They marched directly to the fort, which they attacked with great fury, and the natives as resolutely defended, till at length, the powder-magazine taking fire, the fort was blown up, together with most of those that were in it. Various

rencounters succeeded to this event, in which much blood was spilled on both sides. At length, two of the principal leaders being slain, and the third (after despatching his wife and children, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands) having put an end to himself, peace was established. From that period everything went on very peaceably, till the year 1740, when a few Russians lost their lives in a tumult which was attended with no farther consequences; and, except the insurrection at Bolcheretsk in 1770, (which hath been already noticed), there has been no disturbance since.

Though the quelling the rebellion of 1731 was attended with the loss of a great number of inhabitants, yet I was informed, that the country had recovered itself, and was become more populous than ever, when, in the year 1767, the small-pox, brought by a soldier from Okotsk, broke out among them for the first time, marking its progress with ravages not less dreadful than the plague, and seeming to threaten their entire extirpation. They compute, that near twenty thousand died of this disorder in Kamtschatka, the Koreki country, and the Kurile Islands. The inhabitants of whole villages were swept away. Of this we had sufficient proofs before our eyes. There are no less than eight ostrogs scattered about the bay of Awatska, all which, we were informed, had been fully inhabited, but are now entirely desolate, except Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and even that contains no more than seven Kamtschadales, who are tributary. At Paratounca ostrog there are but thirty-six native inhabitants, men, women, and children, which, before it was visited by the small-pox, we were told, contained three hundred and sixty. In our road to Bolcheretsk, we passed four extensive ostrogs, with not an inhabitant in them. In the present diminished state of the natives, with fresh supplies of Russians and Cossacks perpetually pouring in, and who intermix with them by marriage, it is probable that in less than half a century there will be very few of them left. By Major Behm's account, there are not now more than three thousand who pay tribute, the Kurile islanders included. I understood that there are at this time, of the military, in the five forts of Nichnei, Verchnei, Tigil, Bolcheretsk, and Saint Peter and Saint Paul, about four hundred Russians and Cossacks, and near the same number at Ingiga, which, though to the north of the peninsula, is, I learned, at present under the commander of Kamtschatka. To these may be added the Russian traders and emigrants, whose numbers are not very considerable.

The Russian government established over this country is mild and equitable, considered as a military one, in a very high degree. The natives are permitted to choose their own magistrates from among themselves, in the way and with the same powers they had ever been used. One of these, under the title of *Toion*, presides over each ostrog; is the referee in all differences; imposes fines, and inflicts punishments for all crimes and misdemeanors; referring to the governor of Kamtschatka such only as he does not choose, from their intricacy or heinousness, to decide upon himself. The *Toion* has likewise the appointment of a civil officer, called a corporal, who assists him in the execution of his office, and in his absence acts as his deputy. By an edict of the present empress, no crime whatsoever can be punished with death. But we were informed, that in cases of murder (of which there are very few), the punishment of the knout is administered with such severity, that the offender for the most part dies under it.

The only tribute exacted (which can be considered as little more than an acknowledgment of the Russian dominion over them) consists, in some districts, of a fox's skin; in others of a sable's; and in the Kurile Isles of a sea-otter's; but as this is much the most valuable, one skin serves to pay the tribute of several persons. The *Toions* collect the tribute in their respective districts. Besides the mildness of their government, the Russians have a claim to every praise for the pains they have bestowed, and which have been attended with great success, in converting them to Christianity, there remaining, at present, very few idolaters among them. If we may judge of the other Missionaries, from the hospitable and benevolent pastor of Paratounca (who is a native on the mother's side), more suitable persons could not be set over this business. It is needless to add, that the religion taught is that of the Greek church. Schools are likewise established in many of the ostrogs, where the children of both the natives and Cossacks are gratuitously instructed in the Russian language.

The commerce of this country, as far as concerns the exports, is entirely confined to furs, and carried on principally by a company of merchants, instituted by the present empress. This company originally consisted of twelve, and three have been lately added to it. They are indulged with certain privileges, and distinguished by wearing a golden medal, as a mark of the empress's encouragement and protection of the fur trade. Besides these, there are many inferior traders (particularly of the Cossacks) scattered through the country. The principal merchants, for the time they are here, reside at Bolcheretsk, or the Nishnei ostrog, in which two places the trade almost wholly centres. Formerly this commerce was altogether carried on in the way of barter, but of late years every article is bought and sold for ready money only; and we were surprised at the quantity of specie in circulation in so poor a country. The furs sell at a high price, and the situation and habits of life of the natives call for few articles in return. Our sailors brought a great number of furs with them from the coast of America, and were not less astonished than delighted with the quantity of silver the merchants paid down for them; but on finding neither gin-shops to resort to, nor tobacco, or any thing else that they cared for, to be had for money, the roubles soon became troublesome companions, and I often observed them kicking them about the deck. The merchant I have already had occasion to mention, gave our men at first thirty roubles for a sea-otter's skin, and for others in proportion; but finding that they had considerable quantities to dispose of, and that he had men to deal with who did not know how to keep up the market, he afterward bought them for much less.

The articles of importation are principally European, but not confined to Russian manufactures; many are English and Dutch, several likewise come from Siberia, Bucharia, the Calmucs, and China. They consist of coarse woollen and linen cloths, yarn stockings, bonnets, and gloves, thin Persian silks, cottons, and pieces of nankeen, silk, and cotton handkerchiefs; brass coppers and pans, iron stoves, files, guns, powder and shot; hardware, such as hatchets, bills, knives, scissors, needles, looking-glasses, flour, sugar, tanned hides, boots, &c. We had an opportunity of seeing a great many of these articles in the hands of a merchant, who came in the empress's galliot from Okotsk; and I shall only observe, generally, that they sold for treble the price they might have been purchased for in England. And though the merchants have so large a profit upon these imported goods, they have still a larger upon the furs at Kiachta, upon the frontiers of China, which is the great market for them. The best sea-otter skins sell generally in Kamtschatka for about thirty roubles a-piece. The Chinese merchant at Kiachta purchases them at more than double that price, and sells them again at Pekin at a great advance, where a farther profitable trade is made with some of them to Japan. If, therefore, a skin is worth thirty roubles in Kamtschatka, to be transported first to Okotsk, thence to be conveyed by land to Kiachta, a distance of one thousand three hundred and sixty-four miles, thence on to Pekin, seven hundred and sixty miles more, and after this to be transported to Japan, what a prodigiously advantageous trade might be carried on between this place and Japan, which is but about a fortnight's, at most three weeks', sail from it.

All furs exported from hence across the sea of Okotsk, pay a duty of ten per cent., and sables a duty of twelve. And all sorts of merchandise, of whatever denomination, imported from Okotsk, pay half a rouble for every pood*. The duties arising from the exports and imports, of which I could not learn the amount, are paid at Okotsk; but the tribute is collected at Bolcheretsk, and, I was informed by Major Behm, amounted in value to ten thousand roubles annually. There are six vessels (of forty to fifty tons burthen) employed by the empress between Okotsk and Bolcheretsk, five of which are appropriated to the transporting of stores and provisions from Okotsk to Bolcheretsk, except that once in two or three years, some of them go round to Awatska, and the Kamtschatka river; the sixth is only used as a packet-boat, and always kept in readiness, and properly equipped for conveying dispatches. Besides these, there are about fourteen vessels employed by the merchants in the fur trade, amongst the islands to the eastward. One of these we found frozen up in the harbour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, which was to sail on a trading voyage to Oonalashka, as soon as the season would permit.

* Thirty-six pounds English.

It is here to be observed, that the most considerable and valuable part of the fur-trade is carried on with the islands that lie between Kamtschatka and America. These were first discovered by Beering, in 1741, and being found to abound with sea-otters, the Russian merchants became exceedingly eager in searching for the other islands seen by that navigator to the south-east of Kamtschatka, called, in Muller's map, the Islands of Seduction, St. Abraham, &c. In these expeditions they fell in with three groups of islands. The first about fifteen degrees to the east of Kamtschatka, in 53° N. latitude; the second about twelve degrees to the eastward of the former; and the third, Oonalashka, and the islands in its neighbourhood. These trading adventurers advanced also as far east as Shumagin's Islands (so called by Beering), the largest of which is named Kodlak. But here, as well as on the continent at Alashka, they met with so warm a reception in their attempts to compel the payment of a tribute, that they never afterward ventured so far. However, they conquered and made tributary the three groups before mentioned.

In the Russian charts, the whole sea between Kamtschatka and America is covered with islands; for the adventurers in these expeditions frequently falling in with land, which they imagined did not agree with the situation of other laid down by preceding voyagers, immediately concluded it must be a new discovery, and reported it as such on their return; and since the vessels employed in these expeditions were usually out three or four years, and oftentimes longer, these mistakes were not in the way of being soon rectified. It is, however, now pretty certain, that the islands already enumerated are all that have yet been discovered by the Russians in that sea to the southward of 60° of latitude. It is from these islands that the sea-otter skins, the most valuable article of the fur trade, are for the most part drawn; and as they are brought completely under the Russian dominion, the merchants have settlements upon them, where their factors reside for the purpose of bartering with the natives. It was with a view to the farther increase and extension of this trade, that the admiralty of Okotsk fitted out an expedition for the purpose of making discoveries to the north and north-east of the islands above mentioned, and gave the command of it, as I have already observed, to Lieutenant Synd. This gentleman, having directed his course too far to the northward, failed in the object of his voyage; for, as we never saw the sea-otter to the northward of Bristol Bay, it seems probable that they shun those latitudes where the larger kinds of amphibious sea animals abound. This was the last expedition undertaken by the Russians for prosecuting discoveries to the eastward; but they will undoubtedly make a proper use of the advantages we have opened to them, by the discovery of Cook's river*.

Notwithstanding the general intercourse that, for the last forty years, hath taken place between the natives, the Russians, and the Cossacks, the former are not more distinguished from the latter by their features and general figure, than by their habits and cast of mind. Of the persons of the natives, a description hath already been given; and I shall only add, that their stature is much below the common size. This Major Behm attributes, in a great measure, to their marrying so early; both sexes generally entering into the conjugal state at the age of thirteen or fourteen. Their industry is abundantly conspicuous, without being contrasted with the laziness of their Russian and Cossack inmates, who are fond of intermarrying with them, and, as it should seem, from no other reason but that they may be supported in sloth and inactivity. To this want of bodily exertion may be attributed those dreadful scorbutic complaints which none of them escape; whilst the natives, by constant exercise and toil in the open air, are entirely free from them

Referring the reader for an account of the manners, customs, and superstitions of the Kamtschadales at the time the Russians became first acquainted with this country, to Krascheninicoff, I shall proceed to a description of their habitations and dress. The houses (if they may be allowed that name) are of three distinct sorts, *jourts*, *balagans*, and *log-houses*, called here *isbas*. The first are their winter, the second their summer habitations; the third are altogether of Russian introduction, and inhabited only by the better and wealthier sort.

* The chief expedition undertaken by the Russians for the further exploration of the north-eastern coast of Asia, is that of Wrangel, of which some account will be found in the Appendix.—Ed.

The *jourts*, or winter habitations, are constructed in the following manner:—An oblong square of dimensions proportioned to the number of persons for whom it is intended (for it is proper to observe, that several families live together in the same *jourt*), is dug in the earth to the depth of about six feet. Within this space strong posts, or wooden pillars, are fastened in the ground, at proper distances from each other, on which are extended the beams for the support of the roof, which is formed by joists resting on the ground with one end, and on the beams with the other. The interstices between the joists are filled up with a strong wicker-work, and the whole covered with turf; so that a *jourt* has externally the appearance of a round squat hillock. A hole is left in the centre, which serves for chimney, window, and entrance, and the inhabitants pass in and out by means of a strong pole (instead of a ladder) notched just deep enough to afford a little holding to the toe. There is likewise another entrance in the side, even with the ground, for the convenience of the women; but if a man makes use of it, he subjects himself to the same disgrace and derision as a sailor would who descends through lubbers' hole. The *jourt* consists of one apartment of the form of an oblong square. Along the sides are extended broad platforms made of boards, and raised about six inches from the ground, which they use as seats, and on which they go to rest, after strewing them with mats and skins. On one side is the fire-place, and the side opposite is entirely set apart for the stowage of provisions and kitchen utensils. At their feasts and ceremonious entertainments, the hotter the *jourts* are made for the reception of the guests the greater the compliment. We found them at all times so hot, as to make any length of stay in them to us intolerable. They betake themselves to the *jourts* the middle of October; and, for the most part, continue in them till the middle of May.

INTERIOR OF A JOURT OR WINTER HABITATION IN KAMTSCHATKA.

The *balagans* are raised upon nine posts, fixed into the earth in three rows, at equal distances from one another, and about thirteen feet high from the surface. At the height of between nine and ten feet, rafters are passed from post to post, and firmly secured by strong ropes. On these rafters are laid the joists, and the whole being covered with turf, constitutes the platform or floor of the *balagan*. On this is raised a roof of a conical figure, by means of tall poles, fastened down to the rafters at one end, and meeting together in a point at the top, and thatched over with strong coarse grass. The *balagans* have two doors placed opposite each other, and they ascend to them by the same sort of ladders they use in the *jourts*. The lower part is left entirely open; and within it they dry their fish, roots, vegetables, and other articles of winter consumption. The proportion of *jourts* to *balagans* is as one to six; so that six families generally live together in one *jourt*.

The loghouses (*isbas*) are raised with long timbers piled horizontally, the ends being let into one another, and the seams caulked with moss. The roof is sloping like that of our common cottage houses, and thatched with coarse grass or rushes. The inside consists of three apartments. At one end is what may be called the entry, which runs the whole width and height of the house, and is the receptacle of their sledges, harness, and other more bulky gears and household stuff. This communicates with the middle and best

apartment, furnished with broad benches for the purpose, as hath been above mentioned, of both eating and sleeping upon. Out of this is a door into the kitchen, one half of which is taken up by the oven or fire-place, so contrived, by being let into the wall that separates the kitchen and the middle apartment, as to warm both at the same time. Over the middle apartment and kitchen are two lofts, to which they ascend by a ladder placed in the entry. There are two small windows in each apartment made of talc, and, in the houses of the poorer sort, of fish-skin. The beams and boards of the ceiling are dubbed smooth with a hatchet (for they are unacquainted with the plane); and, from the effects of the smoke, are as black and shining as jet.

A town of Kamtschatka is called an ostrog, and consists of several of the three sorts of houses above described; but of which *balagans* are much the most numerous; and I must observe, that I never met with a house of any kind detached from an ostrog. Saint Peter and Saint Paul consists of seven log-houses, or *isbas*, nineteen *balagans*, and three *jourts*. Paratounca is of about the same size. Karatchin and Natchekin contain fewer log-houses, but full as many *jourts* and *balagans* as the former; from whence I conclude, that such is the usual size of the ostrogs.

Having already had occasion to mention the dress of the Kamtschadale women, I shall here confine myself to a description of that of the men. The outermost garment is of the shape of a carter's frock. Those worn in summer are of nankeen; in winter they are made of skins, most commonly of the deer or dog, tanned on one side, the hair being left on the other, which is worn innermost. Under this is a close jacket of nankeen, or other cotton stuffs; and beneath that a shirt of thin Persian silk, of a blue, red, or yellow colour. The remaining part of their dress consists of a pair of tight trowsers, or long breeches, of leather, reaching down to the calf of the leg; of a pair of dog or deer-skin boots, with the hair innermost; and of a fur cap, with two flaps, which are generally tied up close to the head, but in bad weather are let to fall round the shoulders.

The fur dress presented to me by a son of Major Behm (as already mentioned), is one of those worn by the Toions, on ceremonious occasions. The form exactly resembles that of the common exterior garment just described. It is made of small triangular pieces of fur, chequered brown and white, and joined so neatly as to appear to be one skin. A border of six inches breadth, wrought with threads of different coloured leather, and producing a rich effect, surrounds the bottom, to which is suspended a broad edging of the sea-otter skin. The sleeves are turned up with the same materials; and there is likewise an edging of it round the neck, and down the opening at the breast. The lining is of a smooth white skin. A cap, a pair of gloves, and boots, wrought with the utmost degree of neatness, and made of the same materials, constitute the remainder of this suit. The Russians in Kamtschatka wear the European dress; and the uniform of the troops quartered here is of a dark green, faced with red.

As the people situated to the north and south of this country are yet imperfectly known, I shall conclude the account of Kamtschatka with such information concerning the Kurile Islands, and the Koreki and Tschutski, as I have been able to acquire. The chain of islands, running in a south-west direction from the southern promontory of Kamtschatka to Japan, extending from latitude 51° to 45°, are called the Kuriles. They obtained this name from the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Lopatka, who being themselves called Kuriles, gave their own name to these islands, on first becoming acquainted with them. They are, according to Spanberg, twenty-two in number, without reckoning the very small ones. The northernmost, called Shoomska, is not more than three leagues from the promontory Lopatka, and its inhabitants are a mixture of natives and Kamtschadales. The next to the south, called Paramousir, is much larger than Shoomska, and inhabited by the true natives; their ancestors, according to a tradition among them, having come from an island a little farther to the south, called Onecutan. Those two islands were first visited by the Russians in 1713, and at the same time brought under their dominion. The others in order, are at present made tributary down to Ooshesheer inclusive, as I am informed by the worthy pastor of Paratounca, who is their missionary, and visits them once in three years, and speaks of the islanders in terms of the highest commendation, representing them

as a friendly, hospitable, generous, humane race of people, and excelling their Kamtschadale neighbours, not less in the formation of their bodies, than in docility and quickness of understanding. Though Ooshesheer is the southernmost island that the Russians have yet brought under their dominion, yet I understand that they trade to Ooroop, which is the eighteenth; and, according to their accounts, the only one where there is a good harbour for ships of burthen. Beyond this, to the south, lies Nadeegsda, which was represented to us by the Russians as inhabited by a race of men remarkably hairy, and who, like those of Ooroop, live in a state of entire independence *.

In the same direction, but inclining somewhat more to the westward, lie a group of islands, which the Japanese call Jeso; a name which they also give to the whole chain of islands between Kamtschatka and Japan. The southernmost, called Matmai, hath been long subject to the Japanese, and is fortified and garrisoned on the side toward the continent. The two islands to the north-east of Matmai, Kunachir, and Zellany, and likewise the three still farther to the north-east, called the Three Sisters, are perfectly independent. A trade of barter is carried on between Matmai and the islands last mentioned, and between those again and the Kuriles, to the northward; in which, for furs, dried fish, and oil, the latter get silk, cotton, iron, and Japanese articles of furniture †.

The inhabitants of as many of the islands as are brought under the Russian dominion, are at present converted to Christianity. And probably the time is not very distant, when a friendly and profitable intercourse will be brought about between Kamtschatka and the whole of this chain of islands; and which will draw after it a communication with Japan itself. This may eventually be greatly facilitated by a circumstance related to me by Major Behm, that several Russians, who had been taught the Japanese language by two men belonging to a vessel of that nation, which had been ‡ shipwrecked on the coast of Kamt-

* Spanberg places the island here spoken of, in 43° 50′ north latitude, and mentions his having watered upon it; and that this watering party brought off eight of the natives, of whom he relates the following circumstances:—That their bodies were covered all over with hair; that they wore a loose striped silk gown, reaching as low as their ankles; and that some of them had silver rings pendant from the ears: that, on spying a live cock on deck, they fell on their knees before it; and likewise before the presents that were brought out to them, closing and stretching forth their hands, and bowing their heads at the same time down to the ground; that, except the peculiarity of their hairiness, they resembled the other Kurile islanders in their features and figure, and spoke the same language. The journal of the ship Castricom also mentions this circumstance of the inhabitants of the country discovered by them, and called Jeso, being hairy all over the body.'

[The inhabitants of the island of Jeso, Jesso, or more properly Yezo, which gives the sound of the Japanese letters with which the name is written, more correctly, have been rendered tributary by the Japanese, who possess there several ports on the southern and western coasts; the principal of which is Matsumai, at the southern extremity of the island, being a town of some size, and the residence of the Governor. The inhabitants, who are generally called Aïnos, from a word in their language signifying man, but are called Yezos by the Japanese, appear formerly to have occupied the northern parts of Japan, from whence they have been expelled by their more civilized neighbours, and are now apparently fading away from Yezo, sharing the general fate of perfect savages when in contact with civilization. The account which the Japanese give of them, representing them as but one degree removed from wild beasts, covered with a fur nearly as thick as dogs, bears, or foxes, and even Spanberg, (or Spangenberg's) relation, is greatly exaggerated. Krusenstern, who saw more of them than any other traveller, describes them as of a middling height, nearly black, with bushy beards, black rough large hair, but more regular features than the Kamtschadales. Their character he represents as mild and inoffensive, and their chief occupation is hunting and fishing. —Ed.]

† This accounts for what Krascheninicoff says, that he got from Paramousir a japanned table and vase, a scimetar, and a silver ring, which he sent to the cabinet of her imperial majesty at Petersburg. And if what M. Steller mentions on the authority of a Kurile, who was interpreter to Spanberg in his voyage to Japan, is to be credited that nearly the same language is spoken at Kunashir and Paramousir, it cannot be questioned that some intercourse has always subsisted between the inhabitants of this extensive chain of islands.

‡ The vessel here spoken of was from Satsma, a port in Japan, bound for another Japanese port, called Azaka, and laden with rice, cotton, and silks. She sailed with a favourable wind; but, before she reached her destination, was driven out to sea by a violent storm, which carried away her masts and rudder. On the storm's abating, not one of the crew, which consisted of seventeen (having probably never made other than coasting voyages), knew where they were, or what course to steer. After remaining in this situation six months, they were driven on shore near the promontory Lopatka; and having cast out an anchor, began to carry on shore such articles as were necessary to their existence. They next erected a tent, and had remained in it twenty-three days, without seeing a human being, when chance conducted a Cossack officer, called Andrew Chinnicoff, with a few Kamtschadales, to their habitation. The poor unfortunate Japanese, overwhelmed with joy at the sight of fellow-creatures, made the most significant tenders they were able of friendship and affection; and presented their visitors with silks, sabres, and a part of whatever else they had brought from the ship. The treacherous Chinnicoff made reciprocal returns of kindness and good-will; and, after remaining with them long enough to make such observations as suited his designs, withdrew from them in the night. The Japanese, finding that their visitors did not return, knew

schatka, had been sent amongst those islands. The advantages that would accrue to the Russians by an immediate trade to Japan, have been already adverted to, and are too many, and too obvious, to need insisting upon.

The Koreki country includes two distinct nations, called the Wandering and Fixed Koriacs. The former inhabit the northern part of the isthmus of Kamtschatka, and the whole coast of the Eastern Ocean, from thence to the Anadir. The country of the Wandering Koriacs stretches along the north-east of the sea of Okotsk to the river Penskina, and westward toward the river Kovyma. The fixed Koriacs have a strong resemblance to the Kamtschadales, and, like them, depend altogether on fishing for subsistence. Their dress and habitations are of the same kind.* They are tributary to the Russians, and under the district of the Ingiga. The Wandering Koriacs occupy themselves entirely in breeding and pasturing deer, of which they are said to possess immense numbers; and that it is no unusual thing for an individual chief to have a herd of four or five thousand. They despise fish, and live entirely on deer. They have no *balagans;* and their only habitations are like the Kamtschadale *jourts*, with this difference, that they are covered with raw deer-skins in winter, and tanned ones in summer. Their sledges are drawn by deer, and never by dogs; which, like the latter, are likewise always spayed, in order to be trained to this business. The draft-deer pasture in company with the others; and when they are wanted, the herdsmen make use of a certain cry, which they instantly obey, by coming out of the herd. The priest of Paratounca informed me, that the two nations, of the Koriacs and the Tschutski, speak different dialects of the same language; and that it bears not the smallest resemblance to the Kamtschadale.

The country of the Tschutski is bounded on the south by the Anadir, and extends along the coast to the Tschutskoi Noss. Like the Wandering Koriacs, their attention is principally confined to their deer, of which their country affords great numbers, both tame and wild. They are a stout, well-made, bold, warlike race of people; redoubtable neighbours to both nations of the Koriacs, who often feel the effects of their depredatory incursions. The Russians have, for many years, been using their endeavours to bring them under their dominion; and, after losing a great many men in their different expeditions for this purpose, have not been able to effect it *. I shall here conclude this article; since all we can say of this people, on our own knowledge, hath been laid already before the reader.

not what course to take. In despair they manned their boat, and were rowing along the coast in search of a habitation, when they came up with their vessel which had been driven ashore, and found Chinnicoff and his companions pillaging her, and pulling her in pieces for the sake of the iron. This sight determined them to continue their course, which Chinnicoff perceiving, ordered his men to pursue and massacre them. The unfortunate Japanese, seeing a canoe in pursuit, and which they could not escape, apprehended what was to follow. Some of them leaped into the sea; others, in vain, had recourse to prayer and entreaties. They were all massacred but two, by the very sabres they had presented to their supposed friends a few days before. One of the two was a boy about eleven years old, named Gowga, who had accompanied his father, the ship's pilot, to learn navigation; the other was a middle-aged man, the supercargo, and called Sosa.

Chinnicoff soon met with the punishment due to his crimes. The two strangers were conducted to Petersburg, where they were sent to the academy, with proper instructors and attendants; and several young men were, at the same time, put about them for the purpose of learning the Japanese language. They were thrown on the coast of Kamtschatka in 1730. The younger survived the absence from his country five, the other six years. Their portraits are to be seen in the cabinet of the empress at Petersburg.—Vid. Krascheninicoff, vol. ii., part 4.—Fr. Ed.

* The Tschutski, or Tsheskois, are remarkable as being the only Siberian nation that has not hitherto submitted to the dominion of Russia. The difference of their language, and their superiority, not only in personal, but mental capacity to their neighbours, deserves greater attention than can be given in a note. All the particulars that can be gathered from more recent travellers, will be found in the Appendix.—Ed.

CHAPTER VIII.—PLAN OF OUR FUTURE PROCEEDING.—COURSE TO THE SOUTHWARD, ALONG THE COAST OF KAMTSCHATKA.—CAPE LOPATKA.—PASS THE ISLANDS SHOOMSKA AND PARAMOUSIR.—DRIVEN TO THE EASTWARD OF THE KURILES.—SINGULAR SITUATION WITH RESPECT TO THE PRETENDED DISCOVERIES OF FORMER NAVIGATORS.—FRUITLESS ATTEMPTS TO REACH THE ISLANDS NORTH OF JAPAN.—GEOGRAPHICAL CONCLUSIONS.—VIEW OF THE COAST OF JAPAN.—RUN ALONG THE EAST SIDE.—PASS TWO JAPANESE VESSELS.—DRIVEN OFF THE COAST BY CONTRARY WINDS.—EXTRAORDINARY EFFECT OF CURRENTS.—STEER FOR THE BASHEES.—PASS LARGE QUANTITIES OF PUMICE-STONE.—DISCOVER SULPHUR ISLAND.—PASS THE PRATAS.—ISLES OF LEMA, AND LADRON ISLAND.—CHINESE PILOT TAKEN ON BOARD THE RESOLUTION.—JOURNALS OF THE OFFICERS AND MEN SECURED.

Our instructions from the Board of Admiralty having left a discretionary power with the commanding officer of the expedition, in case of failure in the search of a passage from the Pacific into the Atlantic Ocean, to return to England, by whatever route he should think best for the farther improvement of geography, Captain Gore demanded of the principal officers their sentiments, in writing, respecting the manner in which these orders might most effectually be obeyed. The result of our opinions, which he had the satisfaction to find unanimous, and entirely coinciding with his own, was, that the condition of the ships, of the sails and cordage, made it unsafe to attempt, at so advanced a season of the year, to navigate the sea between Japan and Asia, which would otherwise have afforded the largest field for discovery; that it was therefore advisable to keep to the eastward of that island, and in our way thither to run along the Kuriles, and examine more particularly the islands that lie nearest the northern coast of Japan, which are represented as of a considerable size, and independent of the Russian and Japanese governments. Should we be so fortunate as to find in these any safe and commodious harbours, we conceived they might be of importance, either as places of shelter for any future navigators, who may be employed in exploring the seas, or as the means of opening a commercial intercourse among the neighbouring dominions of the two empires. Our next object was to survey the coast of the Japanese Islands, and afterward to make the coast of China, as far to the northward as we were able, and run along it to Macao.

This plan being adopted, I received orders from Captain Gore, in case of separation, to proceed immediately to Macao; and at six o'clock in the evening of the 9th of October, having cleared the entrance of Awatska Bay, we steered to the south-east, with the wind north-west and by west. At midnight, we had a dead calm, which continued till noon of the 10th; the light-house, at this time, bearing north half west, distant five leagues, and Cape Gavareea south by west half west. Being luckily in soundings of sixty and seventy fathoms' water, we employed our time very profitably in catching cod, which were exceedingly fine and plentiful; and at three in the afternoon a breeze sprung up from the west, with which we stood along the coast to the southward. A headland bearing south by west, now opened with Cape Gavareea, lying about seven leagues beyond it. Between them are two narrow but deep inlets, which may probably unite behind what appears to be a high island. The coast of these inlets is steep and cliffy. The hills break abruptly, and form chasms and deep valleys, which are well wooded. Between Cape Gavareea (which lies in latitude 52° 21′, longitude 158° 38′) and Awatska Bay, there are appearances of several inlets, which at first sight may flatter the mariner with hopes of finding shelter and safe anchorage: but the Russian pilots assured us, that there are none capable of admitting vessels of the smallest size, as the low land fills up the spaces that appear vacant between the high projecting headlands. Toward evening, it again became calm; but at midnight we had a light breeze from the north, which increased gradually to a strong gale; and at noon the next day, we found ourselves in latitude 52° 4′, longitude 158° 31′, when Cape Gavareea bore north by west one quarter west; the south extreme south-west half west. We were at this time distant from the nearest shore about three leagues, and saw the whole country inland covered with snow. A point of land to the southward, which we place in latitude 51° 54′, formed the north side

of a deep bay, called Achachinskoi, in the distant bottom of which we supposed a large river to empty itself, from the land behind being so unusually low. South of Achachinskoi Bay, the land is not so rugged and barren as that part of the country which we had before passed.

During the night, we had variable winds and rain; but at four in the morning of the 12th, it began to blow so strong from the north-east, as to oblige us to double-reef the top-sails, and make it prudent to stand more off the shore. At six, the weather becoming more moderate and fair, we again made sail, and stood in for the land. At noon, our latitude was 51° 0′, longitude 157° 25′. The northernmost land in sight, being the point we have mentioned as first opening with Cape Gavareea, bore north north-east. A head-land with a flat top, which is in latitude 51° 27′, and makes the south point of an inlet, called Girowara, bore north one quarter east, and the southernmost land in sight west three quarters north, distant six leagues. At this time we could just perceive low land stretching from the southern extreme; but the wind veering round to the north-west, we could not get a nearer view of it. At six in the afternoon, we saw from the mast-head, Cape Lopatka, the southernmost extremity of Kamtschatka. It is a very low flat cape, sloping gradually from the high level land that we saw at noon, and bore west half north, about five leagues distant; and the high land north-west by west half west. As this point of land forms so marked an object in the geography of the eastern coast of Asia, we were glad to be able, by an accurate observation, and several good angles, to determine its precise situation, which is in latitude 51° 0′, longitude 156° 45′. To the north-west of it we saw a remarkable high mountain, the top of which loses itself in the clouds; and, at the same time, the first of the Kurile Islands, called Shoomska, appeared in sight, bearing west half south. The passage between this island and Cape Lopatka, the Russians describe as being three miles broad, and very dangerous, on account of the rapidity of the tides, and the sunk rocks that are off the Cape. From Cape Gavareea to Lopatka, the coast trends south-east, south of Achachinskoi, the land is not so high and broken as between that bay and the mouth of Awatska, being only of a moderate elevation toward the sea, with hills gradually rising farther back in the country. The coast is steep and bold, and full of white chalky patches. At noon, the weather falling again to a calm, afforded us an opportunity of catching some fine cod. We were at this time, in forty fathoms' water, and about five or six leagues from Cape Lopatka. Both in the fore and afternoon, we had observations, with different compasses, for the variation, and found it to be 5° 20′ E.

We stood on all night, under an easy sail, to the south south-west, having the wind westerly. At midnight we sounded, and had sixty fathoms; and at day-break of the 13th, we saw the second of the Kurile Islands (called by the Russians Paramousir), extending from north-west by west, to west half south. This land is very high, and almost entirely covered with snow. At noon, the extremes bore from north north-west half west, to west north-west half west; and a high-peaked mountain, from which some thought they saw smoke issuing, north-west by west half west, about twelve or fourteen leagues distant. At this time our latitude, by observation, was 49° 49′, and our longitude 157° 0′. In the course of the day we saw many gulls and albatrosses, and several whales. Paramousir is the largest of the Kuriles under the dominion of Russia, and well deserves a more accurate survey, than we were at this time allowed to take. For, in the afternoon, the gale increasing from the west, we were never able to approach it nearer than we had done at noon; and were, therefore, obliged to be contented with endeavouring to ascertain its situation at that distance. We place the south end of the island in latitude 49° 58′; the north end in latitude 50° 46′, and in longitude 10′ W. of Lopatka; and as this position is found not to differ materially from that given by the Russians, it is probably very near the truth. Whilst we were abreast of this island, we had a very heavy swell from the north-east, though the wind had, for some time, been from the westward; a circumstance which we have already remarked more than once during the course of our voyage. In the night we tried for soundings, but found no ground with fifty fathoms of line.

On the 14th and 15th, the wind blowing steadily and fresh from the westward, we were obliged to stand to the southward; and consequently hindered from seeing any more of

the Kurile Islands. At noon of the 16th, the latitude, by observation, was 45° 27′; the longitude, deduced from a number of lunar observations taken during the three days past, 155° 30′. The variation 4° 30′ E. In this situation, we were almost surrounded by the supposed discoveries of former navigators, and uncertain to which we should turn ourselves. To the southward and the south-west were placed, in the French charts, a group of five islands, called the Three Sisters, Zellany and Kunashir. We were about ten leagues, according to the same maps, to the westward of the land of De Gama, which we had passed to the eastward in April last, at a distance rather less than this, without seeing any appearance of it; from which circumstance we may now conclude, that, if such land exist at all, it must be an island of a very inconsiderable size.* On the other hand, if we give credit to the original position of this land, fixed by Texiera†, it lay to the west by south; and as the Company's Land‡, Staten Island§, and the famous land of Jeso ‖, were also supposed to lie nearly in the same direction, together with the group first mentioned, according to the Russian charts, we thought this coast deserved the preference, and accordingly hauled round to the westward, the wind having shifted in the afternoon to the northward. During this day, we saw large flocks of gulls, several albatrosses, fulmars, and a number of fish, which our sailors called grampuses; but, as far as we could judge, from the appearance of those that passed close by the ships, we imagined them to be the *kasatka*, or sword-fish, described by Krascheninicoff, to whom I refer the reader, for a curious account of the manner in which they attack the whales. In the evening, a visit from a small land bird, about the size of a goldfinch, and resembling that bird in shape and plumage, made us keep a good look out for land. However, at midnight, on trying for soundings, we found no ground with forty-five fathoms of line.

On the 17th, at noon, we were in latitude 45° 7′, by observation, longitude 154° 0′. The

* From Muller's account of the course steered by Captain Spanberg, in his route from Kamtschatka to Japan, it appears that he must also undoubtedly have seen De Gama's Land, if it really has the extent given it in M. D'Anville's maps. Walton, who commanded a vessel in the same expedition, seems also to have looked in vain for this land on his return from Japan: and three years afterward, on account of some doubts that had arisen respecting Spanberg's course, Beering went directly in search of it as low as the latitude of 46°.—See Voyages et Découvertes, &c. p. 210, et seq.

† See book vi. chap. i. p. 149.

‡ This land was seen by the Dutchmen who sailed in the Castricom and Breskes, and imagined by them to be part of the continent of America. There now remains scarce any doubt of its being the islands of Ooroop and Nadeegsda. See the Journals of the Castricom and Breskes, published by Wetzer.

§ This land was also discovered by the Castricom; and, from its situation, as described in the journal of that vessel, it appears to be the islands of the Three Sisters.

‖ The country of Jeso, which has so long been a stumbling-block to our modern geographers, was first brought to the knowledge of Europeans by the Dutch vessels, mentioned in the preceding notes. The name appears, from the earliest accounts, to have been well known, both to the Japanese and the Kamtschadales; and used by them, indiscriminately, for all the islands lying between Kamtschatka and Japan. It has since been applied to a large imaginary island, or continent, supposed to have been discovered by the Castricom and Breskes: and it may not, therefore, be improper to consider the grounds of this mistake, as far as can be collected from the journals of this expedition. The object of the voyage in which those ships were engaged, was to explore the eastern shore of Tartary; but, being separated by a storm off the south-east point of Japan, they sailed in different tracks along the east side of that island; and, having passed its northern extremity, proceeded singly on their intended expedition.

The Castricom, commanded by De Vries, steering northward, fell in with land on the third day, in latitude 42°. He sailed along the south-east coast about sixty leagues in "a constant fog; and having anchored in various places," held a friendly intercourse with the inhabitants. Thus far the journal. Now, as the islands of Matimai, Kunashir, and Zellany appear, from Captain Spanberg's discoveries, to lie exactly in this situation, there can be no doubt of their being the same land; and the circumstance of the fog sufficiently accounts for the error of De Vries, in imagining them to be one continent, without having recourse to the supposition of an earthquake, by which Mr. Muller, from his desire to reconcile the opinion generally received with the latter Russian discoveries, conceives the several parts to have been separated. The journal then proceeds to give an account of the discovery of Staten Island and Company's Land, of which I have already given my opinion, and shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Having passed through the Straits of De Vries, says the journal, they entered a vast, wild, and tempestuous sea, in which they steered, through mists and darkness, to the 48° latitude north; after which they were driven by contrary winds to the southward, and again fell in with land to the westward, in latitude 45°, which they unaccountably still imagined to be part of the continent of Jeso; whereas, whoever examines Jansen's map of their discoveries (which appears to be exceedingly accurate, as far as his information went), will, I believe, have no doubt, that they were, at this time, on the coast of Tartary. Having traced this land four degrees to the northward, they returned to the southward through the straits they had passed before.

It is not necessary to trouble the reader with the journal of the Breskes, as it contains no new matter, and has been already republished, and very satisfactorily animadverted upon by Mr. Muller.—Voyages from Asia to America, &c. English Translation, p. 78.

wind now again coming to the westward, obliged us to steer a more southerly course; and, at midnight, it blew from that quarter a fresh gale, accompanied with heavy rain. In the morning we saw another land bird, and many flocks of gulls and peterels bending their course to the south-west. The heavy north-east swell, with which we had constantly laboured since our departure from Lopatka, now ceased, and changed suddenly to the south-east. In the forenoon of the 18th, we passed great quantities of rock-weed, from which, and the flights of birds above mentioned, we conjectured that we were at no great distance from the southernmost of the Kuriles; and, at the same time, the wind coming round to the south, enabled us to stand in for it. At two, we set studding-sails, and steered west; but the wind increasing to a gale, soon obliged us to double reef the top-sails; and, at midnight, we judged it necessary to try for soundings. Accordingly we hove to; but finding no bottom at seventy-five fathoms, we were encouraged to persevere, and again bore away west, with the wind at south-east. This course we kept till two in the morning, when the weather becoming thick, we hauled our wind and steered to the south-west till five, when a violent storm reduced us to our courses.

Notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the weather left us little prospect of making the land, we still kept this object anxiously in view; and at day-light, ventured to steer west by south, and continued to stand on in this direction till ten in the forenoon, when the wind suddenly shifting to the south-west, brought with it clear weather. Of this we had scarcely taken advantage, by setting the top-sails, and letting out the reefs, when it began to blow so strong from this quarter, that we were forced to close reef again; and at noon, the wind shifting two points to the west, rendered it vain to keep any longer on this tack. We, therefore, put about, and steered to the southward. At this time, our latitude, by observation, was 44° 12′, and longitude 150° 40′; so that, after all our efforts, we had the mortification to find ourselves, according to the Russian charts, upon a meridian with Nadeegsda, which they make the southernmost of the Kurile Islands, and about twenty leagues to the southward. But, though the violent and contrary winds we had met with during the last six days, prevented our getting in with these islands, yet the course we had been obliged to hold, is not without its geographical advantages. For the group of Islands, consisting of the Three Sisters, Kunashir, and Zellany, which, in D'Anville's maps, are placed in the track we had just crossed; being, by this means, demonstratively removed from that situation, an additional proof is obtained of their lying to the westward, where Spanberg actually places them, between the longitude 142° and 147°. But as this space is occupied in the French charts by part of the supposed land of Jeso and Staten Island, Mr. Muller's opinion becomes extremely probable, that they are all the same lands: and as no reasons appear for doubting Spanberg's accuracy, we have ventured, in our general map,* to reinstate the Three Sisters, Zellany, and Kunashir, in their proper situation, and have entirely omitted the rest. When the reader recollects the manner in which the Russians have multiplied the islands of the Northern Archipelago, from the want of accuracy in determining their real situation, and the desire men naturally feel of propagating new discoveries, he will not be surprised, that the same causes should produce the same effects. It is thus that the Jesoian lands, which appear, both from the accounts of the Japanese and the earliest Russian traditions, to be no other than the southern Kurile Islands, have been supposed distinct from the latter. The Land of De Gama is next on record, and was originally placed nearly in the same situation with those just mentioned; but was removed, as has been already suggested, to make room for Staten Island, and the Company's Land; and as Jeso, and the southernmost of the Kuriles, had also possession of this space, that nothing might be lost, they were provided for, the former a little to the westward, and the latter to the eastward.

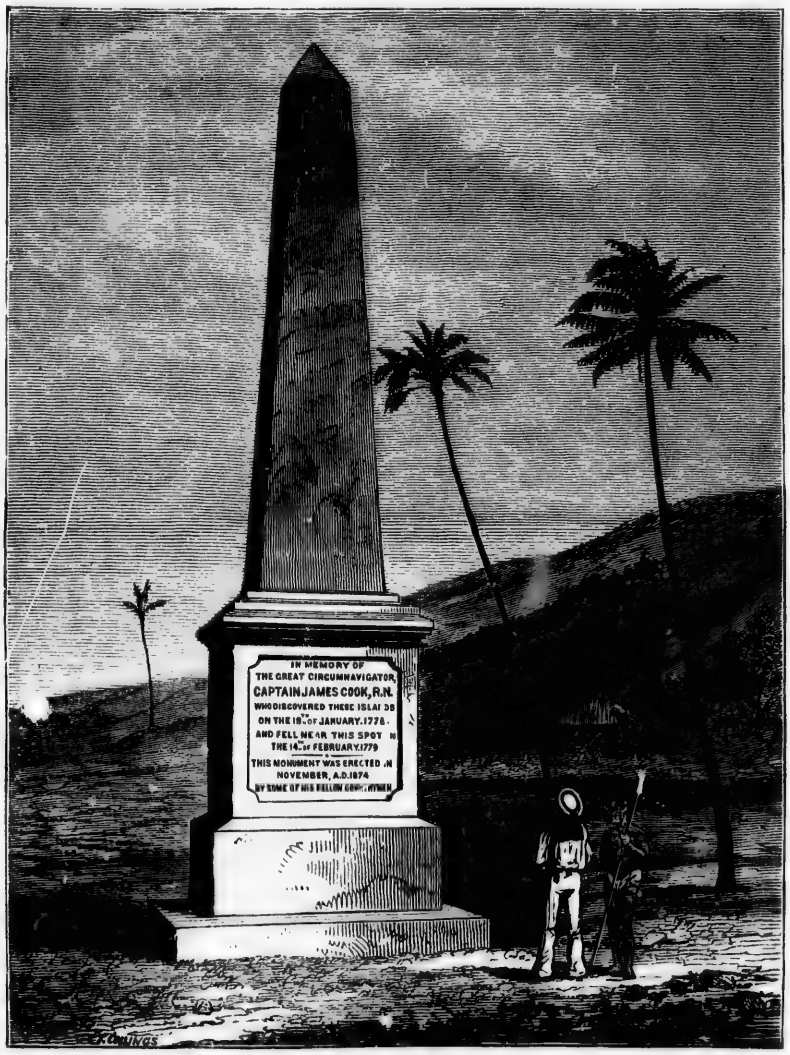
As the islands of Zellany and Kunashir, according to the Russian charts, were still to the southward, we were not without hopes of being able to make them, and therefore kept our head as much to the westward as the wind would permit. On the 20th, at noon, we were in latitude 43° 47′, and longitude 150° 30′; and steering west by south, with a moderate

* That given in the original editions. Ed.

rly course; and,
vy rain. In the
ls bending their
had constantly
nly to the south-
ed, from which,
no great distance
ing round to the
eered west; but
nd, at midnight,
; but finding no
again bore away
rning, when the
till five, when a

ospect of making
ventured to steer
renoon, when the
Of this we had
s, when it began
in; and at noon,
nger on this tack.
our latitude, by
fforts, we had the
a meridian with
nd about twenty
we had met with
he course we had
group of Islands,
nville's maps, are
tratively removed
westward, where
ut as this space is
taten Island, Mr.
lands; and as no
our general map,*
tuation, and have
hich the Russians
nt of accuracy in
propagating new
the same effects.
of the Japanese
rile Islands, have
a record, and was
but was removed,
Company's Land;
of this space, that
vestward, and the

s, were still to the
therefore kept our
, at noon, we were
n, with a moderate



MONUMENT TO CAPT. COOK, KEALAKEKUA BAY, SANDWICH ISLANDS.

Erected near the spot where Capt. Cook was murdered by the Natives, Feb. 14, 1779.

breeze from south-east, and probably not more than twenty-four leagues to the eastward of Zellany, when our good fortune again deserted us. For, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the wind veering round to the north-west, began to blow so strong, that we were brought under our foresail and mizen staysail. We had very heavy squalls, and hard rain during the next twenty-four hours; after which, the horizon clearing a little, and the weather growing moderate, we were enabled to set the topsails; but the wind still continuing to blow from the north-west, baffled all our endeavours to make the land, and obliged us at last to give up all further thoughts of discovery to the north of Japan. We submitted to this disappointment with the greater reluctance, as the accounts that are given of the inhabitants of these islands mentioned at the end of the last chapter, had excited in us the greater curiosity to visit them.

In the afternoon the leach-rope of the Resolution's fore-topsail gave way, and split the sail. As this accident had often happened to us in Captain Cook's life-time, he had ordered the foot and leach ropes of the topsails to be taken out, and larger fixed in their stead; and as these also proved unequal to the strain that was on them, it is evident that the proper proportion of strength between those ropes and the sail, is exceedingly miscalculated in our service. This day a land-bird perched on the rigging, and was taken; it was larger than a sparrow, but in other respects very like one. The gale now abated gradually, so that in the morning of the 22d, we let out the reefs of the top sails, and made more sail. At noon, we were in latitude 40° 58′, and longitude 148° 17′; the variation 3° E. In the afternoon, another little wanderer from the land pitched on the ship, and was so worn out with fatigue, that it suffered itself to be taken immediately, and died a few hours afterward. It was not bigger than a wren, had a tuft of yellow feathers on its head, and the rest of its plumage like that of the linnet. The sparrow, being stronger, lived a long time. These birds plainly indicating, that we could not be at any great distance from the land, and the wind after varying a little, fixing in the evening at north, our hopes of making the land again revived, and we hauled up to the west north-west, in which direction, the southernmost islands seen by Spanberg, and said to be inhabited by hairy men, lay at the distance of about fifty leagues. But the wind not keeping pace with our wishes, blew in such light airs, that we made little way, till eight the next morning, when we had a fresh breeze from the south south-west, with which we continued to steer west north-west till the evening. At noon, we were in latitude 40° 35′, longitude 146° 45′; the latter deduced from several lunar observations taken during the night. The variation of the needle we found to be 17′ E. In the evening, we had strong squally gales attended with rain, and having passed, in the course of the day, several patches of green grass, and seen a shag, many small land birds, and flocks of gulls, it was not thought prudent, with all these signs of the vicinity of land, to stand on during the whole night. We therefore tacked at midnight, and steered a few hours to the south-east, and at four in the morning of the 24th, again directed our course to the west north-west, and carried a press of sail till seven in the evening, when the wind shifted from south south-west, to north, and blew a fresh gale. At this time we were in the latitude of 40° 57′, and the longitude of 145° 20′.

This second disappointment, in our endeavours to get to the north-west, together with the boisterous weather we had met with, and the little likelihood, at this time of the year, of its becoming more favourable to our views, were Captain Gore's motives for now finally giving up all farther search for the islands to the north of Japan, and for shaping a course west south-west, for the north part of that island. In the night, the wind shifted to the north-east, and blew a fresh gale, with hard rain and hazy weather, which, by noon of the 25th, brought us to the latitude of 40° 18′, and in the longitude 144° 0′. To-day we saw flights of wild ducks; a pigeon lighted on our rigging, and many birds like linnets flew about us with a degree of vigour that seemed to prove they had not been long upon the wing. We also passed patches of long grass, and a piece either of sugar-cane or bamboo. These signs, that land was at no great distance, induced us to try for soundings, but we found no ground with ninety fathoms of line. Toward evening, the wind by degrees shifted round to the south, with which we still kept on to the west south-west; and at daybreak of the 26th, we had the pleasure of descrying high land to the westward, which proved to be Japan. At

eight it extended from north-west to south by west, distant three or four leagues. A low, flat cape bore north-west three-quarters west, and seemed to make the south part of the entrance of a bay. Toward the south extreme, a conical-shaped hill bore south by west three-quarters west. To the northward of this hill there appeared to be a very deep inlet, the north side of the entrance into which is formed by a low point of land; and, as well as we could judge by our glasses, has a small island near it to the southward.

We stood on till nine, when we were within two leagues of the land, bearing west three-quarters south, and had soundings of fifty-eight fathoms, with a bottom of very fine sand. We now tacked and stood off; but the wind dying away, at noon we had got no farther than three leagues from the coast, which extended from north-west by north three-quarters west, to south half east, and was, for the most part, bold and cliffy. The low cape to the northward bore north-west by west, six leagues distant; and the north point of the inlet south, three-quarters west. The latitude, by observation, was 40° 5′, and longitude 142° 28′. The northernmost land in sight we judged to be the northern extremity of Japan.* It is lower than any other part; and, from the range of the high lands that were seen over it from the mast-head, the coast appeared evidently to incline round to the westward. The north point of the inlet we supposed to be Cape Nambu, and the town to be situated in a break of the high land, toward which the inlet seemed to direct itself †. The country is of a moderate height, consists of a double range of mountains; it abounds with wood, and has a pleasing variety of hills and dales. We saw the smoke of several towns or villages, and many houses near the shore, in pleasant and cultivated situations.

During the calm, being willing to make the best use of our time, we put our fishing lines overboard in ten fathoms water, but without any success. As this was the only amusement our circumstances admitted, the disappointment was always very sensibly felt, and made us look back with regret to the cod-banks of the dreary regions we had left, which had supplied us with so many wholesome meals, and, by the diversion they afforded, had given a variety to the wearisome succession of gales and calms, and the tedious repetition of the same nautical observations. At two in the afternoon, the breeze freshened from the southward, and by four had brought us under close-reefed topsails, and obliged us to stand off to the south-east. In consequence of this course, and the haziness of the weather, the land soon disappeared. We kept on all night, and till eight the next morning, when the wind coming round to the north, and growing moderate, we made sail, and steered west south-west, toward the land; but did not make it till three in the afternoon, when it extended from north-west half west to west. The northernmost extreme being a continuation of the high land, which was the southernmost we had seen the day before; the land to the west we conceived to be the Hofe Tafel Berg (the High Table Hill) of Jansen. Between the two extremes, the coast was low and scarcely perceptible, except from the mast-head. We stood on toward the coast till eight, when we were about five leagues distant; and having shortened sail for the night, steered to the southward, sounding every four hours; but never found ground with one hundred and sixty fathoms of line.

On the 28th, at six in the morning, we again saw land twelve leagues to the southward of that seen the preceding day, extending from west south-west to west by north. We steered south-west obliquely with the shore; and at ten, saw more land open to the south-west. To the westward of this land, which is low and flat, are two islands, as we judged, though some doubts were entertained whether they might not be connected with the adjacent low ground. The hazy weather, joined to our distance, prevented us also from determining whether there are any inlets or harbours between the projecting points, which seem here to promise good shelter. At noon, the north extreme bore north-west by north, and a high-peaked hill, over a steep headland, west by north, distant five leagues. Our latitude at this

* The only authentic survey of the eastern coast of Japan with which I am acquainted, is that published by Jansen in his atlas, and compiled with great accuracy from the charts and journals of the Castricom and Breskes. I have therefore adopted, wherever the identity of the situations could be nearly ascertained, the names given in that map to the corresponding points and headlands seen by us along the coast.

Jansen places the northern extremity of Japan in latitude 40° 15′. The point seen by us was in latitude 40° 27′.

† This town is called by Jansen, Nabo.

time, by observation, was 38° 16′, longitude 142° 9′. The mean of the variation, from observations taken both in the fore and afternoon, was 1° 20′ E. At half past three in the afternoon, we lost sight of the land; and, from its breeaking off so suddenly, conjectured that what we had seen this day is an island, or perhaps a cluster of islands, lying off the main land of Japan; but as the islands, called by Jansen the Schildpads, and by Mr. D'Anville Matsima, though laid down nearly in the same situation, are not equal in extent to the land seen by us, we must leave this point undecided. Having kept a south-west course during the remaining part of the day, we found ourselves, at midnight, in seventy fathoms' water, over a bottom of fine dark brown sand. We therefore hauled up to the eastward till morning, when we saw the land again, about eleven leagues to the southward of that which we had seen the day before; and at eight we were within six or seven miles of the shore, having carried in regular soundings from sixty-five to twenty fathoms, over coarse sand and gravel. Unluckily there was a haze over the land, which hindered our distinguishing small objects on it. The coast is straight and unbroken, and runs nearly in a north and south direction. Toward the sea the ground is low, but rises gradually into hills of a moderate height, whose tops are tolerably even, and covered with wood.

At nine o'clock, the wind shifting to the southward, and the sky lowering, we tacked and stood off to the east, and soon after we saw a vessel close in with the land, standing along the shore to the northward, and another in the offing, coming down on us before the wind. Objects of any kind belonging to a country so famous, and yet so little known, it will be easily conceived, must have excited a general curiosity; and, accordingly, every soul on board was upon deck in an instant to gaze at them. As the vessel to windward approached us, she hauled farther off shore; upon which, fearing that we should alarm them by the appearance of a pursuit, we brought the ships to, and she passed ahead of us. at the distance of about half a mile. It would have been easy for us to have spoken with them; but perceiving, by their manœuvres, that they were much frightened, Captain Gore was not willing to augment their terrors; and, thinking that we should have many better opportunities of communication with this people, suffered them to go off without interruption. Our distance did not permit us to remark any particulars regarding the men on board, who seemed to be about six in number, especially as the haziness of the weather precluded the use of our glasses. According to the best conjectures we were able to form, the vessel was about forty tons burthen. She had but one mast, on which was hoisted a square sail, extended by a yard aloft, the braces of which worked forward. Half way down the sail came three pieces of black cloth at equal distances from each other. The vessel was higher at each end than in the midship; and we imagined, from her appearance and form, that it was impossible for her to sail any otherwise than large.

At noon the wind freshened, and brought with it a good deal of rain; by three it had increased so much, that we were reduced to our courses; at the same time, the sea ran as high as any one on board ever remembered to have seen it. If the Japanese vessels are, as Kæmpfer describes them, open in the stern, it would not have been possible for those we saw to have survived the fury of this storm; but as the appearance of the weather all the preceding part of the day, foretold its coming, and one of the sloops had, notwithstanding, stood far out to sea, we may safely conclude that they are perfectly capable of bearing a gale of wind. Spanberg indeed describes two kinds of Japanese vessels; one answering to the above description of Kæmpfer; the other, which he calls busses, and in which he says they make their voyages to the neighbouring islands, exactly corresponds with those we saw *.

At eight in the evening, the gale shifted to the west without abating the least in violence, and by raising a sudden swell in a contrary direction to that which prevailed before, occasioned the ships to strain and labour exceedingly. During the storm several of the sails were split on board the Resolution. Indeed they had been so long bent, and were worn so thin, that this accident had of late happened to us almost daily in both ships; especially, when, being stiff and heavy with the rain, they became less able to bear the shocks of the

* Vide Muller, Fr. ed. page 215.

violent and variable winds we at this time experienced. The gale at length growing moderate, and settling to the west, we kept upon a wind to the southward; and at nine in the morning of the 30th we saw the land at the distance of about fifteen leagues, bearing from west by north to north-west one quarter west. It appeared in detached parts; but whether they were small islands or parts of Japan, our distance did not enable us to determine. At noon it extended from north-west to west, the nearest land being about thirteen leagues distant, beyond which the coast seemed to run in a westerly direction. The latitude, by observation, was 36° 41′, longitude 142° 6′. The point to the northward, which was supposed to be near the southernmost land seen the day before, we conjectured to be Cape de Kennis, and the break to the southward of this point, to be the mouth of the river on which the town of Gissima is said to be situated. The next cape is probably that called in the Dutch charts Boomtje's Point, and the southernmost, off which we were abreast at noon, we suppose to be near Low Point *, and that we were at too great a distance to see the low land, in which it probably terminates, to the eastward.

In the afternoon, the wind veering round to the north-east, we stood to the southward, at the distance of about eighteen leagues from the shore, trying for soundings, as we went along, but finding none with one hundred and fifteen fathoms of line. At two the next morning it shifted to west, attended with rain and lightning, and blowing in heavy squalls. During the course of the day, we had several small birds of a brown plumage, resembling linnets, flying about us, which had been forced off the land by the strong westerly gales; but toward the evening, the wind coming to the north-west, we shaped our course, along with them, to west south-west, in order to regain the coast. In the morning of the 1st of November, the wind again shifted to south-east, and bringing with it fair weather, we got forty-two sets of distances of the moon from the sun and stars, with four different quadrants, each set consisting of six observations. These agreeing pretty nearly with each other, fix our situation at noon the same day, with great accuracy, in longitude 141° 32′, the latitude, by observation, was 35° 17′. We found an error of latitude in our reckonings of the preceding day, of eight miles, and in this day's of seventeen, from whence, and from our being much more to the eastward than we expected, we concluded that there had been a strong current from the south-west.

At two in the afternoon, we again made the land to the westward, at the distance of about twelve leagues; the southernmost land in sight, which we supposed to be White Point †, bore west south-west half west; a hummock to the northward, which had the appearance of being an island, bore north north-west half west, within which we saw from the mast-head low land, which we took to be Sand-down Point ‡. We stood in toward the land, till half-past five, when we hauled our wind to the southward. At this time we saw a number of Japanese vessels, close in with the land, several seemingly engaged in fishing, and others standing alongshore. We now discovered to the westward a remarkably high mountain, with a round top, rising far inland. There is no high ground near it, the coast being of a moderate elevation, and, as far as we could judge, from the haziness of the horizon, much broken by small inlets. But to the southward of the hummock island before mentioned, there appeared, at a great distance, within the country, a ridge of hills, stretching in a direction toward the mountain, and probably joining with it. As this is the most remarkable hill on the coast, we could have wished to have settled its situation exactly; but having only had this single view, were obliged to be contented with such accuracy as our circumstances would allow. Its latitude, therefore, we conceive to be 35° 20′; its longitude, estimated by its distance from the ships, at this time fifteen leagues, 140° 26′.

As the Dutch charts make the coast of Japan extend about ten leagues to the south-west of White Point, at eight we tacked, and stood off to the eastward, in order to weather the point. At midnight, we again tacked to the south-west, expecting to fall in with the coast to the southward, but were surprised, in the morning at eight, to see the hummock, at the distance only of three leagues, bearing west north-west. We began at first to doubt the

* *Lage Hoeck*, or Low Point, is placed by Jansen in latitude 36° 40′.

† *Witte Hoeck*, placed by Jansen in latitude 35° 24′.

‡ *Sanduynege Hoeck*, in latitude 35° 55′. Jansen.

evidence of our senses, and afterward to suspect some deception from a similarity of land; but, at noon, we found ourselves, by observation, to be actually in latitude 35° 43′, at a time when our reckonings gave us 34° 48′. So that, during the eight hours in which we supposed we had made a course of nine leagues to the south-west, we had in reality been carried eight leagues from the position we left, in a direction diametrically opposite; which made, on the whole, in that short space of time, a difference, in our reckoning, of seventeen leagues. From this error, we calculated that the current had set to the north-east by north, at the rate of at least five miles an hour. Our longitude at this time was 141° 16′.

The weather having now the same threatening appearance as on the 29th of October, which was followed by so sudden and severe a gale, and the wind continuing at south south-east, it was thought prudent to leave the shore, and stand off to the eastward, to prevent our being entangled with the land. Nor were we wrong in our prognostications; for it soon afterward began, and continued till next day, to blow a heavy gale, accompanied with hazy and rainy weather. In the morning of the 3d, we found ourselves, by our reckoning, upward of fifty leagues from the land: which circumstance, together with the very extraordinary effect of currents we had before experienced, the late season of the year, the unsettled state of the weather, and the little likelihood of any change for the better, made Captain Gore resolve to leave Japan altogether, and prosecute our voyage to China; hoping, that as the track he meant to pursue had never yet been explored, he should be able to make amends, by some new discovery, for the disappointments we had met with on this coast. If the reader should be of opinion that we quitted this object too hastily, in addition to the facts already stated it ought to be remarked, Kæmpfer describes the coast of Japan as the most dangerous in the whole world *; that it would have been equally dangerous, in case of distress, to run into any of their harbours, where we know, from the best authorities, that the aversion of the inhabitants to any intercourse with strangers has led them to commit the most atrocious barbarities; that our ships were in a leaky condition; that our sails were worn out, and unable to withstand a gale of wind; and that the rigging was so rotten as to require constant and perpetual repairs.

As the strong currents which set along the eastern coast of Japan, may be of dangerous consequence to the navigator who is not aware of their extraordinary rapidity, I shall take leave of this island, with a summary account of their force and direction, as observed by us from the 1st to the 8th of November. On the 1st, at which time we were about eighteen leagues to the eastward of White Point, the current set north-east by north, at the rate of three miles an hour; on the 2nd, as we approached the shore, we found it continuing in the same direction, but increased in its rapidity to five miles an hour; as we left the shore it again became more moderate and inclined to the eastward; on the 3rd, at the distance of sixty leagues, it set to the east north-east, three miles an hour: on the 4th and 5th it turned to the southward, and at 120 leagues from the land, its direction was south-east, and its rate not more than a mile and a half an hour; on the 6th and 7th it again shifted round to the north-east, its force gradually diminishing till the 8th, when we could no longer perceive any at all.

During the 4th and 5th, we continued our course to the south-east, having very unsettled weather, attended with much lightning and rain. On both days we passed great quantities of pumice-stone, several pieces of which we took up, and found to weigh from one ounce to three pounds. We conjectured that these stones had been thrown into the sea, by eruptions of various dates, as many of them were covered with barnacles, and others quite bare. At the same time, we saw two wild ducks, and several small land-birds, and had many porpusses playing round us. On the 6th, at day-light, we altered our course to the south-south-west; but at eight in the evening we were taken back, and obliged to steer to the south-east. On the 7th, at noon, we saw a small land-bird, our latitude, by observation at this time, being 33° 52′, and longitude 148° 42′. On the 9th, we were in latitude 31° 46′, longitude 146° 20′, when we again saw a small land-bird, a tropic-bird, porpusses, flying-fishes, and had a great swell from the east-south-east. We continued our course to the south-west having the winds from the northward, without any remarkable occurrence,

* See Kæmpfer's Hist. of Japan, vol. i. p. 92, 93, 94, and 102.

till the 12th, when we had a most violent gale of wind from the same quarter, which reduced us to the fore-sail, and mizen-stay-sail; and, as the weather was so hazy that we were not able to see a cable's length before us, and many shoals and small islands are laid down in our charts in this part of the ocean, we brought-to with our heads to the south-west. At noon, the latitude by account, was 27° 36′, longitude 144° 25′. In the morning of the 13th, the wind shifting round to the north-west, brought with it fair weather; but though we were at this time nearly in the situation given to the island of St. Juan, we saw no appearance of land. We now bore away to the south-west, and set the top-sails, the gale still continuing with great violence. At noon the latitude, by observation, was 26° 0′, longitude 143° 40′, and variation 3° 50′ E. In the afternoon, we saw flying-fish and dolphins, also tropic birds and albatrosses. We still continued to pass much pumice-stone; indeed, the prodigious quantities of this substance which float in the sea, between Japan and the Bashee Islands, seem to indicate, that some great volcanic convulsion must have happened in this part of the Pacific Ocean; and, consequently, give some degree of probability to the opinion of Mr. Muller, which I have already had occasion to mention, respecting the separation of the continent of Jeso, and the disappearance of Company's Land and Staten Island.

At six in the afternoon we altered our course to the west-south-west, Captain Gore judging it useless to steer any longer to the south-south-west, as we were near the meridian of the Ladrones, or Marianne Islands, and at no great distance from the track of the Manilla ships. In the morning of the 14th, the weather became fine, and the wind, which was moderate, gradually shifted to the north-east, and proved to be the trade-wind. At ten, Mr. Trevenen, one of the young gentlemen who came along with me into the Discovery, saw land, appearing like a peaked mountain, and bearing south-west. At noon, the latitude, by observation, was 24° 37′, longitude 142° 2′. The land, which we now discovered to be an island, bore south-west half-west, distant eight or ten leagues, and at two in the afternoon, we saw another to the west-north-west. This second island, when seen at a distance, has the appearance of two; the south point consisting of a high conical hill, joined by a narrow neck to the northern land, which is of a moderate height. As this was evidently of greater extent than the island to the south, we altered our course toward it. At four, it bore north-west by west; but not having daylight sufficient to examine the coast, we stood upon our tacks during the night.

On the 15th at six in the morning, we bore away for the south point of the larger island, at which time we discovered another high island, bearing north three-quarters west, the south island being on the same rhomb line, and the south point of the island ahead, west by north. At nine we were abreast, and within a mile of the middle island, but Captain Gore, finding that a boat could not land without some danger from the great surf that broke on the shore, kept on his course to the westward. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was 24° 50′, longitude 140° 56′ E. This island is about five miles long, in a north-north-east and south-south-west direction. The south point is a high barren hill, flattish at the top, and when seen from the west southwest, presents an evident volcanic crater. The earth, rock, or sand, for it was not easy to distinguish of which its surface is composed, exhibited various colours, and a considerable part we conjectured to be sulphur, both from its appearance to the eye, and the strong sulphureous smell which we perceived as we approached the point. Some of the officers on board the Resolution, which passed nearer the land, thought they saw steams rising from the top of the hill. From these circumstances, Captain Gore gave it the name of *Sulphur Island*. A low, narrow, neck of land connects this hill with the south end of the island, which spreads out into a circumference of three or four leagues, and is of a moderate height. The part near the isthmus has some bushes on it, and has a green appearance; but those to the north-east are very barren, and full of large detached rocks, many of which were exceedingly white. Very dangerous breakers extend two miles and a half to the east, and two miles to the west, off the middle part of the island, on which the sea broke with great violence. The north and south islands appeared to us as single mountains, of a considerable height; the former peaked, and of a conical shape; the latter more square, and flat at the top. Sulphur Island we place in latitude 24° 48′, longitude 141° 12′.

The north island in latitude 25° 14′, longitude 141° 10′. The south island in latitude 24° 22′, and longitude 141° 20′. The variation observed was 3° 30′ E.

Captain Gore now directed his course to the west-south-west, for the Bashee Islands, hoping to procure at them such a supply of refreshments as would help to shorten his stay in Macao. These islands were visited by Dampier, who gives a very favourable account, both of the civility of the inhabitants, and of the plenty of hogs and vegetables, with which the country abounds; they were afterward seen by Byron and Wallis, who passed them without landing. In order to extend our view in the day-time, the ships spread between two and three leagues from each other, and during the night we went under an easy sail; so that it was scarcely possible to pass any land that lay in the neighbourhood of our course. In this manner we proceeded, without any occurrence worth remarking, with a fresh breeze from the north-east, till the 22d, when it increased to a strong gale, with violent squalls of wind and rain, which brought us under close-reefed top-sails.

At noon of the 23d, the latitude, by account, was 21° 5′, and longitude 123° 20′; at six in the evening, being now only twenty-one leagues from the Bashee islands, according to the situation in Mr. Dalrymple's map, and the weather squally, attended with a thick haze, we hauled our wind to the north north-west, and handed the fore top-sail. During the whole of the 24th it rained incessantly, and the wind still blew a storm; a heavy sea rolled down on us from the north, and in the afternoon we had violent flashes of lightning from the same quarter. We continued upon a wind to the north north-west till nine o'clock, when we tacked and stood to the south south-east till four in the morning of the 25th, and then wore. During the night there was an eclipse of the moon, but the rain prevented our making any observation; unfortunately, at the time of the greatest darkness, a seaman, in stowing the main top-mast stay-sail, fell overboard, but laying hold of a rope which providentially was hanging out of the fore-chains into the water, and the ship being quickly brought in the wind, he was got on board without any other hurt than a slight bruise on his shoulder. At eight, the weather clearing, we bore away, but the wind blew still so strong, that we carried no other sail than the fore-sail, and the main top-sail close reefed. About this time we saw a land bird resembling a thrush, and a sugar-cane; at noon the latitude, by observation, was 21° 35′, and longitude 121° 35′.

As our situation in longitude was now to the west of the Bashee, according to Mr. Dalrymple's maps, I perceived that Captain Gore was governed, in the course he was steering, by the opinions of Commodore Byron and Captain Wallis, with whom he sailed when they passed these islands; the former placing it near four degrees to the westward, or in longitude 118° 14′. In consequence of this opinion, at two we stood to the southward, with a view of getting into the same parallel of latitude with the islands before we ran down our longitude. At six we were nearly in that situation, and consequently ought to have been in sight of land, according to Mr. Wallis's account, who places the Bashees near three degrees more to the eastward than Mr. Byron. The gale at this time had not in the least abated; and Captain Gore, still conceiving that the islands must undoubtedly lie to the westward, brought the ships to, with their heads to the north-west, under the fore-sail and balanced mizen. At six in the morning of the 26th, the wind having considerably abated, we bore away west, set the top-sails, and let out the reefs. At noon the latitude, by observation, was 21° 12′, and longitude 120° 25′. We saw, this day, a flock of ducks and many tropic-birds, also dolphins and porpusses, and still continued to pass several pumice-stones. We spent the night upon our tacks; and at six in the morning of the 27th again bore away west in search of the Bashees.

I now began to be a little apprehensive, lest, in searching for those islands, we should get so much to the southward as to be obliged to pass to leeward of the Pratas. In this case it might have been exceedingly difficult for such bad-sailing ships as ours to fetch Macao, particularly should the wind continue to blow as it now did, from the north north-east and north. As I had some doubts whether Mr. Dalrymple's charts were on board the Resolution, I made sail and hailed her; and having acquainted Captain Gore with the position of these shoals, and my apprehensions of being driven to the southward, he informed me that he should continue on his course for the day, as he was still in hopes of finding Admiral Byron's longitude

right; and, therefore, ordered me to spread a few miles to the south. At noon the weather became hazy; the latitude, by reckoning, was 21° 2′, and longitude 118° 30′; and at six, having got to the westward of the Bashees, by Mr. Byron's account, Captain Gore hauled his wind to the north-west under an easy sail, the wind blowing very strong, and there being every appearance of a dirty boisterous night. At four in the morning of the 28th, we saw the Resolution, then half a mile ahead of us, wear, and immediately perceived breakers close under our lee. At daylight we saw the island of Prata; and at half past six we wore again, and stood toward the shoal, and finding we could not weather it, bore away and ran to leeward. As we passed the south side, within a mile of the reef, we observed two remarkable patches on the edges of the breakers that looked like wrecks. At noon, the latitude found by double altitudes was 20° 39′, longitude 116° 45′. The island bore north three quarters east, distant three or four leagues. On the south-west side of the reef, and near the south end of the island, we thought we saw from the mast-head openings in the reef, which promised safe anchorage.

The Prata shoal is of a considerable extent, being six leagues from north to south, and stretching three or four leagues to the eastward of the island; its limit to the westward we were not in a situation to determine. The north-east extremity we place in latitude 20° 58′, and longitude 117°; and the south-west in latitude 20° 45′, and longitude 116° 44′. For the remaining part of the day we carried a press of sail, and kept the wind, which was north-east by north, in order to secure our passage to Macao. It was fortunate that, toward evening, the wind favoured us by changing two points more to the east; for, had the wind and weather continued the same as during the preceding week, I doubt whether we could have fetched that port, in which case we must have borne away for Batavia; a place we all dreaded exceedingly, from the sad havoc the unhealthiness of the climate had made in the crews of the former ships that had been out on discovery, and had touched there.

In the forenoon of the 29th, we passed several Chinese fishing-boats, who eyed us with great indifference. They fish with a large dredge-net, shaped like a hollow cone, having a flat iron rim fixed to the lower part of its mouth. The net is made fast with cords to the head and stern of the boat, which being left to drive with the wind, draws the net after it, with the iron part dragging along the bottom. We were sorry to find the sea covered with the wrecks of boats that had been lost, as we conjectured, in the late boisterous weather. At noon we were in latitude, by observation, 22° 1′, having run one hundred and ten miles upon a north-west course since the preceding noon. Being now nearly in the latitude of the Lema Islands, we bore away west by north, and, after running twenty-two miles, saw one of them nine or ten leagues to the westward. At six, the extremes of the islands in sight bore north north-west half west, and west north-west half west; distant from the nearest four or five leagues; the depth of water twenty-two fathoms, over a soft muddy bottom. We now shortened sail, and kept upon our tacks for the night. By Mr. Baily's time-keeper, the Grand Lema bore from the Prata Island north 60° W. one hundred and fifty-three miles; and by our run, north 57° W. one hundred and forty-six miles.

In the morning of the 30th, we ran along the Lema Isles, which, like all the other islands on this coast, are without wood, and, as far as we could observe, without cultivation. At seven o'clock, we had precisely the same view of these islands, as is represented in a plate of Lord Anson's voyage. At nine o'clock, a Chinese boat, which had been before with the Resolution, came alongside, and wanted to put on board us a pilot, which however we declined, as it was our business to follow our consort. We soon after passed the rock marked R, in Lord Anson's plate; but, instead of hauling up to the northward of the Grand Ladrone Island, as was done in the Centurion, we proceeded to leeward. It is hardly necessary to caution the mariner not to take this course, as the danger is sufficiently obvious; for, should the wind blow strong, and the current set with it, it will be extremely difficult to fetch Macao. Indeed we might, with great safety, by the direction of Mr. Dalrymple's map, have gone either entirely to the north of the Lema Isles, or between them, and made the wind fair for Macao. Our fears of missing this port, and being forced to Batavia, added to the strong and eager desires of hearing news from Europe, made us rejoice to see the

Resolution soon after fire a gun, and hoist her colours as a signal for a pilot. On repeating the signal, we saw an excellent race between four Chinese boats; and Captain Gore having engaged with the man who arrived first, to carry the ship to the Typa for thirty dollars, sent me word, that, as we could easily follow, that expense might be saved to us. Soon after, a second pilot getting on board the Resolution, insisted on conducting the ship, and, without further ceremony, laid hold of the wheel, and began to order the sails to be trimmed. This occasioned a violent dispute, which at last was compromised, by their agreeing to go shares in the money. At noon, the latitude, by observation, was 21° 57′ N., and longitude 114° 2′ E.; the Grand Ladrone Island extending from north-west half north, to north half west, distant four miles. The land of which the bearings are here given, we conceived to be one island; but afterward found the western part to be the island marked Z in Mr. Dalrymple's chart of part of the coast of China, &c. which, at that time, we unfortunately had not on board.

In obedience to the instructions given to Captain Cook by the Board of Admiralty, it now became necessary to demand of the officers and men their journals, and what other papers they might have in their possession, relating to the history of our voyage. The execution of these orders seemed to require some delicacy, as well as firmness. I could not be ignorant, that the greatest part of our officers, and several of the seamen, had amused themselves with writing accounts of our proceedings for their own private satisfaction, or that of their friends, which they might be unwilling, in their present form, to have submitted to the inspection of strangers. On the other hand, I could not, consistently with the instructions we had received, leave in their custody papers which, either from carelessness or design, might fall into the hands of printers, and give rise to spurious and imperfect accounts of the voyage, to the discredit of our labours, and perhaps to the prejudice of officers, who, though innocent, might be suspected of having been the authors of such publications. As soon, therefore, as I had assembled the ship's company on deck, I acquainted them with the orders we had received, and the reasons which I thought ought to induce them to yield a ready obedience. At the same time, I told them, that any papers which they were desirous not to have sent to the Admiralty, should be sealed up in their presence, and kept in my own custody, till the intentions of the Board, with regard to the publication of the history of the voyage, were fulfilled; after which they should faithfully be restored back to them. It is with the greatest satisfaction I can relate, that my proposals met with the approbation and the cheerful compliance both of the officers and men; and I am persuaded, that every scrap of paper, containing any transactions relating to the voyage, were given up. Indeed it is doing bare justice to the seamen of this ship to declare, that they were the most obedient and the best-disposed men I ever knew, though almost all of them were very young, and had never before served in a ship of war.

CHAPTER IX.—WORKING UP TO MACAO.—A CHINESE COMPANION.—SENT ON SHORE TO VISIT THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNOR.—EFFECTS OF THE INTELLIGENCE WE RECEIVED FROM EUROPE.—ANCHOR IN THE TYPA.—PASSAGE UP TO CANTON.—BOCCA TYGRIS.—WAMPU.—DESCRIPTION OF A SAMPANE.—RECEPTION AT THE ENGLISH FACTORY.—INSTANCE OF THE SUSPICIOUS CHARACTER OF THE CHINESE.—OF THEIR MODE OF TRADING.—OF THE CITY OF CANTON.—ITS SIZE.—POPULATION.—NUMBER OF SAMPANES.—MILITARY FORCE.—OF THE STREETS AND HOUSES.—VISIT TO A CHINESE.—RETURN TO MACAO.—GREAT DEMAND FOR THE SEA-OTTER SKINS.—PLAN OF A VOYAGE FOR OPENING A FUR TRADE ON THE WESTERN COAST OF AMERICA, AND PROSECUTING FURTHER DISCOVERIES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF JAPAN.—DEPARTURE FROM MACAO.—PRICE OF PROVISIONS IN CHINA.

We kept working to windward till six in the evening, when we came to anchor, by the direction of the Chinese pilot on board the Resolution, who imagined the tide was setting against us. In this, however, he was much deceived; as we found, upon making the experiment, that it set to the northward till ten o'clock. The next morning he fell into a similar mistake; for, at five, on the appearance of slack water, he gave orders to get under

weigh; but the ignorance he had discovered having put us on our guard, we chose to be convinced, by our own observations, before we weighed; and, on trying the tide, we found a strong under-tow, which obliged us to keep fast till eleven o'clock. From these circumstances, it appears that the tide had run down twelve hours. During the afternoon, we kept standing on our tacks, between the island of Potoe and the Grand Ladrone, having passed to the eastward of the former. At nine o'clock the tide beginning to ebb, we again came to anchor in six fathoms' water; the town of Macao bearing north-west, three leagues distant, and the island of Potoe south half-west, two leagues distant. This island lies two leagues to the north north-west of the island marked Z in Mr. Dalrymple's chart, which we at first took to be part of the Grand Ladrone. It is small and rocky; and off the west end there is said to be foul ground, though we passed near it without perceiving any.

In the forenoon of the 2d, one of the Chinese contractors, who are called *Compradors*, went on board the Resolution, and sold to Captain Gore two hundred pounds' weight of beef, together with a considerable quantity of greens, oranges, and eggs. A proportionable share of these articles was sent to the Discovery; and an agreement made with the man to furnish us with a daily supply, for which, however, he insisted on being paid beforehand. Our pilot pretending he could carry the ships no farther, Captain Gore was obliged to discharge him, and we were left to our own guidance.

At two in the afternoon, the tide flowing, we weighed, and worked to windward; and at seven anchored in three and a half fathoms of water, Macao bearing west, three miles distant. This situation was, indeed, very ineligible, being exposed to the north-east, and having shoal water, not more than two fathoms and a half deep, to leeward; but as no nautical description is given in Lord Anson's voyage of the harbour in which the Centurion anchored, and Mr. Dalrymple's general map, which was the only one on board, was on too small a scale to serve for our direction, the ships were obliged to remain there all night.

In the evening, Captain Gore sent me on shore to visit the Portuguese governor, and to request his assistance in procuring refreshments for our crews, which he thought might be done on more reasonable terms than the Comprador would undertake to furnish them. At the same time I took a list of the naval stores, of which both vessels were greatly in want, with an intention of proceeding immediately to Canton, and applying to the servants of the East India Company who were at that time resident there. On my arrival at the citadel, the fort-major informed me that the governor was sick, and not able to see company; but that we might be sure of receiving every assistance in their power. This, however, I understood would be very inconsiderable, as they were entirely dependent on the Chinese, even for their daily subsistence. Indeed, the answer returned to the first request I made, gave me a sufficient proof of the fallen state of the Portuguese power; for, on my acquainting the Major with my desire of proceeding immediately to Canton, he told me, that they could not venture to furnish me with a boat, till leave was obtained from the *Hoppo*, or officer of the customs; and that the application for this purpose must be made to the Chinese government at Canton.

The mortification I felt at meeting with this unexpected delay, could only be equalled by the extreme impatience with which we had so long waited for an opportunity of receiving intelligence from Europe. It often happens, that, in the eager pursuit of an object, we overlook the easiest and most obvious means of attaining it. This was actually my case at present; for I was returning under great dejection to the ship, when the Portuguese officer who attended me asked me, if I did not mean to visit the English gentlemen at Macao. I need not add with what transport I received the information this question conveyed to me; nor the anxious hopes and fears, the conflict between curiosity and apprehension, which passed in my mind, as we walked toward the house of one of our countrymen. In this state of agitation, it was not surprising that our reception, though no way deficient in civility or kindness, should appear cold and formal. In our inquiries, as far as they related to objects of private concern, we met, as was indeed to be expected, with little or no satisfaction; but the events of a public nature which had happened since our departure, and now, for the first time, burst all at once upon us, overwhelmed every other feeling, and left us for some time

almost without the power of reflection. For several days we continued questioning each other about the truth of what we had heard, as if desirous of seeking, in doubt and suspense, for that relief and consolation which the reality of our calamities appeared totally to exclude. These sensations were succeeded by the most poignant regret at finding ourselves cut off at such a distance from the scene, where, we imagined, the fate of fleets and armies was every moment deciding.

The intelligence we had just received of the state of affairs in Europe *, made us the more exceedingly anxious to hasten our departure as much as possible; and I therefore renewed my attempt to procure a passage to Canton, but without effect. The difficulty arising from the established policy of the country, I was now told, would probably be much increased by an incident that had happened a few weeks before our arrival. Captain Panton, in the Seahorse, a ship of war of twenty-five guns, had been sent from Madras, to urge the payment of a debt owing by the Chinese merchants of Canton to private British subjects in the East Indies and Europe, which, including the principal and compound interest, amounted, I understood, to near a million sterling. For this purpose, he had orders to insist on an audience with the viceroy of Canton, which, after some delay, and not without recourse being had to threats, was at length obtained. The answer he received on the subject of his mission was fair and satisfactory; but, immediately after his departure, an edict was stuck up on the houses of the Europeans, and in the public places of the city, forbidding all foreigners, on any pretence, to lend money to the subjects of the emperor.

This measure had occasioned very serious alarms at Canton. The Chinese merchants, who had incurred the debt, contrary to the commercial laws of their own country, and denied, in part, the justice of the demand, were afraid that intelligence of this would be carried to Pekin, and that the emperor, who has the character of a just and rigid prince, might punish them with the loss of their fortunes, if not of their lives. On the other hand, the Select Committee, to whom the cause of the claimants was strongly recommended by the Presidency of Madras, were extremely apprehensive lest they should embroil themselves with the Chinese government at Canton, and by that means bring, perhaps, irreparable mischief on the Company's affairs in China. For I was further informed, that the Mandarins were always ready to take occasion, even on the slightest grounds, to put a stop to their trading; and that it was often with great difficulty, and never without certain expense, that they could get such restraints taken off. These impositions were daily increasing; and, indeed, I found it a prevailing opinion, in all the European factories, that they should soon be reduced either to quit the commerce of that country, or to bear the same indignities to which the Dutch are subjected in Japan.

The arrival of the Resolution and Discovery at such a time, could not fail of occasioning fresh alarms; and, therefore, finding there was no probability of my proceeding to Canton, I despatched a letter to the English supercargoes, to acquaint them with the cause of our putting into the Tygris, to request their assistance in procuring me a passport, and in forwarding the stores we wanted, of which I sent them a list, as expeditiously as possible. The next morning I was accompanied on board by our countryman, who pointing out to us the situation of the Typa, we weighed at half-past six, and stood toward it; but the wind failing, we came to, at eight, in three and a half fathoms' water; Macao bearing west north-west, three miles distant; the Grand Ladrone, south-east by south. The Resolution here saluted the Portuguese fort with eleven guns, which were returned by the same number. Early on the 4th, we again weighed, and stood in to the Typa, and moored with the stream anchor and cable to the westward. The Comprador whom we at first engaged with, having disappeared with a small sum of money, which had been given him to purchase provisions, we contracted with another, who continued to supply both ships, during our whole stay. This was done secretly, and in the night-time, under pretence that it was contrary to the regulations of the port; but we suspected all this caution to have been used with a view either of enhancing the price of the articles he furnished, or of securing to himself the profits of his employment, without being obliged to share them with the Mandarins.

* The declaration of war with France in 1777, on account of the assistance she rendered to the Americans, whose independence she had acknowledged.—Ed.

On the 9th, Captain Gore received an answer from the committee of the English supercargoes at Canton, in which they assured him that their best endeavours should be used to procure the supplies we stood in need of, as expeditiously as possible; and that a passport should be sent for one of his officers, hoping, at the same time, that we were sufficiently acquainted with the character of the Chinese government, to attribute any delays that might unavoidably happen to their true cause. The day following, an English merchant, from one of our settlements in the East Indies, applied to Captain Gore for the assistance of a few hands to navigate a vessel he had purchased at Macao, up to Canton. Captain Gore, judging this a good opportunity for me to proceed to that place, gave orders that I should take along with me my second lieutenant, the lieutenant of marines, and ten seamen. Though this was not precisely the mode in which I could have wished to visit Canton, yet as it was very uncertain when the passport might arrive, and my presence might contribute materially to the expediting of our supplies, I did not hesitate to put myself on board, having left orders with Mr. Williamson to get the Discovery ready for sea as soon as possible, and to make such additions and alterations in her upper works, as might contribute to make her more defensible. That the series of our astronomical observations might suffer no interruption by my absence, I entrusted the care of continuing them to Mr. Trevenen, in whose abilities and diligence I could repose an entire confidence.

We left the harbour of Macao on the 11th of December, and sailing round the south-eastern extremity of the island, we steered to the northward, leaving, as we passed along, Lantao Lintin, and several smaller islands, to the right. All these islands, as well as that of Macao, which lie to the left, are entirely without wood; the land is high and barren, and uninhabited, except occasionally by fishermen. As we approached the Bocca Tygris, which is thirteen leagues from Macao, the Chinese coast appears to the eastward in steep white cliffs; the two forts commanding the mouth of the river are exactly in the same state as when Lord Anson was here; that on the left is a fine old castle, surrounded by a grove of trees, and has an agreeable romantic appearance. We were here visited by an officer of the customs; on which occasion the owner of the vessel, being apprehensive that, if we were discovered on board, it would occasion some alarm, and might be attended with disagreeable consequences, begged us to retire into the cabin below. The breadth of the river above these forts is variable, the banks being low and flat, and subject to be overflowed by the tide to a great extent. The ground on each side is level, and laid out in rice-fields; but, as we advanced, it rose gradually into hills of considerable declivity, the sides of which are cut into terraces, and planted with sweet potatoes, sugar-canes, yams, plantains, and the cotton-tree. We saw many lofty *pagodas*, scattered over the country, and several towns at a distance, some of which appeared to be of a considerable size.

We did not arrive at Wampû, which is only nine leagues from the Bocca Tygris, till the 18th, our progress having been retarded by contrary winds and the lightness of the vessel. Wampû is a small Chinese town, off which the ships of the different nations who trade here lie, in order to take in their lading. The river, higher up, is said by M. Sonnerat not to be deep enough to admit heavy-laden vessels, even if the policy of the Chinese had suffered the Europeans to navigate them up to Canton; but this circumstance I cannot take upon me to decide on, as no stranger, I believe, has been permitted to inform himself with certainty of the truth. The small islands that lie opposite to the town are allotted to the several factories who have built warehouses for the reception of the merchandise that is brought down from Canton.

From Wampû I immediately proceeded in a *sampane*, or Chinese boat, to Canton, which is about two leagues and a half higher up the river. These boats are the neatest and most convenient for passengers I ever saw. They are of various sizes, almost flat at the bottom, very broad upon the beam, and narrow at the head and stern, which are raised and ornamented; the middle, where we sat, was arched over with a roof of bamboo, which may be raised or lowered at pleasure; in the sides were small windows with shutters, and the apartment was furnished with handsome mats, chairs, and tables. In the stern was placed a small waxen idol, in a case of gilt leather, before which stood a pot containing lighted tapers made of dry chips or matches, and gum. The hire of this boat was a Spanish dollar.

I reached Canton a little after it was dark, and landed at the English Factory, where, though my arrival was very unexpected, I was received with every mark of attention and civility. The select committee, at this time, consisted of Mr. Fitzhugh the president, Mr. Bevan, and Mr. Rapier. They immediately gave me an account of such stores as the India ships were able to afford us; and though I have not the smallest doubt that the commanders were desirous of assisting us with everything they could spare, consistently with a regard to their own safety, and the interest of their employers, yet it was a great disappointment to me to find in their list scarcely any articles of cordage or canvas, of both which we stood principally in need. It was, however, some consolation to understand that the stores were in readiness for shipping, and that the provisions we required might be had at a day's notice. Wishing therefore to make my stay here as short as possible, I requested the gentlemen to procure junks or boats for me the next day, with an intention of leaving Canton the following one; but I was soon informed, that a business of that kind was not to be transacted so rapidly in this country; that leave must be first procured from the viceroy; that the *Hoppo*, or principal officer of the customs, must be applied to for *chops*, or permits; and that these favours were not granted without mature deliberation: in short, that patience was an indispensable virtue in China; and that they hoped to have the pleasure of making the factory agreeable to me, for a few days longer than I seemed willing to favour them with my company.

Though I was not much disposed to relish this compliment, yet I could not help being diverted with an incident that occurred very opportunely to convince me of the truth of their representations, and of the suspicious character of the Chinese. The reader will recollect that it was now about fifteen days since Captain Gore had written to the factory, to desire their assistance in procuring leave for one of his officers to pass to Canton. In consequence of this application, they had engaged one of the principal Chinese merchants of the place, to interest himself in our favour, and to solicit the business with the viceroy. This person came to visit the president whilst we were talking on the subject, and with great satisfaction and complacency in his countenance acquainted him, that he had at last succeeded in his applications, and that a passport for one of the officers of the Ladrone ship (or pirate) would be ready in a few days. The president immediately told him not to give himself any farther trouble, as the officer, pointing to me, was already arrived. It is impossible to describe the terror which seized the old man on hearing this intelligence. His head sunk upon his breast, and the sofa on which he was sitting shook from the violence of his agitation. Whether the Ladrone ship was the object of his apprehensions, or his own government, I could not discover; but after continuing in this deplorable state a few minutes, Mr. Bevan bade him not despair, and recounted to him the manner in which I had passed from Macao, the reasons of my journey to Canton, and my wishes to leave it as soon as possible. This last circumstance seemed particularly agreeable to him, and gave me hopes that I should find him equally disposed to hasten my departure; and yet, as soon as he had recovered the courage to speak, he began to recount the unavoidable delays that would occur in my business, the difficulty of gaining admittance to the viceroy, the jealousies and suspicions of the Mandarins respecting our real designs, which had risen, he said, to an extraordinary height, from the strange account we had given of ourselves.

After waiting several days with great impatience for the event of our application, without understanding that the matter was at all advanced toward a conclusion, I applied to the commander of an English country ship, who was to sail on the 25th, and who offered to take the men and stores on board, and to lie to if the weather should permit, off Macao, till we could send boats to take them out of his ship. At the same time he apprised me of the danger there might be of his being driven with them out to sea. Whilst I was doubting what measures to pursue, the commander of another country ship brought me a letter from Captain Gore, in which he acquainted me that he had engaged him to bring us down from Canton, and to deliver the stores we had procured, at his own risk, in the Typa. All our difficulties being thus removed, I had leisure to attend to the purchase of our provisions and stores, which was completed on the 26th; and the day following the whole stock was sent on board.

As Canton was likely to be the most advantageous market for furs, I was desired by

Captain Gore to carry with me about twenty sea-otter skins, chiefly the property of our deceased commanders, and to dispose of them at the best price I could procure; a commission which gave me an opportunity of becoming a little acquainted with the genius of the Chinese for trade. Having acquainted some of the English supercargoes with these circumstances, I desired them to recommend me to some Chinese merchant of credit and reputation, who would at once offer me a fair and reasonable price. I was accordingly directed to a member of the *Hong*, a society of the principal merchants of the place, who being fully informed of the nature of the business, appeared sensible of the delicacy of my situation; assured me I might depend on his integrity; and that, in a case of this sort, he should consider himself merely as an agent, without looking for any profit to himself. Having laid my goods before him, he examined them with great care over and over again, and at last he told me that he could not venture to offer more than three hundred dollars for them. As I knew from the price our skins had sold for in Kamtschatka that he had not offered me one half their value, I found myself under the necessity of driving a bargain. In my turn I therefore demanded one thousand; my Chinese then advanced to five hundred; then offered me a private present of tea and porcelain, amounting to one hundred more; then the same sum in money; and, lastly, rose to seven hundred dollars, on which I fell to nine hundred. Here, each side declaring he would not recede, we parted; but the Chinese soon returned with a list of India goods, which he now proposed I should take in exchange, and which, I was afterward told, would have amounted in value, if honestly delivered, to double the sum he had before offered. Finding I did not choose to deal in this mode, he proposed as his ultimatum, that we should divide the difference, which, being tired of the contest, I consented to, and received the eight hundred dollars.

The ill health which at this time I laboured under left me little reason to lament the very narrow limits within which the policy of the Chinese obliges every European at Canton to confine his curiosity. I should otherwise have felt exceedingly tantalized with living under the walls of so great a city, full of objects of novelty, without being able to enter it. The accounts given of this place by Pères le Comte and Du Halde are in every one's hand. The authors have lately been accused of great exaggeration by M. Sonnerat; for which reason the following observations, collected from the information with which I have been obligingly furnished by several English gentlemen, who were a long time resident at Canton, may not be unacceptable to the public.

Canton, including the old and new town, and the suburbs, is about ten miles in circuit. With respect to its population, if one may judge of the whole from what is seen in the suburbs, I should conceive it to fall considerably short of a European town of the same magnitude. Le Comte estimated the number of inhabitants at one million five hundred thousand; Du Halde, at one million; and M. Sonnerat says he has ascertained them to be no more than seventy-five thousand *: but as this gentleman has not favoured us with the grounds on which his calculation was founded, and, besides, appears as desirous of depreciating everything that relates to the Chinese as the Jesuits may be of magnifying, his opinion certainly admits of some doubt. The following circumstances may perhaps lead the reader to form a judgment with tolerable accuracy on this subject.

A Chinese house undoubtedly occupies more space than is usually taken up by houses in Europe; but the proportion suggested by M. Sonnerat, of four or five to one, certainly goes much beyond the truth. To this should be added, that a great many houses in the suburbs of Canton are occupied for commercial purposes only, by merchants and rich tradesmen, whose families live entirely within the city. On the other hand, a Chinese family appears to consist, on an average, of more persons than a European. A Mandarin, according to his rank and substance, has from five to twenty wives; a merchant, from three to five.

* "J'ai *vérifié* moi-même, avec plusieurs Chinois, la population de Canton, de la ville de Tartare, et de celle de Battaux," &c. *Voyage aux Indes*, &c., par M. Sonnerat, tom. ii. p. 14. [It is even at the present day difficult to ascertain the amount of the population of Canton. In the Chinese Repository, vol. ii. p. 307, it is estimated at 1,236,000; while, on the other hand, Mr. Davis, who is a high authority, does not think it possible for even 1,000,000 to find room in the city, and does not consider the actual population to be more than one half the number stated in the Repository.—Ed.]

One of this class at Canton had, indeed, twenty-five wives, and thirty-six children; but this was mentioned to me as a very extraordinary instance. An opulent tradesman has usually two; and the lower class of people very rarely more than one. Their servants are at least double in number to those employed by persons of the same condition in Europe. If, then, we suppose a Chinese family one-third larger, and a European house two-thirds less, than each other, a Chinese city will contain only half the number of inhabitants contained in a European town of the same size. According to these data, the city and suburbs of Canton may probably contain about one hundred and fifty thousand.

With respect to the number of inhabited *sampanes*, I found different opinions were entertained; but none placing them lower than forty thousand *. They are moored in rows close to each other, with a narrow passage, at intervals, for the boats to pass up and down the river. As the Tygris at Canton is somewhat wider than the Thames at London, and the whole river is covered in this manner for the extent of at least a mile, this account of their number does not appear to me in the least exaggerated; and, if it be allowed, the number of inhabitants in the *sampanes* alone (for each of them contains one family) must amount to nearly three times the number supposed by M. Sonnerat to be in the whole city. The military force of the province, of which Canton is the capital, amounts to fifty thousand men. It is said that twenty thousand are stationed in and about the city; and, as a proof of this, I was assured, that, on the occasion of some disturbance that had happened at Canton, thirty thousand men were drawn together within the space of a few hours.

The streets are long, and most of them narrow and irregular; but well paved with large stones; and, for the most part, kept exceedingly clean. The houses are built of brick, one story high, having generally two or three courts backward, in which are the warehouses for merchandize, and, in the houses within the city, the apartments for the women. A very few of the meanest sort are built of wood. The houses belonging to the European factors are built on a handsome quay, with a regular façade of two stories toward the river, and disposed, within, partly after the European and partly after the Chinese manner. Adjoining to these are a number of houses, belonging to the Chinese, and hired out to the commanders of ships, and merchants, who make an occasional stay. As no European is allowed to bring his wife to Canton, the English supercargoes live together, at a common table, which is kept by the Company, and have each a separate apartment, consisting of three or four rooms. The time of their residence seldom exceeds eight months annually; and as they are pretty constantly employed during that time in the service of the Company, they may submit, with the less regret, to the restraints they are kept under. They very rarely pay any visits within the walls of Canton, except on public occasions. Indeed, nothing gave me so unfavourable an idea of the character of the Chinese, as to find, that amongst so many persons of liberal minds and amiable manners, some of whom have resided in that country for near fifteen years together, they have never formed any friendship or social connexion. As soon as the last ship quits Wampû, they are all obliged to retire to Macao; but as a proof of the excellent police of the country, they leave all the money they possess in specie behind them, which, I was told, sometimes amounted to one hundred thousand pounds sterling, and for which they had no other security than the seals of the merchants of the Hong, the viceroy, and Mandarins.

During my stay at Canton, I was carried by one of the English gentlemen to visit a person of the first consequence in the place. We were received in a long room or gallery, at the upper end of which stood a table, with a large chair behind it, and a row of chairs extending from it on each side down the room. Being previously instructed that the point of civility consisted in remaining as long unseated as possible, I readily acquitted myself of this piece of etiquette; after which we were entertained with tea, and some preserved and fresh fruits. Our host was very fat, with a heavy dull countenance, and of great gravity in his deportment. He spoke a little broken English and Portuguese; and, after we had taken our refreshment, he carried us about his house and garden; and having shown us all the improvements he was making, we took our leave.

* These are all registered, and according to an account given in the Chinese Repository, they amounted a few years ago to no less than 84,000.—Ed.

Having procured an account of the price of provisions at Canton, as settled for the year 1780, which the reader will find at the end of this chapter, I have only to observe, that the different articles are supposed to be the best of the kind; and that the natives purchase the same for nearly one-third less than the price, which in the list is fixed only for strangers.

I had hitherto intended, as well to avoid the trouble and delay of applying for passports, as to save the unnecessary expense of hiring a *sampanc*, which I understood amounted at least to twelve pounds sterling, to go along with the stores to Macao, in the country merchant's ship I have before mentioned. but having received an invitation from two English gentlemen, who had obtained passports for four, I accepted, along with Mr. Phillips, their offer of places in a Chinese boat, and left Mr. Lannyon to take care of the men and stores, which were to sail the next day. In the evening of the 26th, I took my leave of the supercargoes, having thanked them for their many obliging favours; amongst which I must not forget to mention a handsome present of tea, for the use of the ships' companies, and a large collection of English periodical publications. The latter we found a valuable acquisition, as they both served to amuse our impatience, during our tedious voyage home, and enabled us to return not total strangers to what had been transacting in our native country. At one o'clock the next morning we left Canton, and arrived at Macao about the same hour the day following, having passed down a channel which lies to the westward of that by which we had come up.

During our absence, a brisk trade had been carrying on with the Chinese for the sea-otter skins, which had every day been rising in their value. One of our seamen sold his stock alone for eight hundred dollars; and a few prime skins, which were clean, and had been well preserved, were sold for one hundred and twenty each. The whole amount of the value, in specie and goods, that was got for the furs, in both ships, I am confident did not fall short of two thousand pounds sterling; and it was generally supposed that at least two-thirds of the quantity we had originally got from the Americans were spoiled and worn out, or had been given away, and otherwise disposed of, in Kamtschatka. When, in addition to these facts, it is remembered, that the furs were at first collected without our having any idea of their real value; that the greatest part had been worn by the Indians, from whom we purchased them; that they were afterward preserved with little care, and frequently used for bed-clothes, and other purposes, during our cruise to the north; and that, probably, we had never got the full value for them in China; the advantages that might be derived from a voyage to that part of the American coast, undertaken with commercial views, appear to me of a degree of importance sufficient to call for the attention of the public.

The rage with which our seamen were possessed to return to Cook's River, and, by another cargo of skins, to make their fortunes at one time, was not far short of mutiny; and I must own, I could not help indulging myself in a project, which the disappointment we had suffered, in being obliged to leave the Japanese Archipelago, and the northern coast of China, unexplored, first suggested; and, by what I conceived, that object might still be happily accomplished, through means of the East India Company, not only without expense, but even with the prospect of very considerable advantages. Though the situation of affairs at home, or perhaps greater difficulties in the execution of my scheme than I had foreseen, have hitherto prevented its being carried into effect, yet, as I find the plan in my journal, and still retain my partiality for it, I hope it will not be entirely foreign to the nature of this work if I beg leave to insert it here.

I proposed, then, that the Company's China ships should carry an additional complement of men each, making in all one hundred. Two vessels, one of two hundred and the other of one hundred and fifty tons, might, I was told, with proper notice, be readily purchased at Canton; and, as victualling is not dearer there than in Europe, I calculate that they might be completely fitted out for sea, with a year's pay and provision, for six thousand pounds, including the purchase. The expense of the necessary articles for barter is scarcely worth mentioning. I would, by all means, recommend that each ship should have five tons of unwrought iron, a forge, and an expert smith, with a journeyman and apprentice, who might be ready to forge such tools as it should appear the Indians were most desirous of

For, though six of the finest skins purchased by us were got for a dozen large green glass beads, yet it is well known that the fancy of these people for articles of ornament is exceedingly capricious; and that iron is the only sure commodity for their market. To this might be added a few gross of large pointed case-knives, some bales of coarse woollen cloth, (linen they would not accept of from us,) and a barrel or two of copper and glass trinkets.

I have here proposed two ships, not only for the greater security of the expedition, but because I think single ships ought never to be sent out on discoveries. For where risks are to be run, and doubtful and hazardous experiments tried, it cannot be expected that single ships should venture so far, as where there is some security provided against an untoward accident. The vessels being now ready for sea, will sail with the first south-westerly monsoon, which generally sets in about the beginning of April. With this wind they will steer to the northward, along the coast of China, beginning a more accurate survey from the mouth of the river Kayana, or the Nankin River, in latitude 29°, which I believe is the utmost limit of this coast hitherto visited by European ships. As the extent of that deep gulf, called Whang Hay, or the Yellow Sea, is at present unknown, it must be left to the discretion of the commander to proceed up it as far as he may judge prudent; but he must be cautious not to entangle himself too far in it, lest he should want time for the prosecution of the remaining part of his enterprise. The same discretion must be used, when he arrives in the straits of Tessoi, with respect to the islands of Jeso, which, if the wind and weather be favourable, he will not lose the opportunity of exploring.

Having proceeded to the latitude of 51° 40′, where he will make the southernmost point of the island of Sagaleen, beyond which the sea of Okotsk is sufficiently known, he will steer to the southward, probably in the beginning of June, and endeavour to fall in with the southernmost of the Kurile Islands. Ouroop, or Nadeschda, according to the accounts of the Russians, will furnish the ships with a good harbour, where they may wood and water, and take in such other refreshments as the place may afford. Toward the end of June, they will shape their course for the Shummagins, and from thence to Cook's River, purchasing, as they proceed, as many skins as they are able, without losing too much time, since they ought to steer again to the southward, and trace the coast with great accuracy from the latitude of 56° to 50°, the space from which we were driven out of sight of land by contrary winds. It should here be remarked, that I consider the purchase of skins, in this expedition, merely as a secondary object for defraying the expense; and it cannot be doubted, from our experience in the present voyage, that two hundred and fifty skins, worth one hundred dollars each, may be procured without any loss of time; especially as it is probable they will be met with along the coast to the southward of Cook's River. Having spent three months on the coast of America, they will set out on their return to China early in the month of October, avoiding in their route, as much as possible, the tracks of former navigators. I have now only to add, that if the fur trade should become a fixed object of Indian commerce, frequent opportunities will occur of completing whatever may be left unfinished, in the voyage of which I have here ventured to delineate the outlines.

The barter which had been carrying on with the Chinese for our sea-otter skins had produced a very whimsical change in the dress of all our crew. On our arrival in the Typa nothing could exceed the ragged appearance both of the younger officers and seamen; for, as our voyage had already exceeded, by near a twelvemonth, the time it was at first imagined we should remain at sea, almost the whole of our original stock of European clothes had been long worn out, or patched up with skins, and the various manufactures we had met with in the course of our discoveries. These were now again mixed and eked out with the gaudiest silks and cottons of China. On the 30th, Mr. Lannyon arrived with the stores and provisions, which were immediately stowed in due proportion on board the two ships. The next day, agreeably to a bargain made by Captain Gore, I sent our sheet-anchor to the country ship, and received in return the guns which she before rode by.

Whilst we lay in the Typa, I was shown a garden belonging to an English gentleman at Macao, the rock under which, as the tradition there goes, the poet Camoens used to sit and compose his Lusiad. It is a lofty arch, of one solid stone, and forms the entrance of a grotto dug out of the rising ground behind it. The rock is overshaded by large spreading

trees, and commands an extensive and magnificent view of the sea, and the interspersed islands.

On the 11th of January, two seamen, belonging to the Resolution, found means to run off with a six-oared cutter, and notwithstanding diligent search was made, both that and the following day, we were never able to learn any tidings of her. It was supposed that these people had been seduced by the prevailing notion of making a fortune, by returning to the fur islands. As we heard nothing, during our stay in the Typa, of the measurement of the ships, it may be concluded, that the point so strongly contested by the Chinese, in Lord Anson's time, has, in consequence of his firmness and resolution, never since been insisted on.*

The following nautical observations were made while we lay here:—

Harbour of Macao	Lat.	22°	12′	0′	N.
	Long.	113	47	0	E.
Anchoring-place in the Typa	Lat.	22	9	20	N.
	Long.	113	48	34	E.
Mean dip of the north pole of the magnetic needle		21	1	0	
Variation of the compass		0	19	0	W.

On the full and change days it was high water in the Typa at $5^h\ 15^m$, and in Macao harbour at $5^h\ 50^m$. The greatest rise was six feet one inch. The flood appeared to come from the south-eastward; but we could not determine this point with certainty, on account of the great number of islands which lie off the mouth of the river of Canton.

PRICE OF PROVISIONS AT CANTON, 1780.

	£	s.	d.	
Ananas	0	4	0	a score.
Arrack	0	0	8	per bottle.
Butter	0	2	4 4/5	per catty†.
Beef, Canton	0	0	2 2/3	
Ditto, Macao	0	0	5 1/5	
Birds'-nests	3	6	8	
Biscuit	0	0	4	
Beache de Mar	0	2	0 4/5	
Calf	1	6	9 3/5	each.
Caravances, dried	0	0	2 2/5	per catty.
Cabbage, Nankeen	0	0	4 4/5	
Curry stuff	0	1	4	
Coffee	0	1	4	
Cocoa-nuts	0	0	4	each.
Charcoal	0	3	4	per pecul.
Coxice	0	1	4	per catty.
Canton nuts	0	0	4	
Chestnuts	0	0	2 3/5	
Cockles	0	0	3 1/5	
Ducks	0	0	5 1/5	
Ditto, wild	0	1	0 4/5	each.
Deers' sinews	0	2	1 3/5	per catty.
Eels	0	0	6 2/5	
Eggs	0	2	0	per hundred.
Fish, common	0	0	3 1/5	per catty.
Ditto, best	0	0	6 2/5	
Ditto salted, Nankeen	0	0	9 1/5	
Fruit	0	0	1 3/5	
Ditto, Nankeen	0	2	0	
Frogs	0	0	6 4/5	
Flour	0	0	1 16/100	
Fowls, capons, &c.	0	0	7 1/5	
Fish maws	0	2	1 3/5	
Geese	0	0	6 2/5	

	£	s.	d.	
Greens	0	0	1 1/4	
Grass	0	0	2 2/5	per bundle.
Grapes	0	1	0 4/5	per catty.
Ham	0	1	2 2/5	
Hartshorn	0	1	4	
Hogs' Lard	0	0	7 4/5	
Hog, alive	0	0	4 2/5	
Kid, alive	0	0	4 2/5	
Limes	0	0	0 4/5	
Litchis, dried	0	0	2 2/5	
Locksoy	0	0	6 2/5	
Lobchocks	0	0	5 3/5	per catty.
Lamp oil	0	0	5 2/5	
Lamp wick	0	0	8	
Melons	0	0	4 4/5	each.
Milk	0	0	1 1/4	per catty.
Ditto, Macao	0	0	3 1/5	
Mustard seed	0	0	6 2/5	
Mushrooms, pickled	0	2	8	
Ditto, fresh	0	1	4	
Oysters	0	3	4	per pecul.
Onions, dried	0	0	2 2/5	per catty.
Pork	0	0	7 1/5	
Pig	0	0	5 3/5	
Paddy	0	0	0 4/5	
Pepper	0	1	0 4/5	
Pheasants	0	5	4	each.
Partridges	0	0	9 3/5	
Pigeons	0	0	5 1/5	
Pomegranates	0	0	2 2/5	
Quails	0	0	1 2/5	
Rabbits	0	1	4	
Rice	0	0	2	per catty.
Ditto, red	0	0	2 1/4	

* The Chinese made many attempts to compel Lord Anson to pay duty for his ships, as if they had been merchant vessels. The firmness of his conduct on that occasion seems to have established a salutary precedent. —Ed.

† A catty is 18 oz.— a pecul 100 catty.

	£	s.	d.	
Rice, coarse	0	0	$1\frac{1}{2}$	
Ditto, Japan	0	0	8	
Raisins	0	2	0	
Sheep	3	6	8	each.
Snipes	0	0	$1\frac{1}{2}$	per catty.
Sturgeon	0	4	$9\frac{3}{4}$	
Ditto, small	0	2	$4\frac{2}{3}$	
Sugar	0	0	$3\frac{1}{4}$	
Salt	0	0	$1\frac{1}{2}$	
Saltpetre	0	2	$1\frac{3}{4}$	
Soy	0	0	$1\frac{1}{2}$	
Spices	0	16	8	
Sweetmeats	0	0	$6\frac{3}{4}$	per catty.
Sago	0	0	$3\frac{1}{4}$	
Salad	0	0	$2\frac{1}{4}$	
Sharks' fins	0	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$	
Samsui soy	0	0	$2\frac{3}{4}$	
Teal	0	0	$6\frac{3}{4}$	each.
Turtle	0	0	$9\frac{3}{4}$	per catty.
Tea	0	2	0	
Turmeric	0	0	$2\frac{3}{4}$	
Tamarinds	0	0	8	
Vinegar	0	0	$1\frac{3}{4}$	
Vermicelli	0	0	$3\frac{1}{4}$	

	£	s.	d.	
Wax candles	0	3	0	
Walnuts	0	0	$4\frac{1}{2}$	
Wood	0	1	4	per pecul.
Water	0	6	8	per 100 B'.
Rent of Poho Factory	400	0	0	per annum.
—— of Lunsoon	316	13	4	
Servants' rice	0	8	0	per month.
Ditto, wages	0	19	$2\frac{3}{4}$	per month for resiants.

	Doll.	
Servants' wages for the season	20	
Stewards' wages	80	per annum.
Butlers' ditto	80	

PRICES OF LABOUR.

	£	s.	d.	
A coolee, or porter	0	0	8	per day.
A tailor	0	0	5	and rice.
A handicraftsman	0	0	8	
A common labourer, from	0	0	3d. to 5d.	

A woman's labour considerably cheaper.

CHAPTER X.—LEAVE THE TYPA.—ORDERS OF THE COURT OF FRANCE RESPECTING CAPTAIN COOK.—RESOLUTIONS IN CONSEQUENCE THEREOF.—STRIKE SOUNDINGS ON THE MACCLESFIELD BANKS.—PASS PULO SAPATA.—STEER FOR PULO CONDORE.—ANCHOR AT PULO CONDORE.—TRANSACTIONS DURING OUR STAY.—JOURNEY TO THE PRINCIPAL TOWN.—RECEIVE A VISIT FROM A MANDARIN.—EXAMINE HIS LETTERS.—REFRESHMENTS TO BE PROCURED.—DESCRIPTION AND PRESENT STATE OF THE ISLAND.—ITS PRODUCE.—AN ASSERTION OF M. SONNERAT REFUTED.—ASTRONOMICAL AND NAUTICAL OBSERVATIONS.

On the 12th of January, 1780, at noon we unmoored, and scaled the guns, which on board my ship now amounted to ten; so that, by means of four additional ports, we could, if occasion required, fight seven on a side. In like manner, the Resolution had increased the number of her guns from twelve to sixteen; and in both ships, a stout barricade was carried round their upper works, and every other precaution taken to give our small force as respectable an appearance as possible.

We thought it our duty to provide ourselves with these means of defence, though we had some reason to believe that the generosity of our enemies had, in a great measure, rendered them superfluous. We were informed at Canton, that the public prints, which had arrived last from England, made mention of instructions having been found on board all the French ships of war, captured in Europe, directing their commanders, in case of falling in with the ships that sailed under the command of Captain Cook, to suffer them to proceed on their voyage without molestation. The same orders were also said to have been given by the American Congress to the vessels employed in their service. As this intelligence was farther confirmed by private letters of several of the supercargoes, Captain Gore thought himself bound, in return for the liberal exceptions made in our favour, to refrain from availing himself of any opportunities of capture which these might afford, and to preserve throughout his voyage, the strictest neutrality.

At two in the afternoon, having got under sail, the Resolution saluted the fort of Macao with eleven guns, which was returned with the same number. At five, the wind dropping, the ship missed stays, and drove into shallow water; but, by carrying out an anchor, she was hauled off without receiving the smallest damage. The weather continuing calm, we were obliged to warp out into the entrance of the Typa, which we gained by eight o'clock, and lay there till nine the next morning; when, by the help of a fresh breeze from the east, we stood to the southward between Potoe and Wun-boo. At noon we were saluted by a

Swedish ship as she passed us on her way to Europe. At four, the Ladrone bore east, distant two leagues. We now steered south half-east, with a fresh breeze from the east north-east, without any occurrence worth remarking, till noon of the 15th; when, being in latitude 18° 57′, and longitude 114° 13′, the wind veering to the north, we directed our course half a point more to the eastward, in order to strike soundings over the Macclesfield Bank. This we effected at eight in the evening of the 16th, and found the depth of water to be fifty fathoms over a bottom of white sand and shells. This part of the Macclesfield shoals we placed in latitude 15° 51′, and longitude 114° 20′; which agrees very exactly with the position given in Mr. Dalrymple's map, whose general accuracy, if it stood in need of any support, was confirmed, in this instance, by a great number of lunar observations, which we had an opportunity of making every day since we left the Typa. The variation was found to be, in the forenoon, 0° 39′ W.

On the 17th, we had heavy gales from the east by north, with a rough tumbling sea, and the weather overcast and boisterous. On the 18th, the wind still continuing to blow strong, and the sea to run high, we altered our course to south-west by south; and, at noon, being in latitude 12° 3[illegible] longitude 132°, we began to steer a point more to the westward for Pulo Sapata, which we saw on the 19th, at four in the afternoon, bearing north-west by west, about four leagues distant. This small, high, barren island is called *Sapata*, from its resemblance of a shoe. Our observations, compared with Mr. Bayly's time keeper, place it in latitude 10° 4′ N. longitude 109° 10′ E. The gale had, at this time, increased with such violence, and the sea ran so high, as to oblige us to close-reef the top-sails. During the last three days, the ships had outrun their reckoning at the rate of twenty miles a-day; and as we could not attribute the whole of this to the effects of a following sea, we imputed it in part to a current, which, according to my own calculations, had set forty-two miles to the south south-west, between the noon of the 19th and the noon of the 20th, and is taken into the account in determining the situation of the island.

After passing Sapata, we steered to the westward; and at midnight sounded, and had ground with fifty fathoms of line, over a fine sandy bottom. In the morning of the 20th, the wind becoming more moderate, we let out the reefs, and steered west by south for Pulo Condore. At noon the latitude was 8° 46′ N., longitude 106° 45′ E.; and, at half-past twelve, we got sight of the island, bearing west. At four, the extremes of Pulo Condore, and the islands that lie off it, bore south-east and south-west by west: our distance from the nearest islands being two miles. We kept to the north of the islands, and stood for the harbour on the south-west end of Condore, which having its entrance from the north-west, is the best sheltered during the north-east monsoon. At six we anchored, with the best bower, in six fathoms, veered away two-thirds of the cable, and kept the ship steady with a stream anchor and cable to the south-east. When moored, the extremes of the entrance of the harbour bore north by west, and west north-west, one quarter west; the opening at the upper end, south-east by east, three quarters east; our distance from the nearest shore, a quarter of a mile.

As soon as we were come to anchor, Captain Gore fired a gun, with a view of apprising the natives of our arrival, and drawing them toward the shore, but without effect. Early in the morning of the 21st, parties were sent to cut wood, which was Captain Gore's principal motive for coming hither. In the afternoon, a sudden gust of wind broke the stream-cable, by which the Discovery was riding, and obliged us to moor with the bower anchors. None of the natives having yet made their appearance, notwithstanding a second gun had been fired, Captain Gore thought it advisable to land and go in search of them, that no time might be lost in opening a trade for such provisions as the place could afford. With this view he appointed me to accompany him in the morning of the 22d; and, as the wind at this time blew strong from the east, we did not think it prudent to coast in our boats to the town, which is situated in the east side of the island, but rowed round the north point of the harbour. We had proceeded about two miles along the shore, when observing a road that led into a wood, we landed. Here I quitted Captain Gore, taking with me a midshipman and four armed sailors, and pursued the path which seemed to point directly across the island. We proceeded through a thick wood up a steep hill to the distance of a mile,

when, after descending through a wood of the same extent, on the other side, we came out into a flat, open, sandy country, interspersed with cultivated spots of rice and tobacco, and groves of cabbage palm-trees, and cocoa-nut trees. We here spied two huts situated on the edge of the wood, to which we directed our course; and before we came up to them, were descried by two men, who immediately ran away from us, notwithstanding all the peaceable and supplicating gestures we could devise.

On reaching the huts, I ordered the party to stay without, lest the sight of so many armed men should terrify the inhabitants, whilst I entered and reconnoitred alone. I found in one of the huts an elderly man who was in a great fright, and preparing to make off with the most valuable of his effects that he could carry. However, I was fortunate enough, in a very little time, so entirely to dispel his fears, that he came out and called to the two men who were running away to return. The old man and I now soon came to a perfect understanding. A few signs, particularly that most significant one of holding out a handful of dollars, and then pointing to a herd of buffaloes, and the fowls that were running about the huts in great numbers, left him without any doubts as to the real objects of our visit. He pointed toward a place where the town stood, and made us comprehend that, by going thither, all our wants would be supplied. By this time the young men who had fled were returned, and the old man ordered one of them to conduct us to the town as soon as an obstacle should be removed, of which we were not aware. On our first coming out of the wood, a herd of buffaloes, to the number of twenty at least, came running toward us, tossing up their heads, snuffing the air, and roaring in a hideous manner. They had followed us to the huts, and stood drawn up in a body at a little distance; and the old man made us understand that it would be exceedingly dangerous for us to move till they were driven into the woods; but so enraged were the animals grown at the sight of us, that this was not effected without a good deal of time and difficulty. The men not being able to accomplish it, we were surprised to see them call to their assistance a few little boys, who soon drove them out of sight. Afterward we had occasion to observe, that in driving these animals and securing them, which is done by putting a rope through a hole which is made in their nostrils, little boys were always employed, who could stroke and handle them with impunity at times when the men durst not approach them. Having got rid of the buffaloes, we were conducted to the town, which was at a mile's distance, the road to it lying through a deep white sand. It is situated near the sea-side, at the bottom of a retired bay, which must afford a safe roadstead during the prevalence of the south-west monsoons.

This town consists of between twenty and thirty houses, built close together; besides six or seven others that are scattered about the beach. The roof, the two ends, and the side fronting the country, are neatly constructed of reeds; the opposite side, facing the sea, is entirely open; but, by means of a sort of bamboo screens, they can exclude or let in as much of the sun and air as they please. We observed likewise other large screens or partitions for the purpose of dividing, as occasion required, the single room of which the house, properly speaking, consists, into separate apartments. We were conducted to the largest house in the town belonging to their chief, or, as they called him, their captain. This house had a room at each end, separated by a partition of reeds from the middle space, which was open on both sides, and provided with partition-screens like the others. It had, besides, a penthouse projecting four or five feet beyond the roof, and running the whole length on each side. At each end of the middle room were hung some Chinese paintings, representing men and women in ludicrous attitudes. In this apartment we were civilly desired to seat ourselves on mats, and betel was presented to us.

By means of my money, and pointing at different objects in sight, I had no difficulty in making a man, who seemed to be the principal person of the company, comprehend the main business of our errand; and I as readily understood from him that the chief or captain was absent, but would soon return, and that, without his consent, no purchases of any kind could be made, we availed ourselves of the opportunity which this circumstance afforded us to walk about the town; and did not forget to search, though in vain, for the remains of a fort, which had been built by our countrymen near the spot we were now upon in

1702*. On returning to the captain's house, we were sorry to find that he was not yet arrived, and the more so, as the time was almost elapsed which Captain Gore had fixed for our return to the boat. The natives were desirous we should lengthen our stay; they even proposed our passing the night there, and offered to accommodate us in the best manner in their power. I had observed when we were in the house before, and now remarked it the more, that the man I have mentioned above, frequently retired into one of the end rooms, and staid there some little time before he answered the questions that were put to him; which led me to suspect that the Captain was all the time there, though, for reasons best known to himself, he did not choose to appear; and I was confirmed in this opinion by being stopped as I was attempting to go into the room. At length, it clearly appeared that my suspicions were well founded; for, on our preparing to depart, the person who had so often passed in and out came from the room with a paper in his hand, and gave it to me to read; and I was not a little surprised to find it a sort of certificate in French as follows:

Pierre Joseph George, Evêque d'Adran, Vicaire Apost. de Cochin Chine, &c. &c.

Le petit Mandarin, porteur de cet écrit, est véritablement envoyé de la cour à Pulo Condore, pour y attendre et recevoir tout vaisseau européen qui auroit sa destination d'approcher ici. Le capitaine, en conséquence, pourroit se fier ou pour conduire le vaisseau au port, ou pour faire passer les nouvelles qu'il pourroit croire nécessaire.

PIERRE JOSEPH GEORGE, Evêque d'Adran.

A Sai-Gon, 10 d'Août, 1779.

We returned the paper, with many protestations of our being the Mandarin's good friends; begging he might be informed that we hoped he would do us the favour to visit the ships, that we might convince him of it. We now took our leave, well satisfied, on the whole, with what had passed, but full of conjectures about this extraordinary French paper. Three of the natives offered their services to accompany us back, which we readily accepted, and returned by the way we came. Captain Gore felt peculiar satisfaction at seeing us; for, as we had exceeded our time near an hour, he began to be alarmed for our safety, and was preparing to march after us. He and his party had, during our absence, been profitably employed in loading the boat with the cabbage-palm, which abounds in this bay. Our guides were made exceedingly happy, on our presenting them with a dollar each for their trouble, and intrusting to their care a bottle of rum for the Mandarin. One of them chose to accompany us on board.

At two in the afternoon we joined the ships, and several of our shooting-parties returned about the same time from the woods, having had little success, though they saw a great variety of birds and animals, some of which will be hereafter noticed. At five a *proa* with six men rowed up to the ship, from the upper end of the harbour, and a decent-looking personage introduced himself to Captain Gore with an ease and good breeding which convinced us his time had been spent in other company than what this island afforded. He brought with him the French paper above transcribed, and said he was the Mandarin mentioned in it. He spoke a few Portuguese words, but as none of us were acquainted with this language, we were obliged to have recourse to a black man on board, who could speak the Malay, which is the general language of these islanders, and was understood by the Mandarin. After a little previous conversation, he declared to us that he was a Christian, and had been baptised by the name of Luco; that he had been sent hither in August last, from Sai-gon, the capital of Cochin China, and had since waited in expectation of some French ships, which he was to pilot to a safe port, not more than a day's sail hence, upon

* The English settled here in the year 1702, when the factory of Chusan, on the coast of China, was broken up, and brought with them some Macassar soldiers, who were hired to assist in building a fort; but the president not fulfilling his engagement with them, they watched an opportunity, and one night murdered all the English in the fort. Those without the fort hearing a noise, took the alarm and ran to their boats, very narrowly escaping with their lives, but not without much fatigue, hunger, and thirst, to the Johore dominions, where they were treated with great humanity. Some of these afterward went to form a settlement at Benjar-Masseau, on the island of Borneo.—East India Directory, p. 86.

the coast of Cochin China. We acquainted him, that we were not French, but English, and asked him whether he did not know that these two nations were now at war with one another? He made answer in the affirmative; but, at the same time, signified to us, that it was indifferent to him to what nation the ships he was instructed to wait for belonged, provided their object was to trade with the people of Cochin China. He here produced another paper which he desired us to read. This was a letter sealed and directed, "To the captains of any European vessels that may touch at Condore." Although we apprehended that this letter was designed for French ships in particular, yet as the direction included all European captains, and as Luco was desirous of our perusing it, we broke the seal, and found it to be written by the bishop who wrote the certificate. Its contents were as follows: "That having reason to expect, by some late intelligence from Europe, that a vessel would soon come to Cochin China, he had, in consequence of this news, got the court to send a Mandarin (the bearer) to Pulo Condore, to wait its arrival; that if the vessel should put in there, the commander might either send by the bearer an account to him of his arrival, or trust himself to the Mandarin, who would pilot him into a well-sheltered port in Cochin-China, not more than a day's sail from Condore; that should he choose to remain in Condore till the return of the messenger, proper interpreters would be sent back, and any other assistance which a letter should point out be furnished; that it was unnecessary to be more particular, of which the Captain himself must be sensible." This letter had the same date as the certificate, and was returned to Luco again, without any copy being taken.

From this letter, and the whole of Luco's conversation, there remained little doubt that it was a French ship he was to expect. At the same time, we found he would be glad not to lose his errand, and had no objection to become our pilot. We could not discover, from the Mandarin, the exact object and business which the vessel he was waiting for intended to prosecute in Cochin China. It is true that our interpreter, the black, was extremely dull and stupid; and I should, therefore, be sorry, with such imperfect means of information, to run the risk of misleading the reader by any conjectures of my own respecting the object of Luco's visit to this island. I shall only add, that he told us the French ships might perhaps have put into Tirnon, and from thence sail to Cochin China; and as he had received no intelligence of them, he thought this most likely to have been the case. Captain Gore's inquiries were next directed to find out what supplies could be obtained from the island. Luco said, that he had two buffaloes of his own, which were at our service; and that there were plenty on the island, which might be purchased for four or five dollars a head; but finding that Captain Gore thought that sum exceedingly moderate, and would willingly give for them a much greater, the price was afterwards raised upon us to seven and eight dollars.

Early in the morning of the 23d, the launches of both ships were sent to the town to fetch the buffaloes which we had given orders to be purchased; but they were obliged to wait till it was high-water, as they could at no other time get through the opening at the head of the harbour. On their arrival at the village, they found the surf breaking on the beach with such force, that it was with the utmost difficulty each launch brought a buffalo on board in the evening, and the officers who were sent on this service gave it as their opinion, that between the violence of the surf and the fierceness of the buffaloes, it would be extremely imprudent to attempt bringing any more off in this way. We had purchased eight, and were now at a loss in what manner to proceed to get them on board. We could kill no more than was just necessary for the consumption of one day, as in this climate meat will not keep till the next. After consulting with Luco, it was concluded, that the remainder should be driven through the wood and over the hill down to the bay, where Captain Gore and I had landed the day before, which being sheltered from the wind, was more free from surf. This plan was accordingly put in execution, but the untractableness and prodigious strength of the buffaloes rendered it a tedious and difficult operation. The method of conducting them was, by passing ropes through their nostrils, and round their horns; but having been once enraged at the sight of our men, they became so furious, that they sometimes broke the trees, to which we were often under the necessity of tying them; sometimes they tore asunder the cartilage of the nostril, through which the ropes ran, and got loose

On these occasions, all the exertions of our men to recover them would have been ineffectual, without the assistance of some young boys, whom these animals would permit to approach them, and by whose little managements their rage was soon appeased. And when at length they were got down to the beach, it was by their aid, in twisting ropes round their legs in the manner they were directed, that we were enabled to throw them down, and by that means to get them into the boats. A circumstance respecting these animals, which I thought no less singular than this gentleness toward, and, as it should seem, affection for little children, was, that they had not been twenty-four hours on board, before they became the tamest of all creatures. I kept two of them, a male and female, for a considerable time, which became great favourites with the sailors; and thinking that a breed of animals of such strength and size, some of them weighing, when dressed, seven hundred pounds weight, would be a valuable acquisition, I was inclined to have brought them with me to England; but my intention was frustrated by an incurable hurt that one of them received at sea.

It was not till the 28th, that the buffaloes were all got on board; however, there was no reason to regret the time taken up by this service, since, in the interim, two wells of excellent water had been discovered, of which, as also of wood, part of the ship's companies had been employed in laying in a good supply; so that a shorter stop would be necessary for replenishing our stock of these articles in the Strait of Sunda. A party had likewise been occupied in drawing the seine at the head of the harbour, where they took a great many good fish; and another party in cutting down the cabbage-palm, which was boiled, and served out with the meat. Besides this, having been able to procure only a scanty supply of cordage at Macao, the repairing of our rigging was become an object of constant attention, and demanded all our spare time.

Pulo Condore is high and mountainous, and surrounded by several smaller islands, some of which are less than one, and others two miles distant. It takes its name from two Malay words, *Pulo*, signifying an island, and *Condore*, a calabash, of which it produces great quantities. It is of the form of a crescent, extending near eight miles from the southernmost point, in a north-east direction; but its breadth nowhere exceeds two miles. From the westernmost extremity, the land trends to the south-east for about four miles: and opposite to this part of the coast there is an island, called by Monsieur D'Après * Little Condore, which runs two miles in the same direction. This position of the two islands affords a safe and commodious harbour, the entrance into which is from the north-west. The distance between the two opposite coasts is three-quarters of a mile, exclusive of a border of coral rock, which runs down along each side, extending about one hundred yards from the shore. The anchorage is very good, from eleven to five fathoms' water; but the bottom is so soft and clayey, that we found great difficulty in weighing our anchors. Toward the bottom of the harbour there is shallow water for about half a mile, beyond which the two islands approach so near each other, as to leave only a passage at high-water for boats. The most convenient place for watering is at a beach on the eastern side, where there is a small stream which furnished us with fourteen or fifteen tons of water a-day.

This island, both with respect to animal and vegetable productions, is considerably improved since the time when Dampier visited it. Neither that writer, nor the compiler of the East India Directory, makes mention of any other quadrupeds than hogs, which are said to be very scarce, lizards, and the guanoes; and the latter, on the authority of Monsieur Dedier, a French engineer, who surveyed the island about the year 1720, says, that none of the fruits and esculent plants, so common in the other parts of India, are to be found here, except water-melons, a few potatoes, small gourds, *chibbols* (a small species of onion), and little black beans. At present, besides the buffaloes, of which we understood there were several large herds, we purchased from the natives some remarkably fine fat hogs, of the Chinese breed. They brought us three or four of a wild sort; and our sportsmen reported, that they frequently met with their tracks in the woods, which also abound with monkeys and squirrels, but so shy, that it was difficult to shoot them. One species of the squirrel was of a beautiful shining black colour, and another species striped brown and white. This

* Neptune Oriental.

is called the flying-squirrel, from being provided with a thin membrane, resembling a bat's wing, extending on each side the belly, from the neck to the thighs, which, on stretching out their legs, spreads, and enables them to fly from tree to tree, at a considerable distance. Lizards were in great abundance; but I do not know that any of us saw the guano, and another animal, described by Dampier * as resembling the guano, only much larger. Amongst its vegetable improvements, I have already mentioned the fields of rice we passed through; and plantains, various kinds of pompions, cocoa-nuts, oranges, shaddocks, and pomegranates, were also met with; though, except the plantains and shaddocks, in no great abundance. It is probable, from what has been already said relative to the bishop of Adran, that the French have introduced these improvements into the island, for the purpose of making it a more convenient refreshing-station for any of their ships that may be bound for Cambodia, or Cochin China. Should they have made, or intend to make, any settlement in those countries, it is certainly well situated for that purpose, or for annoying the trade of their enemies, in case of war.

Our sportsmen were very unsuccessful in their pursuit of the feathered game, with which the woods are well stocked. One of our gentlemen had the good fortune to shoot a wild hen: and all the shooting parties agreed that they heard the crowing of the cocks on every side, which they described to be like that of our common cock, but shriller; that they saw several of them on the wing, but that they were exceedingly shy. The hen that was shot was of a speckled colour, and of the same shape, though not quite so large, as a full-grown pullet of this country. Monsieur Sonnerat has entered into a long dissertation, to prove that he was the first person who determined the country to which this most beautiful and useful bird belongs, and denies that Dampier met with it here.

The land in the neighbourhood of the harbour is a continued high hill, richly adorned with a variety of fine tall trees, from the summit to the water's edge. Among others, we observed what Dampier calls the tar-tree †; but observed none that were tapped in the manner he describes. The inhabitants, who are fugitives from Cambodia and Cochin China, are not numerous. They are of a short stature, and very swarthy, and of a weak and unhealthy aspect; but, as far as we could judge, of a gentle disposition.

We remained here till the 28th of January; and, at taking leave of the *Mandarin*, Captain Gore, at his own request, gave him a letter of recommendation to the commanders of any other ships that might put in here; to which he added a handsome present. He likewise gave him a letter for the bishop of Adran, together with a telescope, which he begged might be presented to him as a compliment for the services he had received through his means at Condore.

The harbour at Pulo Condore is in latitude	8°	40′	00″	N.
Longitude, deduced from a great number of lunar observations	106	18	46	E.
Dip of the north pole of the magnetic needle	2	1	0	
Variation of the compass	0	14	0	W.

High water at the full and change of the moon, $4^h\ 16^m$ apparent time.

From this time the water continued for twelve hours without any visible alteration, viz.: till $16^h\ 15^m$ apparent time, when it began to ebb; and at $22^h\ 15^m$ apparent time, it was low water. The change from ebbing to flowing was very quick, or in less than 5^m. The water rose and fell seven feet four inches perpendicular; and every day the same whilst we continued there.

* Vide Dampier, vol. i. p. 392.

† Dampier, vol. i., p. 390.

CHAPTER XI.—DEPARTURE FROM PULO CONDORE.—PASS THE STRAITS OF BANCA.—VIEW OF THE ISLAND OF SUMATRA.—STRAITS OF SUNDA.—OCCURRENCES THERE.—DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND OF CRACATOA.—PRINCE'S ISLAND.—EFFECTS OF THE CLIMATE OF JAVA.—RUN TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—TRANSACTIONS THERE.—DESCRIPTION OF FALSE BAY.—PASSAGE TO THE ORKNEYS.—GENERAL REFLECTIONS.

On the 28th day of January, 1780, we unmoored; and, as soon as we were clear of the harbour, steered south south-west for Pulo Timoan. On the 30th, at noon, the latitude, by observation, being 5° 0′ N., and longitude 104° 45′ E., we altered our course to south three quarters west, having a moderate breeze from the north-east, accompanied by fair weather. At two in the morning of the 31st, we had soundings of forty-five fathoms, over a bottom of fine white sand; at which time our latitude was 4° 4′ N., longitude 104° 29′ E., and the variation of the compass 0° 31′ E. At one in the afternoon, we saw Pulo Timoan; and, at three, it bore south south-west, three quarters west, distant ten miles. This island is high and woody, and has several small ones lying off to the westward. At five, Pulo Puisang was seen bearing south by east three quarters east; and, at nine, the weather being thick and hazy, and having outrun our reckoning from the effect of some current, we were close upon Pulo Aor, in latitude 2° 46′ N., longitude 104° 37′ E., before we were well aware of it, which obliged us to haul the wind to the east south-east. We kept this course till midnight, and then bore away south south-east for the Straits of Banca.

On the 1st of February, at noon, our latitude, by observation, was 1° 20′ N., and the longitude, deduced from a great number of lunar observations taken in the course of the preceding twelve hours, 105° E. At the same time, the longitude, by Mr. Bayly's time-keeper, corrected, was 105° 15′ E. We now steered south by east; and, at sunset, having fine clear weather, saw Pulo Panjang; the body of the island bearing west north-west, and the small islands, lying on the south-east of it, west half south, seven leagues distant. Our latitude, at this time, was 0° 53′ N. On the 2d, at eight in the morning, we tried for soundings, continued to do the same every hour, till we had passed the straits of Sunda, and found the bottom with twenty-three fathoms of line. At noon, being in latitude, by observation, 0° 22′ S., longitude 105° 14′ E., and our soundings twenty fathoms, we came in sight of the little islands called Dominis, which lie off the eastern part of Lingen; and which bore from north 62° W., to north 80° W., five leagues distant. At this time we passed a great deal of wood drifting on the sea; and, at one o'clock, we saw Pulo Taya, bearing south-west by west, distant seven leagues. It is a small high island, with two round peaks, and two detached rocks lying off it to the northward. When abreast of this island, we had soundings of fifteen fathoms. During this and the preceding day, we saw great quantities of a reddish-coloured scum or spawn, floating on the water in a southerly direction. At daylight, on the 3d, we came in sight of the Three Islands; and soon after, of Monopin Hill, on the island of Banca. At noon, this hill, which forms the north-east point of the entrance of the Straits, bore south-east half south, distant six leagues; our latitude, by observation, being 1° 48′ S., and longitude 105° 3′ E., the soundings seventeen fathoms, and no perceivable variation in the compass.

Having got to the westward of the shoal called Frederick Endric, at half-past two we entered the Straits, and bore away to the southward; and, in the afternoon, Monopin Hill bearing due east, we determined its latitude to be 2° 3′ S., the same as in Mons. D'Après' map, and its longitude 105° 18′ E. At nine, a boat came off from the Banca shore, and having rowed round the ships, went away again. We hailed her in the Malay tongue to come on board, but received no answer. At midnight, finding a strong tide against us, we anchored in twelve fathoms. Monopin Hill bearing north 29° W. On the 4th, in the morning, after experiencing some difficulty in weighing our anchors, owing to the stiff tenacious quality of the ground, we proceeded with the tide down the Straits; the little wind we had from the northward dying away as the day advanced. At noon, there being a perfect calm, and the tide making against us, we dropt our anchor in thirteen fathoms water, about three miles from what is called the Third Point, on the Sumatra shore; Monopin Hill bearing

N. 54° W. The latitude, by observation, was 2° 22′ S., longitude 105° 38′ E. At three in the afternoon, we weighed and stood on through the Straits with a light breeze; and at eight, were abreast of the second point, and passed it within two miles, in seventeen fathoms water, a sufficient proof that this point may be bordered upon with safety. At midnight, we again came to anchor, on account of the tide, in thirteen fathoms, Mount Permissang, on the island of Banca, bearing N. 7° E., and the First Point S. 54° E, distant about three leagues. In the morning of the 5th, we weighed, and kept on to the south-east; and, at ten, passed a small shoal, lying in a line with Lusepara and the First Point, at the distance of five miles from the latter. At noon, the island of Lusepara, bearing S. 57½° E., four miles distant, we determined its latitude to be 3° 10½′ S., and longitude 106° 15′ E. The difference of longitude between the island Lusepara, which lies in the south entrance of the Straits of Banca, and Monopin Hill, which forms one side of the entrance from the north, we found to be 55′, which is only two miles less than what is given in D'Après' chart.

In passing these Straits, the coast of Sumatra may be approached somewhat closer than that of Banca. At the distance of two or three miles from the shore, there are ten, eleven, twelve, or thirteen fathoms, free from rocks or shoals: however, the lead is the surest guide. The country is covered with wood down to the water's edge, and the shores are so low, that the sea overflows the land, and washes the trunks of the trees. To this flat and marshy situation of the shore, we may attribute those thick fogs and vapours, which we perceived every morning, not without dread and horror, hanging over the island, till they were dispersed by the rays of the sun. The shores of Banca are much bolder, and the country inland rises to a moderate height, and appears to be well wooded throughout. We often saw fires on this island during the night time; but none on the opposite shore. The tide runs through the Straits at the rate of between two and three knots an hour.

In the morning of the 6th, we passed to the westward of Lusepara, at the distance of four or five miles; generally carrying soundings of five and six fathoms' water, and never less than four. We afterward steered south by east; and having brought Lusepara to bear due north, and deepened our water to seven fathoms, we altered our course to south by west, keeping the lead going, and hauling out a little, whenever we shoaled our water. The soundings on the Sumatra side we still found to be regular, and gradually shoaling, as we approached the shore. At five in the afternoon we saw the Three Sisters, bearing south by west half west; and, at seven, we came to an anchor in ten fathoms, about eight miles to the north of the islands. The weather was close and sultry, with light winds, generally from the north-west; but sometimes varying round as far as the north-east; and, during the night, we observed much lightning over Sumatra. We weighed the next morning at five, and at eight were close in with the Sisters. These are two very small islands, well covered with wood, lying in latitude 5° 0½′ S., longitude 106° 12′ E., nearly north and south from each other, and surrounded by a reef of coral rocks; the whole circumference of which is about four or five miles. At noon we got sight of the island of Java to the southward; the north-west extremity of which (Cape St. Nicholas) bore south; North Island, on the Sumatra shore, S. 27° W., and the Sisters north, 27° E., distant four leagues: our latitude was 5° 21′ S., longitude 105° 57′ E.

At four in the afternoon, we saw two sail in the Straits of Sunda; one lying at anchor near the Midchannel Island; the other nearer the Java shore. Not knowing to what nation they might belong, we cleared our ships for action; and at six came to an anchor in twenty-five fathoms, four miles east by south from North Island. Here we lay all night, and had very heavy thunder and lightning to the north-west; from which quarter the wind blew in light breezes, accompanied with hard rain. At eight o'clock the next morning, we weighed, and proceeded through the Straits, the tide setting to the southward, as it had done all night; but about ten the breeze failing, we came to again in thirty-five fathoms; a high island, or rather rock, called the Grand Toque, bearing south by east. We were, at this time, not more than two miles from the ships, which now hoisting Dutch colours, Captain Gore sent a boat on board for intelligence. The rain still continued with thunder and lightning. Early in the afternoon, the boat returned with an account that the large ship was a Dutch East-Indiaman, bound for Europe; and the other a packet from Batavia,

with orders for the several ships lying in the Straits. It is the custom for the Dutch ships, as soon as their lading is nearly completed, to leave Batavia, on account of its extreme unwholesomeness, and proceed to some of the more healthy islands in the Straits, where they wait for the remainder of their cargo, and their despatches. Notwithstanding this precaution, the Indiaman had lost, since her departure from Batavia, four men, and had as many more whose recovery was despaired of. She had lain here a fortnight, and was now about to proceed to water at Cracatoa, having just received final orders by the packet.

At seven in the morning of the 9th, we weighed, and stood on through the straits to the south-west, keeping pretty close in with the islands on the Sumatra shore, in order to avoid a rock near Midchannel Island, which lay on our left. At half after ten, I received orders from Captain Gore to make sail toward a Dutch ship which now hove in sight to the southward, and which we supposed to be from Europe; and, according to the nature of the intelligence we could procure from her, either to join him at Cracatoa, where he intended to stop for the purpose of supplying the ships with arrack, or to proceed to the south-east end of Prince's Island, and there take in our water, and wait for him. I accordingly bore down toward the Dutch ship, which soon after came to an anchor to the eastward; when the wind slackening, and the current still setting very strong through the strait to the south-west, we found it impossible to fetch her, and having, therefore, got as near her as the tide would permit, we also dropped anchor. I immediately dsepatched Mr. Williamson, in the cutter, with orders to get on board her if possible; but as she lay near a mile off, and the tide ran with great rapidity, we soon perceived that the boat was dropping fast astern. We therefore made the signal to return, and immediately began to veer away the cable, and sent out a buoy astern, in order to assist him in getting on board again. Our poverty, in the article of cordage, was here very conspicuous; for we had not a single coil of rope, in the store-room, to fix to the buoy, but were obliged to set about unreeving the studding-sail gear, the topsail-halliards, and tackle-falls, for that purpose; and the boat was at this time driving to the southward so fast, that it was not before we had veered away two cables, and almost all our running-rigging, that she could fetch the buoy.

I was now under the necessity of waiting till the strength of the tide should abate, which did not happen till the next morning, when Mr. Williamson got on board the ship, and learnt, that she had been seven months from Europe, and three from the Cape of Good Hope; that before she sailed, France and Spain had declared war against Great Britain; and that she left Sir Edward Hughes, with a squadron of men-of-war, and a fleet of East India ships, at the Cape. Mr. Williamson having, at the same time, been informed, that the water at Cracatoa was very good, and always preferred by the Dutch ships, to that of Prince's Island, I resolved to rejoin the Resolution at the former place; and a fair breeze springing up, we weighed and stood over toward the island, where we soon after saw her at anchor; but the wind falling, and the tide setting strong against us, I was obliged to drop anchor at the distance of about five miles from the Resolution, and immediately sent a boat on board, to acquaint Captain Gore with the intelligence we had received. As soon as the Resolution saw us preparing to come to, she fired her guns, and hoisted an English jack at the ensign staff, the signal at sea to lead a-head. This we afterward understood was intended to prevent our anchoring, on account of the foul ground, which the maps she had on board placed here. However, as we found none, having a muddy bottom, and good holding ground, in sixty fathoms water, we kept fast till the return of the boat, which brought orders to proceed the next morning to Prince's Island. We were at this time two miles distant from the shore; the peak of Cracatoa bore north-west by north; Bantam Point east north-east half east; Prince's Island south-west by west.

The island of Cracatoa is the southernmost of a group situated in the entrance of the Straits of Sunda. It has a high-peaked hill on the south end *, which lies in latitude 6° 9′ S., and longitude 105° 15′ E.; the whole circuit of the island is not more than three

* The island of Tamarin, or Sambouricou, which lies about four leagues to the north of Cracatoa, may be easily mistaken for the latter, having a hill of nearly the same size and form, situated also near its southern extremity.

leagues. Off the north-east end lies a small island, which forms the road where the Resolution anchored; and within a reef that runs off the south end of the latter, there is good shelter against all northerly winds, with eighteen fathoms water near the reef, and twenty-seven in the mid-channel. To the north-west, there is a narrow pass for boats between the two islands. The shore, which forms the western side of the road, is in a north-west direction, and has a bank of coral stretching into the sea, about one-third of a cable's length, which makes the landing difficult for boats, except at high water; but the anchoring ground is very good, and free from rocks. The place where the Resolution watered is a small spring, situated abreast of the south end of the small island, at a short distance from the water-side. A little to the southward, there is a very hot spring, which is used by the natives as a bath. Whilst we were lying off the south end of this island, we sent a boat with the master on shore, to look for water; but after having landed with some difficulty, he returned unsuccessful.

Cracatoa is esteemed very healthy, in comparison of the neighbouring countries. It consists of high land, rising gradually on all sides from the sea; and the whole is covered with trees, except a few spots which the natives have cleared for rice-fields. The number of people on the island is very inconsiderable. Their chief, as are those of all the other islands in the Straits, is subject to the king of Bantam. The coral reefs afford plenty of small turtles; but other refreshments are very scarce, and sold at an enormous price.

Latitude of the road where the Resolution anchored . .	8°	6′	south.
Longitude, by Mr. Bayly's time-keeper	104	48	east.
Ditto, by observation	105	36	east.
Dip of the south end of the magnetic needle	26	3	
Variation of the compass	1	0	west.

On the full and change days, it is high-water at 7ʰ in the morning. The water rises three feet two inches perpendicular.

At eight o'clock in the evening, it began to blow fresh from the westward, with violent thunder, lightning, and rain; and at three the next morning, we weighed and stood over for Prince's Island, but the westerly wind dying away, was succeeded by a breeze from the south-east, and, at the same time, a strong tide setting to the south-west, prevented our fetching the island, and obliged us, at two in the afternoon, to drop anchor in sixty-five fathoms, over a muddy bottom, at three leagues' distance from it; the high hill bearing south-west by south, and the peak on Cracatoa north by east. We had light airs and calms till six next morning, when we weighed and made sail, having, in our endeavours to heave the anchor out of the ground, twice broken the old messenger, and afterward a new one, cut out of our best hawser. This, however, was entirely owing to the wretched state of our cordage, as the strain was not very considerable, and we had beside assisted the cable in coming in, by clapping the cat-tackle on it. The wind continuing fair, at noon we came to an anchor off the south-east end of Prince's Island, in twenty-six fathoms, over a sandy bottom; the east end of the island bearing north north-east, the southernmost point in sight south-west by south, the high peak north-west half west, distant from the nearest shore half a mile.

As soon as we had come to anchor, Lieutenant Lannyon, who had been here before with Captain Cook, in the year 1770, was sent along with the master, to look for the watering-place. The brook from which, according to the best of his recollection, the Endeavour had been supplied, was found quite salt. Further inland, they saw a dry bed, where the water seemed to have lodged in rainy seasons; and, about a cable's length below, another run, supplied from an extensive pool, the bottom of which, as well as the surface, was covered with dead leaves. This, though a little brackish, being much preferable to the other, we began watering here early the next morning, and finished the same day. The natives, who came to us soon after we anchored, brought a plentiful supply of large fowls, and some turtles; but the last were for the most part very small. In the course of the night we had heavy rain; and on the 14th, at day-light, we saw the Resolution to the northward, standing toward the island, and at two in the afternoon, she dropt anchor close to us. In

the course of the day we heeled the ship, and scrubbed and hogged her bottom, which was very foul; and got ready for sea.

The next day, Captain Gore not having completed his stock of water at Cracatoa, sent his men on shore, who now found the brook that was first mentioned, rendered perfectly sweet by the rain, and flowing in great abundance. This being too valuable a treasure to be neglected, I gave orders that all the casks we had filled before should be started, and replenished with the fresh water, which was accordingly done before noon the next day; and in the evening, we cleared the decks, and both ships were ready for sea. In the forenoon of the 18th, we had heavy rains, and variable winds, which prevented our getting under weigh till two in the afternoon, when a light wind sprung up from the northward; but this soon after leaving us, we were obliged to drop our anchor again at eight o'clock that night, in fifty fathoms water, and wait till the same hour the next morning. At that time, being favoured by a breeze from the north-west, we broke ground, to our inexpressible satisfaction, for the last time in the Straits of Sunda, and, the next day, had entirely lost sight of Prince's Island.

This island having been already described by Captain Cook, in the history of a former voyage, I shall only add, that we were exceedingly struck with the great general resemblance of the natives, both in figure, colour, manners, and even language, to the nations we had been so much conversant with in the South Seas. The effects of the Javanese climate, and I did not escape without my full share of it, made me incapable of pursuing the comparison so minutely as I could have wished. The country abounds with wood to such a degree, that notwithstanding the quantity cut down every year by the ships which put into the road, there is no appearance of its diminution. We were well supplied with small turtle and fowls of a moderate size; the last were sold at the rate of ten for a Spanish dollar. The natives also brought us many hog-deer, and a prodigious number of monkeys, to our great annoyance, as most of our sailors provided themselves with one, if not two of these troublesome animals.

As we should have met with some difficulty in finding the watering-place, if Mr. Lannyon had not been with us, it may be worth while, for the use of future navigators, to describe its situation more particularly. The peaked hill on the island bears from it north-west by north; a remarkable tree growing upon a coral reef, and quite detached from the neighbouring shrubs, stands just to the northward; and, close by it, there is a small plot of reedy grass, the only piece of the kind that can be seen hereabout. These marks will show the place where the pool empties itself into the sea; but the water here is generally salt as well as that which is in the pool. The casks must, therefore, be filled about fifty yards higher up; where, in dry seasons, the fresh water that comes down from the hills is lost among the leaves, and must be searched for by clearing them away.

The latitude of the anchoring-place at Prince's Island was .	6°	36	15	S.
Longitude	105	17	30	E.
Dip of the south pole of the magnetic needle	28	15	0	
Variation of the compass	0	54	0	W.
Mean of the thermometer	83	0½	0	

From the time of our entering the Straits of Banca, we began to experience the powerful effects of this pestilential climate. Two of our people fell dangerously ill of malignant putrid fevers; which, however, we prevented from spreading, by putting the patients apart from the rest, in the most airy births. Many were attacked with teasing coughs; others complained of violent pains in the head; and even the healthiest among us felt a sensation of suffocating heat, attended by an insufferable languor, and a total loss of appetite. But though our situation was, for a time, thus uneasy and alarming, we had, at last, the singular satisfaction of escaping from these fatal seas without the loss of a single life, a circumstance which was probably owing in part to the vigorous health of the crews when we first arrived here, as well as to the strict attention, now become habitual in our men, to the salutary regulations introduced amongst us by Captain Cook.

On our leaving Prince's Island, and during the whole time of our run from thence to the

Cape of Good Hope, the crew of the Resolution was in a much more sickly state than that of the Discovery; for, though many of us continued for some time complaining of the effects of the noxious climate we had left, yet happily we all recovered from them. Of the two who had been ill of fevers, one, after being seized with violent convulsions on the 12th of February, which made us despair of his life, was relieved by the application of blisters, and was soon after out of danger. The other recovered, but more slowly. On board the Resolution, besides the obstinate coughs and fevers under which they very generally laboured, a great many were afflicted with fluxes, the number of whom, contrary to our expectations, continued increasing till their arrival at the Cape. Captain Gore attributed this difference in part, and probably with some reason, to the Discovery having her fire-place between decks; the heat and smoke of which he conceived might help to mitigate the bad effects of the damp night air. But I am rather inclined to believe that we escaped the flux by the precautions that were taken to prevent our catching it from others. For if some kinds of fluxes be, as I apprehend there is no doubt they are, contagious, it is not improbable that the Resolution caught this disorder from the Dutch ships at Cracatoa. In order to avoid this danger, when Mr. Williamson was sent to the Indiaman in the entrance of the Straits of Sunda, he had the strictest orders not to suffer any of our people, on any account whatever, to go on board; and whenever we had afterwards occasion to have any communication with the Resolution, the same caution was constantly observed.

We were no sooner clear of Prince's Island, than we had a gentle breeze from the west north-west; but this did not last long; for the following day the wind became again variable, and continued so till the noon of the 25th, when it blew squally, and blew fresh from the north. On the 22d at noon, being in latitude 10° 28′ S., and longitude 104° 14′, we saw great quantities of boobies and other fowls that seldom go far from land; from which, we conjectured that we were near some small unknown island. In the evening of the 25th, the wind changed suddenly to the southward, accompanied with heavy rains, and began to blow with great violence. During the night, almost every sail we had bent gave way, and most of them were split to rags; our rigging also suffered materially, and we were, the next day, obliged to bend our last suit of sails, and to knot and splice the rigging, our cordage being all expended. This sudden storm we attributed to the change from the monsoon to the regular trade-wind; our latitude was about 13° 10′ S. and we had made by our reckoning about 4½° of longitude west from Java head.

From the 26th of this month to the 28th of March, we had a regular trade-wind from the south-east to east by south, with fine weather; and, being in an old beaten track, met no occurrence that deserved the smallest notice. In the morning of the 28th of March, being in latitude 31° 42′ S., and longitude 35° 26′ E., the trade-wind left us in a violent thunder-storm. From this time to the 3rd of April, when our latitude was 35° 1[illegible] and longitude 26° 3′ E. the winds were moderate, and generally from the south quarter. A fresh breeze then sprung up from the eastward, which continued till the afternoon of the 4th; after which, we had a calm that lasted the two following days.

It had hitherto been Captain Gore's intention to proceed directly to St. Helena, without stopping at the Cape; but the rudder of the Resolution having been [illegible] some time complaining, and, on being examined, reported to be in a dangerous state, he resolved to steer immediately for the Cape, as the most eligible place, both for the recovery of his sick, and for procuring a new main-piece to the rudder. From the 21st of March, when we were in latitude 27° 22′ S., longitude 52° 25′ E., to the 5th of April, when we had got into latitude 36° 12′ S., longitude 22° 7′ E., we were strongly affected by the currents, which set to the south south-west, and south-west by west, sometimes at the rate of eighty knots a day. On the 6th, having got under the lee of the African coast, we lost them entirely. In the morning of the 6th, a sail was seen to the south-west, standing toward us; and, as the wind soon after rose from the same quarter, we cleared our ships for action. We now discovered, from the mast-head, five sail more on our lee-bow, standing to the eastward, but the weather coming on hazy, we lost sight of them all in an hour's time. Our latitude at noon was 35° 49′ S., longitude 21° 32′ E. At seven o'clock, the next morning (the seventh), we made

the land to the northward at a considerable distance. On the 8th, the weather was squally, and blew fresh from the north-west; the following day it settled to the west, and we passed pretty close to the sail seen on the 6th, but did not hail her. She was clumsy in figure, and, to appearance, unskilfully managed; yet she out-sailed us exceedingly The colours which she hoisted were different from any we had seen; some supposed them to be Portuguese, others Imperial.

At day-light the next morning, the land again appeared to the north north-west, and, in the forenoon, a snow was seen bearing down to us, which proved to be an English East India packet, that had left Table Bay three days before, and was cruising with orders for the China fleet, and other India ships. She told us that about three weeks before, Mons. Trongoller's squadron, consisting of six ships, had sailed from the Cape, and was gone to cruise off St. Helena, for our East India fleet. This intelligence made us conjecture, that the five sail we had seen standing to the eastward must have been the French squadron, who, in that case, had given over their cruise, and were probably proceeding to the Mauritius. Having informed the packet of our conjectures, and also of the time we understood the China ships were to sail from Canton, we left them, and proceeded toward the Cape.

In the evening of the 10th, the Gunner's Quoin bore north by east, and False Cape east north-east; but the wind being at south-west, and variable, prevented our getting into False Bay till the evening of the 12th, when we dropt anchor abreast of Simon's Bay. We found a strong current setting to the westward, round the Cape, which, for some time, we could but just stem, with a breeze that would have carried us four knots an hour. The next morning we stood into Simon's Bay; and at eight came to anchor, and moored a cable each way; the best bower to the east south-east, and small bower west north-west; the south-east point of the bay bearing south by east, Table Mountain north-east half north; distant from the nearest shore one-third of a mile. We found lying here the Nassau and Southampton East-Indiamen, waiting for convoy for Europe. The Resolution saluted the fort with eleven guns, and the same number was returned. Mr. Brandt, the governor of this place, came to visit us as soon as we had anchored. This gentleman had conceived a great affection for Captain Cook, who had been his constant guest the many times he had visited the Cape; and though he had received the news of his melancholy fate some time before, he was exceedingly affected at the sight of our ships returning without their old commander. He appeared much surprised to see our crew in so stout and healthy a condition, as the Dutch ship that had left Macao on our arrival there, and had touched at the Cape some time before, reported, that we were in a most wretched state, having only fourteen hands left on board the Resolution, and seven on board the Discovery. It is not easy to conceive the motive these people could have had for propagating so wanton and malicious a falsehood.

On the 15th I accompanied Captain Gore to Cape Town; and the next morning we waited on Baron Plettenberg, the governor, by whom we were received with every possible attention and civility. He had also conceived a great personal affection for Captain Cook, as well as the highest admiration of his character, and heard the recital of his misfortune with many expressions of unaffected sorrow. In one of the principal apartments of the governor's house he showed us two pictures, of Van Tromp and De Ruyter, with a vacant space left between them, which he said he meant to fill up with the portrait of Captain Cook; and for that purpose he requested our assistance, when we should arrive in England, in purchasing one for him at any price. We were afterwards informed by the governor, that all the powers at this time at war with England had given orders to their cruisers to let us pass unmolested. This, as far as related to the French, we had sufficient reason to think true; as Mr. Brandt had already delivered to Captain Gore a letter from Mr. Stephens, inclosing a copy of Mons. de Sartine's orders, taken on board the Licorne. With respect to the Americans, the matter still rested on report; but Baron Plettenberg assured us, that he had been expressly told by the commander of a Spanish ship, which had touched at the Cape, that he, and all the officers of his nation, had received orders to the same effect. These assurances confirmed Captain Gore in the resolution he had taken of maintaining, on

his part, a neutral conduct: and accordingly, when, on the arrival of the Sybil, to convoy the India ships home, it was proposed to him to accompany them on their passage, he thought proper to decline an offer, the acceptance of which might, in case we had fallen in with any of the enemies' ships, have brought him into a very difficult and embarrassing situation.

During our stay at the Cape, we met with every proof of the most friendly disposition toward us, both in the governor and principal persons of the place, as well Africans as Europeans. At our first arrival, Colonel Gordon, the commander of the Dutch forces, with whom, on our former visit here, I had the happiness of being on a footing of intimacy and friendship was absent on a journey into the interior parts of Africa, but returned before our departure. He had, on this occasion, penetrated farther up the country than any other traveller had done before him, and made great additions to the valuable collection of natural curiosities with which he has enriched the museum of the Prince of Orange. Indeed, a long residence at the Cape, and the powerful assistance he has derived from his rank and situation there, joined to an active and indefatigable spirit, and an eager thirst after knowledge, have enabled him to acquire a more intimate and perfect knowledge of this part of Africa than could have fallen to the lot of any other person; and it is with great pleasure I am congratulate the public on the information I have received of his intentions to give the world, from his own hand, a history of his travels.

False Bay, situated to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, is frequented by shipping during the prevalence of the north-west winds, which begin to blow in May, and make it dangerous to lie in Table Bay. It is terminated on the west by the Cape of Good Hope, and on the eastward by False Cape. The entrance of the bay is six leagues wide, the two capes bearing from each other due east and west. About eleven miles from the Cape of Good Hope, on the west side, is situated Simon's Bay, the only convenient station for ships to lie in; for although the road without it affords good anchorage, it is too open, and but ill circumstanced for procuring necessaries, the town being small, and supplied with provisions from Cape Town, which is about twenty-four miles distant. To the north north-east of Simon's Bay there are several others, from which it may be easily distinguished by a remarkable sandy way to the northward of the town, which makes a striking object. In steering for the harbour, along the west shore, there is a small flat rock, called Noah's Ark; and, about a mile to the north-east of it, several others, called the Roman Rocks. These lie one mile and a half from the anchoring place; and either between them, or to the northward of the Roman Rocks, there is a safe passage into the bay. When the north-west gales are set in, the following bearings will direct the mariner to a safe and commodious birth: Noah's Ark, S. 51° E., and the centre of the hospital S. 53° W. in seven fathoms. But if the south-east winds have not done blowing, it is better to stay further out in eight or nine fathoms. The bottom is sandy, and the anchors settle considerably before they get hold. All the north part of the bay is low sandy land, but the east side is very high. About six miles east of Noah's Ark lies Seal Island, the south part of which is said to be dangerous, and not to be approached with safety nearer than in twenty-two fathoms. Off the Cape of Good Hope are many sunk rocks, some of which appear at low water; and others have breakers constantly on them.

The latitude of the anchoring-place in Simon's Bay, by observation	34° 20′ S.
The longitude	18 29 E.
Dip of the south end of the magnetic needle	46 47
Variation of the compass	22 16 W.

On the full and change days, it was high-water at $5^h\ 55^m$ apparent time; the tide rose and fell five feet five inches; at the neap tides it rose four feet one inch.

From the observations taken by Mr. Bayly and myself, on the 11th of this month, when the Cape of Good Hope bore due west, we found its latitude to be 34° 23′ S., which is 4′ to the northward of its position as determined by the Abbé de la Caille.

Having completed our victualling, and furnished ourselves with the necessary supply of

naval stores, we sailed out of the bay on the 9th of May, and on the 14th we got into the south-east trade-wind, and steered to the westward of the islands of St. Helena and Ascension. On the 31st, being in latitude 12° 48′ S., longitude 15° 40′ W., the magnetic needle was found to have no dip. On the 12th of June we passed the equator for the fourth time during this voyage, in longitude 26° 16′ W. We now began to perceive the effects of a current setting north by east, half a knot an hour. It continued in this direction till the middle of July, when it began to set a little to the southward of the west.

On the 12th of August, we made the western coast of Ireland, and, after a fruitless attempt to get into Port Galway, from whence it was Captain Gore's intention to have sent the journals and maps of our voyage to London, we were obliged, by strong southerly winds, to steer to the northward. Our next object was to put into Lough Swilly, but the wind continuing in the same quarter, we stood on to the northward of Lewis Island; and on the 22nd of August, at eleven in the morning, both ships came to an anchor at Stromness. From hence I was despatched by Captain Gore to acquaint the Board of Admiralty with our arrival; and on the 4th day of October the ships arrived safe at the Nore, after an absence of four years, two months, and twenty-two days.

On quitting the Discovery at Stromness, I had the satisfaction of leaving the whole crew in perfect health; and at the same time, the number of convalescents on board the Resolution did not exceed two or three, of whom only one was incapable of service. In the course of our voyage, the Resolution lost but five men by sickness, three of whom were in a precarious state of health at our departure from England; the Discovery did not lose a man. An unremitting attention to the regulations established by Captain Cook, with which the world is already acquainted, may be justly considered as the principal cause, under the blessing of Divine Providence, of this singular success. But the baneful effects of salt provisions might perhaps, in the end, have been felt, notwithstanding these salutary precautions, if we had not assisted them, by availing ourselves of every substitute our situation at various times afforded. These frequently consisting of articles which our people had not been used to consider as food for men, and being sometimes exceedingly nauseous, it required the joint aid of persuasion, authority, and example, to conquer their prejudices and disgusts. The preventives we principally relied on were sour krout and portable soup. As to the antiscorbutic remedies, with which we were amply supplied, we had no opportunity of trying their effects, as there did not appear the slightest symptoms of the scurvy, in either ship, during the whole voyage. Our malt and hops had also been kept as a resource, in case of actual sickness, and on examination at the Cape of Good Hope, were found entirely spoiled. About the same time, were opened some casks of biscuit, flour, malt, peas, oatmeal, and grots, which, by way of experiment, had been put up in small casks, lined with tinfoil, and found all, except the peas, in a much better state than could have been expected, in the usual manner of package.

I cannot neglect this opportunity of recommending to the consideration of government, the necessity of allowing a sufficient quantity of Peruvian bark to such of his Majesty's ships as may be exposed to the influence of unwholesome climates. It happened very fortunately in the Discovery, that only one of the men that had fevers in the Straits of Sunda, stood in need of this medicine, as he alone consumed the whole quantity usually carried out by surgeons, in such vessels as ours. Had more been affected in the same manner, they would probably all have perished, from the want of the only remedy capable of affording them effectual relief.

Another circumstance attending this voyage, which, if we consider its duration, and the nature of the service in which we were engaged, will appear scarcely less singular than the extraordinary healthiness of the crews, was, that the two ships never lost sight of each other for a day together, except twice; which was owing, the first time, to an accident that happened to the Discovery off the coast of Owhyhee; and the second, to the fogs we met with at the entrance of Awatska Bay. A stronger proof cannot be given of the skill and vigilance of our subaltern officers, to whom this share of merit almost entirely belongs.

VOCABULARY

OF THE LANGUAGE OF NOOTKA, OR KING GEORGE'S, SOUND, APRIL 1778.

Nootka.	*English.*
Opulszthl	The sun.
Onulszthl	The moon.
Nas, or eenaheehl nas	The sky.
Noohchai	A mountain, or hill.
Mooksee	Rocks, or the shore.
Tanass, or tanas	A man.
Oonook	A song.
Eeneek, or eleek	Fire.
Nuhchee, or nookchee.	The land; a country.
Koassama	The ground.
Mahtai	A house.
Neit, or Neet	A candle, or lamplight.
Neetopok	The smoke of a lamp.
Tassyai	A door.
Ai, and aio	Yes.
Wook, or wik	No.
Wik ait	None, not any.
Macook	To barter.
Kaeeemai, or kyomai	Give me some more for it.
Kootche, or kotche	To paddle.
Aook, or chiamis	To eat, to chew.
Topalszthl, or toopilszthl	The sea.
Oowhabbe	A paddle.
Thapats, or shapitz, or Chapas	A canoe.
Tawailuck	White bugle beads.
Seekemaile	Iron, or metal of any sort.
Ahkoo, or ahko	This.
Kaa, or kaa chelle	Give it me, let me look at it, or examine it.
Wook hak	Will he not do it?
Ma, or maa	Take it.
Chakeuk	A hatchet, or hacking tool.
Eetche, or abeesh	Displeasure.
Haoome, or haooma	Food.
Takho,	Bad. This iron is bad: Takho, seekemaile.
Chelle	I, me.
Kaeeo	Broken.
Alle, or alla	(Speaking to one.) Friend; hark ye.
Klao appe, or klao	Keep it; I'll not have it.
Asko	Long, or large.
Iakooeshmaish	Clothing in general.
Tahquoe, or toohquoe	A metal button or ear-ring.
Wae	(Calling to one, perhaps) you!
Weekeetatoesh	Sparkling sand, which they sprinkle on their faces.
Chauk	Water.
Pacheetl, or pachatl	To give; give me.
Haweelsth, or hawalth	Friendship, friend.
Kleeseetl	To paint, or mark with a pencil.
Abeetszle	To go away or depart.
Suesookto	To remain, or abide.
Seeaik	A stone weapon, with a square point.

Nootka.	*English.*
Suhyaik	A spear, pointed with bone.
Taak	The wood of the depending pine.
Luksheet, or luksheetl	To drink.
Soochis	A tree, a wood.
Haieaipt,	A broad leaf, shrub, or underwood.
Tohumbeet	Variegated pine; silver pine.
Atlieu	The depending pine, or cypress.
Koeeklipt	The Canadian pine.
Cho	Go.
Sateu	A pine top.
Kleeteenek,	The little cloak that they wear.
Kleethak	A bear's skin.
Klochimme	Muscles.
Ohkullik	A wooden box they hold things in.
H'slaiakasl, or slaikalszth	Coarse mats of bark.
Eesee	An instrument of bone to beat bark.
Chapits koole	The model of a canoe.
Klapatuketeel	A bag made of mat.
Tahmis	To spit; spittle.
Wasuksheet	To cough.
Poop	Common moss.
Okumha	The wind.
Chutzquabeelsl	A bag made of seal skin.
Konneeomis	A kind of sea weed.
Quaookl, or tookpeetl	To sit down.
Klukeelszthl, or quoeeiszthl	To rise up.
Tsookeeats	To walk.
Kummutchchutl	To run.
Klutsklaee	To strike or beat.
Teeshcheetl	To throw a stone.
Teelszthtee	To rub or sharpen metal.
Tsook	To cleave or strike hard.
Mahkatte	A small liliaceous root which they eat.
Eumahtame	Fur of a sea otter.
Cheemaine	Their largest fishing hooks.
Moostatte	A bow.
Kahsheetl	Dead.
Kleeshsheetl	To shoot with a bow.
Tseehatte	An arrow.
Katshak	A flaxen garment worn as their common dress.
Heshchcene	A plain Venus shell.
Koohuiune	A bag rattle.
Akeeuk	A plain bone point for striking seals with.
Kaheita	A barbed bone point for ditto.
Cheetakulheiwha	Bracelets of white bugle beads.
Mittemulszsth	Thongs of skin worn about the wrist and neck.
Iaiopox	Pieces of copper worn in the ear.
Neeksheetl	To sneeze.

Nootka.	*English.*
Buchkas	A comb.
Seehl	Small feathers which they strew on their heads.
Wamuhte	Twisted thongs and sinews worn about their ankles.
Kutseeoatsia	Veins under the skin.
Tookquuk	The skin.
Muszthele	Pain.
Waeetch	To sleep.
Siksaimaha	To breathe, or pant.
Tuhsheetl	To weep.
Matskoot	A fly.
Matook	To fly.
Kooees, or quoees	Snow, or hail.
Aopk	To whistle.
Asheeaikshеetl	To yawn.
Elsthltleek	An instrument of two sticks standing from each other with barbs.
Cheeeoakis	A scar of a wound.
Tehoo	Throw it down, or to me.
Cheetkoohekai, or Cheetkoaik	A wooden instrument with many bone teeth, to catch small fish with.
Kaenne, or Koenai	A crow, a bird.
Keesapa	A fish; a white bream.
Klaamoo	A bream striped with blue and gold colours.
Taaweesh, or Tsuskeeah	A stone weapon, or tomahawk, with a wooden handle.
Kamaisthlik	A kind of snare, to catch fish or other animals with.
Klahma	Wing feathers of a red bird.
Seetsaennuk	Anger; scolding.
Heeeai, or Heeeee	A brown streaked snake.
Klapissime	A racoon.
Owatinne	A white-headed eagle.
Kluhmiss	Train oil; a bladder filled with it.
Oukkooma	Large carved wooden faces.
Kotyook, or hotyok	A knife.
See-eema	A fishing net.
Weena	A stranger.
Quahmiss	Fish roe strewed upon pine branches and sea-weed.
Kaatl	Give me.
Hooksquaboolsthl	A whale harpoon and rope.
Komook	Chimæra monstrosa.
Quotluk, or quotlukac	A sea-otter's skin.
Maasenulsthl	An oblong wooden weapon, two feet long.
Hookoomag	A wooden mask of the human face.
Tooquacumilsthl	A seal skin.
Chna	Let me see it.
Sooma	A kind of haddock, of a reddish brown colour.
Aeea	Assardine.
Koeetsak	A wolf-skin dress.
Keepaleetoksal	A woollen garment.
Isseu	Pine bark.
Wanshee	Wild cat-skin (lynx brunneus).
Chastimmetz	A common, and also pine martin.
Ookoomillszthl	A little, round wooden cup.
Kooomitz	A human skull.
Keehlwahmoot	A skin bladder used in fishing.
Taeeapoox	A conic cap made of mat, worn on the head.
Summeto	A squirrel; they also called a rat by this name.
Maalszthl	A deer's horn.
Jakops	A man, or male.

Nootka.	*English.*
Kolsheetl, or Kolsheat	To sup with a spoon.
Achatla, or Achaklak	What is your name?
Achatlaha	What is his name?
Akassheha, or akassche	What is the name of that?
Haismussik	A wooden sabre.
Maeetsalulsthl	A bone weapon like the Patoo.
Kookelixo	A fish fin; the hand.
Natcha	A fish tail.
Klihkleek	The hoof of an animal.
Klaklasm	A bracelet.
Ko	An article, to give strength of expression to another word
Nahei, or naheis	Friendship.
Teelsthoop	A large cuttle fish.
Pachas	He gave it me.
Quaeeaitsask	A yellow, or red fox.
Atchakoe	A limpet.
Aheita	A sweet fern root they eat.
Kishkilltup	The strawberry plant.
Akhmupt	A narrow grass that grows on the rocks.
Klaiwahmiss	A cloud.
Mollsthapait	A feather.
Taeetcha	Full, satisfied with eating.
Kaaitz	A necklace of small volute shells.
Tahooquossim	A carved human head of wood, decorated with hair.
Moowatche	A carved wooden vizor, like the head of a Quebrentahuessns.
Mamat	A black linnet, with a white bill.
Klaokotl	Give me something.
Pallszthpatl	Glimmer (sheet).
Eineetl	The name they apply to a goat; probably of a deer.
Seeta	The tail of an animal.
Seehsheetl	To kill.
Ooolszth	A sand piper.
Saeemitz	Chequered straw baskets.
Chookwak	To go up, or away.
Kloosasht	Smoked herrings.
Keetsma	Puncturation.
Mikeellzyth	To fasten, or tie a thing.
Cheeteeakamilzsth	White beads.
Kakkumipt	A sea weed, or grass on which they strew fish roe.
Eisauk	A sort of leek; allium triquetrum.
Kutskushilzsth	To tear a thing.
Mitzsleo	A knot.
Mamakeeo	To tie a knot.
Kluksilzsth	To loosen, or untie.
Klakaikom	The leaf of a plant.
Sasinne, or sasin	A humming bird.
Koohquoppa	A granulated lily root they eat.
Seeweebt	Alder tree.
Kaweebt	Raspberry bush.
Kleehseep	The flower of a plant.
Klumma	Large wooden images placed at one end of their houses.
Aishtoop, or aishtoopsh	A porpoise.
Toshko	A small brown spotted cod.
Aszlimupt, or ulszthimipt	Flaxen stuff, of which they make their garments.
Wakash	An expression of approbation, or friendship.
Kullekees	Troughs out of which they eat.
Knots	A twig basket.
Sllook	The roof of a house; boards.
Eilszthmukt	Nettles.
Koeeklass	A wooden stage, or frame, on which the fish roe is dried.

Nootka.	*English.*
Matlieu	A withe of bark for fastening planks.
Nahass	A circular hole that serves as a window.
Neetsoanimme	Large planks, of which their houses are built.
Chaipma	Straw.
Haquanuk	A chest, or large box
Chahkots	A square wooden bucket, to hold water.
Chahquanna	A square wooden drinking cup.
Kiennut	A wooden wedge.
Kolkolsainum	A large chest.
Klieutsunuim	A board to kneel on when they paddle.
Tseelszthook	A frame of square poles.
Aminulszth	A fish.
Natchkoa and Matseeta	The particular names of two of the monstrous images called Klumma.
Houa	To go that way.
Achichil	What does he say?
Aeck	The oval part of a whale dart.
Aptsheeti	To steal.
Quoccup	To break.
Uhshaspai	To pull.
Tsechka	A general song.
Apte, or appe	You.
Kai	Thanks.
Kotl	Me; I.
Punihpunih	A black beating stone.
Yatseenequoppe	The names of three men.
Kakallakecheelook	The names of three men.
Nololokum	The names of three men.

Nootka.	*English.*
Nootka	The name of the bay or sound.
Satsuhcheek	The name of a woman.
NAMES OF DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE BODY.	
Oooomitz	The head.
Apsoop	The hair of the head.
Uhpeukel, or upuppea	The forehead.
Cheecheetsh	The teeth.
Choop	The tongue.
Kussee, or kassee	The eye.
Neets	The nose.
Papal	The ear.
Aanuss	The cheek.
Eehthlux	The chin.
Apuxim	The beard.
Tseekoomitz	The neck.
Seekutz	The throat.
Eelulszth	The face.
Eethluxooth	The lips.
Klooshkoosh,klah,tamal	The nostrils.
Aeetchse	The eye-brow.
Aapso	The arm.
Aapsoonilk	The arm-pit.
Eneema	The nipple.
Kooquainux, or Kooquainuxoo	The fingers.
Chushchuh	Nail of the finger.
Kleashkliune	The thighs and legs.
Klahtimme	The foot.
Aishkomeetz	The thumb.
Kopeeak	The fore finger.
Tseeai	The middle finger.
Oatso, or akkukluc	The ring finger.
Kasleka	The little finger.

TABLE

TO SHOW THE AFFINITY BETWEEN THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN AT OONALASHKA AND NORTON SOUND, AND THOSE OF THE GREENLANDERS AND ESQUIMAUX.

English.	*Ooonalashka.*	*Norton Sound.*	*Greenland (from Crantz.)*	*Esquimaux.*
A man	Chengan	—	Angut	
A woman	Anagogenach			
The head	Kameak	—	—	Ne-aw-cock
The hair	Emelach	Nooit	—	New-rock
The eye brow	Kamlik	Kameluk	—	Coup-loot
The eye	Dhac	Enga	—	Ehich
The nose	Anosche	Ngha	—	Cring-yauk
The cheek	Ooloocik	Oollooak	—	Ou-lu-uck-cur
The ear	Tootoosh	Shudeka	—	Se-u-teck
The lip	Adhee	Hashlaw		
The teeth	Agaloo			
The tongue	Agonoo			
The beard	Engelagoong	Oongai		
The chin	Ismaloch	Tamluk	—	Taplou
The neck	Ooloo	—	—	Coon-e-soke
The breast	Shimsen	—	—	Suck-ke-uck
The arm	Toolak	Dallek	—	Telluck
The hand	Kedhachoonge	Aishet	—	Alguit
The finger	Atooch			
The nails	Cagelch	Shetooe		
The thigh	Cachemac	Kookdoshac		
The leg	Ketac	Kanaiak	—	Ki-naw-auk
The foot	Ooleac	Etscheak	—	E-te-ket
The sun	Agadac	Maje	—	Suck-ki-nuch
The moon	Toogedha	—	—	Tac-cock
The sky	Enacac			

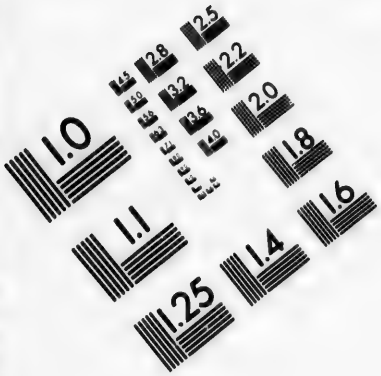
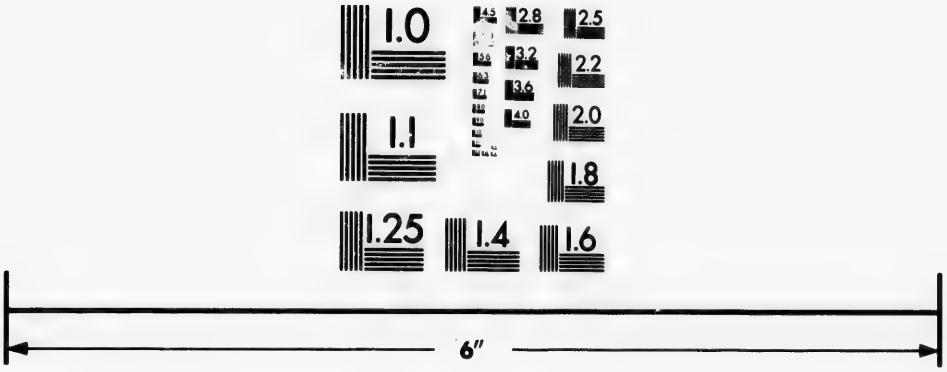
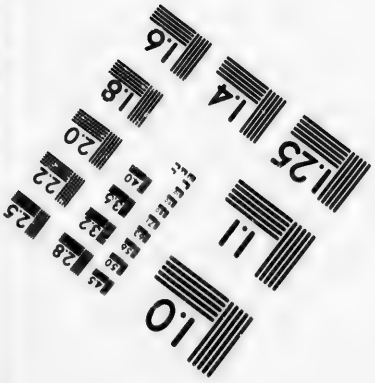
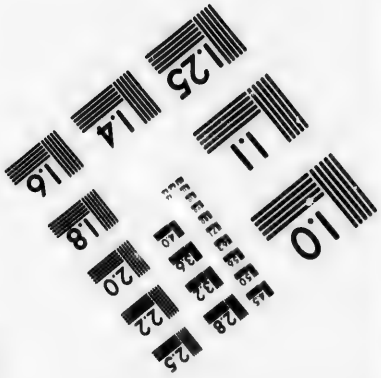


IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)







Photographic
Sciences
Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

2.8
2.5
3.2
3.6
2.2
2.0
1.8
1.1
1.0

English.	*Oonalashka.*	*Norton Sound.*	*Greenland (from Cranz.)*	*Esquimaux.*
A cloud	Aiengich			
The wind	Caitchee			
The sea	Alaooch	Emai	—	Ut-koo-tuk-lea
Water	Tangch	Mooe		
Fire	Keiganach	—	—	E-ko-ma
Wood	Hearach			
A knife	Kamelac			
A house	Oolac	—	Iglc	Tope-uck
A canoe	Eakeac	Caiac	Kaiak	Kirock
A paddle	Chasec	Pangehon	Pautik	Pow
Iron	Comeleuch	Shawik	—	Shaveck
A bow	Seiech	—	—	Petick sic
Arrows	Agadhok	—	—	Caukjuck
Darts	Ogwalook	—	Aglikak	
A fish-hook	Oochtac			
No	Net	Ena	Nag	
Yes, or yea	Ah	Eh	Illisve	
One	Taradac	Adowjak	Attousck	Attouset
Two	Alac	Aiba	Arlak	Mardluk
Three	Canoogn	Pingashook	Pingajuah	Pingasut
Four	Sechn	Shetamik	Sissamat	Sissamat
Five	Chang	Dallamik	Tellimat	Tellimat
Six	Atoo	*In counting more than five, they repeat the same words over again.*	—	Arbanget
Seven	Ooloo		—	Arbanget, Attausek
Eight	Kamching			Arbanget mardlik
Nine	Seching	—	—	Kollin illoet
Ten	Hasc	—	—	Kollit.

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF NUMERALS,

EXHIBITING THE AFFINITY AND EXTENT OF LANGUAGE, WHICH IS FOUND TO PREVAIL IN ALL THE ISLANDS OF THE EASTERN SEA, AND DERIVED FROM THAT SPOKEN ON THE CONTINENT OF ASIA, IN THE COUNTRY OF THE MALAYES.

N.B. The Malaye being considered as the root, three specimens of its Numerals stand separate at the top of the Table. The derivative branches are ranged and numbered, according to the longitudinal situation of the several places, proceeding from Madagascar, the most western boundary, eastward to Easter Island. In the instances marked with a star, liberty has been taken to separate the Article from the Numeral.

	Malay.	*Malay at Sumatra.*	*Malay.*
One,	Satu	Satoo	Sa.
Two,	Dua	Duo	Dua.
Three,	Tiga	Teego	Teega.
Four,	Enpa	Ampat	Ampat.
Five,	Lyma	Leemoo	Leem.
Six,	Nam	Anam	Nam and Anam.
	HERBERT, p. 368.	MARSDEN, p. 163.	FORSTER'S *Observations*, p. 284

	Malay,	*Malay at Sumatra.*	*Malay.*
Seven,	Toufou	Toojoo	Toojoo.
Eight,	De-lappan	Slappan	Delapan.
Nine,	Sambalan	Sambilan	Sambelan.
Ten,	Sapola	Sapooloo	Sapooloo.

	I. *Madagascar.*	II. *Madagascar.*	III. *Madagascar.*	IV. *Madagascar.*	V. *Acheen in Sumatra.*
One,	Issee, or Essa	Eser	Isso	Isse	Sah
Two,	Rooe	Rooa	Tone	Rica	Dua
Three,	Tulloo, or Tailloo	Talu	Tello	Tellou	Tloo
Four,	Efax, or Efar	Effutchi	Effad	Effats	Paat
Five,	Lime, or Leman	Deeme	Fruto	Limi	Leemung
Six,	One, or Aine	Eanning	Woubla	Ene	Nam
Seven,	Heitoo, or Petoo	Feeto	Sidda	Titou	Too-joo
Eight,	Balloo	Varlo	Foulo	Walou	D'Lappan
Nine,	Seeva	Seve	Malo	Sivi	Sakoorang
Ten,	Foroo, and Fooloo	Folo	Nel	Tourou	Saploo
	PARKINSON, p. 205.	DRURY, p. 457.	HERBERT, p. 22.	SIR JOSEPH BANKS, COOK'S *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 321.	MARSDEN, p. 163.

	VI. *Lampoon, in Sumatra.*	VII. *Batta, in Sumatra.*	VIII. *Rejang, in Sumatra.*	IX. *Princes Island.*	X. *Java.*
One,	Sye	Sadah	Do	Hegie	Sigi
Two,	Rowah	Duo	Dooy	Dua	Lorou
Three,	Tulloo	Toloo	Tellou	Tollu	Tullu
Four,	Ampah	Opat	M pat	Opat	Pappat
Five,	Leemah	Leemah	Lema	Limah	Limo
Six,	Annam	Onam	Noom	Gunnap	Nunnam
Seven,	Peetoo	Paitoo	Toojooa	Tudjo	Petu
Eight,	Ooalloo	Ooalloa	De-lapoon	Delapan	Wolo
Nine,	Seewah	Seeah	nbilan	Salapan	Songo
Ten,	Pooloo	Sapooloo	De Pooloo	Sapoulo	Sapoulo
	MARSDEN, p. 168.	MARSDEN, p. 168	MARSDEN, p. 168.	SIR JOSEPH BANKS, COOK'S *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 321.	SIR JOSEPH BANKS, COOK'S *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 321.

	XI. *Tagales of Leuconia, or Manilla.*	XII. *Pampangos or Philippine.*	XIII. *Mindanao.*	XIV. *Isle of Savu.*	XV. *Island of Savu, or Savoo.*
One,	Ysa	Isa, Meetong	Isa	Isse, or Usse	Usse
Two,	Dalava or Dalova,	Ad-dua	Daua	Rooe	Lhua
Three,	Tatl, or Ytlo	At-lo	Tulu	Tulloa	Tullu
Four,	Apat	Apat	Apat	Uppa	Uppa
Five,	Lima	Lima	Lima	Lumee	Lumme
Six,	Anim	Anam	Anom	Unna	Unna
Seven,	Pito	Pitu	Petoo	Petoo	Pedu
Eight,	Valo	Valo	Walu	Aroo	Arru
Nine,	Siyam	Siam	Seaow	Saio	Saou
Ten,	Polo and Pobo	Apalo	Sanpoolu	Singooroo	Singoo[illegible]
	FORSTER'S *Observations*, p. 284.	FORSTER'S *Observations*, p. 284.	FOREST'S *Voyage*, p. 399.	PARKINSON, p. 170.	LIEUT. C[illegible], vol. i. p. 292.

	XVI. *Isle of Ceram.*	XVII. *Isle of Moses.* 1616.	XVIII. *New Guinea.* 1616.	XIX. *Pappua of New Guinea.*	XX. *Terra del Espiritu Santo.*
One,	O Eeuta	Kaou	Tika	Oser	They named numerals as far as five or six, the same as at Annamooka.
Two,	O Looa	Roa	Roa	Serou	
Three,	O Toloo	Tolou	Tola	Kior	
Four,	O Patoo	Wati	Fatta	Tiak	
Five,	O Leema	Rima	Lima, or Liman	Rim	
Six,	O Loma	Eno	Wamma	Onim	
Seven,	O Peeto	Lvijtfou	Fita	Tik	
Eight,	O Aloo	Eialou	Wala	War	
Nine,	O Teeo	Siwa	Siwa	Siou	
Ten,	O Pooloo	Sanga Poulo	Sanga Foula	Samfour	
	PARKINSON, p. 200.	HERRERA, *from* LE MAIRE, p. 82.	HERRERA, *from* LE MAIRE, p. 81	FOREST'S *Voyage*, p. 402.	COOK, vol. i. p 522.

	XXI. *New Caledonia.*	XXII. *New Caledonia.*	XXIII. *Malicolo.*	XXIV. *Tanna.*	XXV. *Tanna.*
One,	*Wag Eeaing	*Par Ai	*Tsee Kace	*Ret Tee	*Ree Dee
Two,	Wa Roo	Par Roo	E-Ry	Car Roo	Ka Roo
Three,	Wat Een	Par Ghen	E-Rei	Ka Har	Ka Har
Four,	Wat Baeek	Par Bai	E-Bats	Ka Fa	Kai Phar
Five,	Wan Nim	Pa Nim	E-Reem	Ka Rirrom	K'Reerum
Six,					
Seven,					
Eight,					
Nine,					
Ten,					
	COOK, end of vol. iii. 4to ed.	FORSTER, p. 284.	COOK, end of vol. iii. 4to ed.	FORSTER, p. 284.	COOK, end of vol. iii. 4to ed.

	XXVI. *New Zealand.*	XXVII. *New Zealand.*	XXVIII. *New Zealand.*	XXIX. *Horn Islands.* 1616.	XXX. *Isle of Cocos.* 1616.
One,	Tahai	Ka Tahe	Tahai	Tacij, or Taci	Taci
Two,	Rua	Ka Rooa	Rooa	Loua, or Loa	Loua
Three,	Torou	Ka Tarroa	Toroa	Tolou	Tolou
Four,	Ha	Ka Wha	T'Fa	Fa, and D'Fa	Fa
Five,	Rema	Ka Reema	Reema	Lima	Lima
Six,	Ono	Ka Onoo	Honnoo	Houw	Houno
Seven,	Etu	Ka Wheetoo	Widdoo		Fitou
Eight,	Warou	Ka Warroo	Warroo		Walou
Nine,	Iva	Ka Eeva	Heeva		Ywou
Ten,	Anga Hourou	Kaca Haowroo	Anga Horro	Onge Foula	Onge Foula
	LIEUT. COOK, 1770, vol. i. p. 199.	PARKINSON, p. 128.	FORSTER, p. 284.	HERRERA, *from* LE MAIRE, p. 81	HERRERA, *from* LE MAIRE, p. 81.

	XXXI. *Friendly Islands.*	XXXII. *Island of Amsterdam.*	XXXIII. *Sandwich Islands.*	XXXIV. *Otaheite.*	XXXV *Otaheite.*
One,	A Tahaw	Tahae	Their numerals to ten, the same as at Otaheite.	Tohe	*A Tahay
Two,	Looa	Eooa		Rooa	E Rooa
Three,	Toloo	Tooroa		Torhoa	Toroo
Four,	T'Fa	A Faa		Ha	A Haa
Five,	Neema	Neema		II Lemi	E Reema
Six,	Vano			Whaine	A Ono
Seven,	Fidda			Hitoo	A Heitoo
Eight,	Varoo			Wallhoa	A Waroo
Nine,	Heeva			Iva	A Eeva
Ten,	Ongofooroo			Hoolhoa	A Hooroo
	FORSTER'S *Obs.* p. 284.	COOK, end of vol. iii. 4to ed.	ANDERSON'S *Vocab. in orig. ed. of* COOK.	PARKINSON, p. 64.	COOK, end of vol. iii. 4to ed.

	XXXVI. *Marquesas.*	XXXVII. *Marquisas.*	XXXVIII. *Easter Island.*	XXXIX. *Easter Island.*
One,	*A Tahee	Bo Dahai	Kat Tahaee	Ko Tahai
Two,	A Ooa	Bo Hooa	Rooa	Rooa
Three,	A Toroa	Bo Dooo	Toroo	Toroo
Four,	A Faa	Bo Ha	Ha, and Fa	Haa
Five,	A Aeema	Bo Heema	Reema	Reena
Six,	A Ono	Bo Na	Honoo	Hono
Seven,	A Wheetoo	Bo Hiddoo	Heedoo	Hiddoo
Eight,	A Waoo	Bo Wahoo	Varoo	Varoo
Nine,	A Eeva	Bo Heeva	Heeva	Heeva
Ten,	Whannahoo, and Whannahooee	Bo Nahoo	Atta Hooroo, Anna Hooroo	Ana Hooroo
	COOK, end of vol. iii. 4to ed.	FORSTER'S *Obs.* p. 284.	COOK, end of vol. iii. 4to ed.	FORSTER'S *Obs.* p. 284.

XXXV

Otaheite.

*A Tahay
E Rooa
Toroo
A Haa
E Reema
A Ono
A Heitoo
A Waroo
A Eeva
A Hooroo

Cook, end of vol. iii. 4to ed.

XXXIX.

Easter Island.

Tahai
oa
roo
a
ena
no
ldoo
roo
eva

a Hooroo

orster's *Obs.* p. 284.